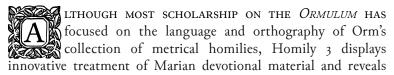# ORM'S VERNACULAR LATINITY[1]

**Abstract:** This article argues that Homily 3 on the Annunciation in the *Ormulum* presents an image of the *stella maris* epithet for the Virgin Mary in the English vernacular in a way different from its native predecessor, the Old English *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*. In bringing this piece of liturgical material to the laity for the first time, Orm was not only drawing on Latin content from multiple Continental sources—thus creating a composite text without a clear exemplar—but he was also elevating his vernacular composition by adapting it to the Latin septenary. Thus, Orm's use of the *stella maris*, or "sæsterrne," demonstrates his participation in the dissemination of Marian devotional material to the laity as well as in the attempt to elevate English through Latin form and content, which represents a larger movement in the period. **Keywords:** *Ormulum*, sæsterrne, *stella maris*, septenary, Virgin Mary.

**Resumen:** Este artículo postula que la Homilía 3 sobre la Anunciación en el *Ormulum* presenta una imagen del epíteto *stella maris* para la Virgen María en inglés de un modo diferente al de su predecesor nativo, el *Evangelio del pseudo-Mateo* en inglés antiguo. Al presentar por vez primera este material litúrgico al público laico, Orm no solo estaba recopilando contenidos latinos a partir de múltiples fuentes continentales—creando de este modo un texto compuesto sin un ejemplar claro—sino que también estaba elevando su composición en vernáculo al adaptarlo al septenario latino. Así, el uso que Orm hace de stella maris, o "sæsterrne," demuestra su participación en la diseminación de material devocional mariano al público laico, así como en el intento de elevar el inglés a través de formas y contenidos latinos, lo que representa un movimiento mayor en el periodo. **Palabras clave:** *Ormulum*, sæsterrne, *stella maris*, septenario, Virgen María.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Although most scholarship on the *ORMULUM* has focused on the language and orthography of Orm's collection of metrical homilies, Homily 3 displays innovative treatment of Marian devotional material and reveals

the move of such material out of the liturgy and into vernacular preaching in twelfth-century England.[2] The *Ormulum* is a late twelfth-century collection of verse homilies organized around the life of Christ and written in fifteen-syllable septenary verse, which includes seven metrical feet and one unstressed final syllable per line. The author Orm was a regular canon writing from approximately 1160 until 1180 in southern Lincolnshire, possibly associated with Bourne Abbey, which was an Arrouaisian reform of the order of St. Augustine and founded in 1138 by Norman Augustinians who were brought to England after the Conquest (Parkes 1983; Worley 2003: 23). This paper argues that the *Ormulum* was participating in the dissemination of liturgical material through vernacular preaching texts in twelfth-century England with the specific example of the "sæsterrne" ("sea-star") epithet for the Virgin Mary. Furthermore, I maintain that this practice is emblematic of a larger movement in the twelfth century, for which I draw upon Emily Thornbury's recent work on the late Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition. She argues that late Anglo-Saxon poets brought "Latinate high culture" to the English laity by making it seem like it derived from a Latin source (Thornbury 2014: 235). In the case of the *Ormulum*, the content most certainly comes from Latin sources, but so does its verse form, which strengthens the connection between Orm's vernacular English preaching to its Latinity.

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[2] For an extensive bibliography of *Ormulum* research, I direct the reader to Nils-Lennart Johannesson's website www2.english.su.se/nlj/orrmproj/orrmulum_site.html. The publication of the critical edition in the late nineteenth century by Robert Holt, with notes and glossary by Robert Meadows White, instigated the early philological work on the collection. The works of G. Sarrazin, Emanuel Menthel, Moritz Trautman, Sigurd Holm, and Heinrich Matthes were essential in understanding the language, verse, and sources of the verse homilies, and recent work, especially by Nils-Lennart Johannesson and Stephen Morrison, has aided scholars in moving beyond its philology.

## 2 The Latin tradition of the *stella maris*

Stephen Morrison posits that Orm looked south of England for source material, most likely from works associated with northern French schools, such as those at Tours, Chartres, Rheims, and Clairvaux (2002: 266). In his examination of textual evidence, however, Morrison concludes that the correspondences between the *Ormulum* and the *Glossa ordinaria*, as well as between the *Ormulum* and the *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*, are only partial, which suggests that "a hitherto unidentified text, sharing much in common with both" may be the source of the composite exemplar for the *Ormulum* (2002: 266). This suggestion discredits Orm's own compositional ability, and it seems more likely that Orm was a well-read canon who drew more from memory than from any singular exemplar.[3] Before I discuss the Continental works that influenced Orm's use of the *stella maris* ("star of the sea") epithet in the vernacular, I will first show where the tradition originated: from the authoritative writings of Sts. Jerome, Isidore of Seville, and Bede.

Scholars once considered the etymology of Mary as the *stella maris* a mistranslation in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* from Jerome's *Quaestiones hebraicae in libro Geneseos* (Graef 1963: 162–163; Pelikan 1978: 162; 1996: 94). Here, Jerome uses the phrase *stilla maris*, which means "drop of the sea," and Winfried Rudolf writes that this definition was influenced by I Kings 18.41–45 (2011).[4] It was generally accepted that Isidore mistranslated the phrase when he wrote in "De reliquis in Evangelio nominibus" (Book VII.x.1, ed. Lindsay): "Maria inluminatrix, sive stella maris. Genuit enim lumen mundi. Sermone autem Syro Maria

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[3] See Johannesson (2007b, especially 132) for another discussion on Orm's use of more than one source to develop an intricate metaphor in his homilies.

[4] The passage from I Kings concerns a small cloud that rises from the sea, which promises rain after a long draught.

domina nuncupatur; et pulchre; quia Dominum genuit."[5] More recent scholarship has suggested that Jerome was the originator of the phrase in his commentary on Matthew in his *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis* (Clayton 1990: 249–250; Gambero 2005: 69): "Mariam plerique aestimant interpretari, illuminant me isti, uel illuminatrix, uel Smyrna maris, sed mihi nequaquam uidetur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam stellam maris, siue amarum mare: sciendumque quod Maria, sermone Syro domina nuncepatur" (1852: 841–842).[6] We can see that the more likely origin of Isidore's etymology was from this passage in which Jerome specifically uses the phrase "stellam maris". Furthermore, we can compare Jerome's "sermone Syro domina nuncepatur" with Isidore's "Sermone autem Syro Maria domina nuncupatur," which appears to be taken nearly verbatim from Jerome.

Following Jerome's and Isidore's leads, the most influential contributions to the literary development of Mary as the *stella maris* in early medieval England are found in Bede's commentary on Luke, the *Ave maris stella* hymn, and other religious writings by Continental commentators. Bede interprets Mary's name in a similar fashion to Jerome and Isidore in his commentary on Luke: "Maria autem Hebraice stella maris Syriace uero domina uocatur et merito quia et totius mundi dominum et lucem saeculis meruit generare perennem" (1852b: 325).[7] The epithet of *stella*

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[5] "Mary the illuminator, and star of the sea. She brought forth, indeed, the light of the world. In the Syrian language, however, Mary is called 'lady' and 'beauty' because she brought forth the Lord."

[6] "And very many determine that Mary is interpreted 'these illuminate me' or 'she who enlightens' or 'myrrh of the sea,' but it does not seem thus to me at all. It is better, however, that we say she means 'star of the sea,' or 'bitter sea:' and that it ought to be known that Mary is called 'lady' in the Syrian language."

[7] "Mary, however, in Hebrew is called the 'star of the sea,' and in Syriac, indeed, 'lady' and deservedly because she deserved to produce the lord of all the world and the enduring light for this life."

*maris* was considered one of the prerogatives or merits of Mary, and Bede continues this tradition in a homily for the feast of the Annunciation, as mentioned above: "Nec praetereundem quod beata Dei genetrix meritis praecipuis etiam nominee testimonium reddit. Interpretatur enim stella maris" (1852a: 10).[8] Interestingly, Bede is the first, based on the evidence that I have found, to expound on the importance of this interpretation of Mary by bringing in further reference to the nautical metaphor: "Et ipsa quasi sidus eximium inter fluctus saeculi labentis gratia priuilegii specialis refulsit" (1852a: 10).[9]

The second major development in the *stella maris* metaphor is found in the ninth-century Latin hymn *Ave maris stella*, which survives on folio iv in the St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codices Sangallenses MS 95 and reads:[10]

> Aue maris stella d*ei* mater alma atq*ue*
>    semp*er* uirgo felix celi porta.
> Sumens illud aue gabrihelis ore funda nos
>    in pace mutans nom*en* eue.
> Solue uincla reis p*ro*fer lum*en* cecis mala
>    n*ost*ra pelle bona cuncta posce.
> Monstra te esse matre*m* sumat per te prece*m*
>    qui p*ro* nobis natus tulit esse tuus.
> Uirgo singularis inter om*ne*s mitis nos culpis
>    solutos mites fac et castos.
> Vitam presta puram iter para tutu*m*
>    ut uidentes *Jesus* semp*er* conletemur

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[8] "And we must not pass over the fact that the blessed mother of God gave testimony by her special merits and also by her name. She is interpreted as the 'star of the sea.'"

[9] "And she herself, just as an extraordinary constellation among the waves of the slipping world, shone brightly on account of her special esteem and privilege."

[10] The following text was transcribed from images of the original MS, available at www.e-codices.unifr.ch.

Sit laus *de*o patri summon *Christo* decus s*piritu*i s*ancto*
honor tribus unus. Amen.[11]

Notice that as the star of the sea, Mary must "profer lumen cecis" and grant "iter para tutum." That is, the "vitam [...] puram" for which the prayer asks is the safe journey through the transitory world back to paradise. Eventually making its way into the liturgy, *Ave maris stella* became "one of the most popular Marian songs of all Christendom" (Gambero 2005: 69). Hrabanus Maurus was penning his own works containing the *stella maris* around the same time as the hymn was composed, and the hymn and patristic etymologies inspired later Continental theologians, like Fulbert of Chartres and Bernard of Clairvaux.[12]

Instead of the more elaborate depictions of Mary as the sea-star that arise in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Maurus's commentary on Matthew is reminiscent of Bede's brief amplification. Here, Maurus discusses the genealogy of Jesus, the division of people into three tribes, and the betrothal of Mary (1852a: 744). He begins, as we have seen previously with Jerome and Isidore: "Maria quoque interpretatur Stella maris, sive amarum

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[11] The text above is my transcription with abbreviations expanded and italicized: "Hail the star of the sea, kind mother of God, and eternal virgin, happy gate to heaven. Receiving that Ave from the mouth of Gabriel, establish is us in peace, changing the name of Eve. Release the band of the bound, bring forth the light of heaven, banish our evil, call upon all good. Show yourself to be Mother, through you may he receive prayer, who was born for us, to be yours. O, unique virgin, meek among all, free us from our sins, make us meek and undefiled. Grant a pure life, a safe journey, so that seeing Jesus, may we always rejoice. Praise be to God the Father, to the highest Christ glory, to the Holy Spirit honor, three in one. Amen."

[12] Paschasius Radbertus, an author who was also widely read in early medieval England, used the *stella maris* epithet in his ninth-century writings as well, but Orm does not seem to have drawn from Radbertus for this content. For Radbertus's use of the *stella maris*, see his *Expositio in Euangelium Matthaei* (1852).

mare, et hoc nomen apte competit matri Salvatoris."[13] In Homily CLXIII, Maurus revisits the Virgin Mary as the *stella maris* and elaborates further on the reason for her title: the sea is "amarum" ("bitter")—thus implying that the sea represents earthly life and all its troubles—but Mary as the star "dulcis est nautis" ("is a pleasure for sailors") because: "mos est ut stella viros ad portum adducat; sic Maria in mundo ubi natus est Christus, qui omnes ad vitam ducit dum sequantur illum, illuminatrix et domina dicitur, quae venum lumen et Dominum nobis peperi" (1852b: 464).[14] Luigi Gambero explains that *illuminatrix* or *inluminatrix*, which he translates as "light-bringer," made the biggest impression on Christians in Maurus's time.

Influential though Maurus may have been, Fulbert of Chartres and Bernard of Clairvaux proved to have even greater significance for medieval Marian devotion. Fulbert of Chartres, who spent much of his time in Rome and Rheims, wrote sermons on the nativity and the purification of Mary that were especially important to the progression of Marian doctrine (Gambero 2005: 81). Margot Fassler writes that Fulbert's famous sermon *Approbate consuetudinis* on the nativity of Mary "is a striking break with many past Marian liturgical texts in the West and yet firmly rooted in the devotional mentality of the Peace Movement, which emphasized the mirculous [*sic*], intervening powers of the saints" (2000: 417).[15] Fulbert made his greatest contribution to the Marian cult as the bishop of Chartres, whose patron saint was the Virgin Mary and whose relic, her birthing chemise, was destroyed in

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[13] "Mary, also, is understood as the 'star of the sea,' or 'bitter sea,' and this name fittingly matches the mother of the Saviour."

[14] "It is the custom that a star leads men to a port; so Mary, in the world where Christ was born, who leads all towards life provided that they follow, is called 'illuminator' and 'lady,' who brought forth the true light and the Lord to us."

[15] For more information on the Peace Movement, see Head & Landes (1992) and Head (1999).

the fire of 1020 (2000: 403, 405). He participated in the growing *stella maris* tradition through his liturgical writings, and the fire of 1020 seemed to only heighten his need to empower both the saint and his cathedral. The Peace Movement encouraged the kind of liturgical expansion in the years preceding and following the turn of the millenium that the Marian apocrypha enjoyed in the eleventh century and especially the twelfth century (2000: 399).[16] According to Fassler, Fulbert specifically strove to eradicate doubts regarding apocryphal stories of Mary in order to integrate them into the liturgy, especially her nativity—the feast of which he sought to "magnify" (2000: 405).

In *Approbate consuetudinis*, which is the first manuscript evidence of the Nativity apocryphon (Biggs 2007: 25), Fulbert refers to the Annunciation scene in the Nativity in which an angel appears to Joachim and Anna to announce Mary's birth and what she will be named: "sed divina dispensatio nomen accepit, ita ut ipsa quoque vocabuli sui figura magnum quiddam innueret: interpretatur enim maris stella" (1852: 321–322).[17] The Old Testament prophecy in Isaiah 7:14—"propter hoc dabit Dominus ipse vobis signum ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitis nomen eius

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[16] Fassler explains that, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, "new pieces for the Mass and, to an even greater degree, for the Divine Office" were being created in large numbers.

[17] "But she received the name by divine direction, so that the form itself of her name signified sometime great: certainly it means the 'star of the sea.'" Notice the final phrase is the same as the one Bede uses in his homily, which indicates that Fulbert likely used Bede as one source for his own sermon on Mary. Fulbert was working from the *Libellus de nativitate Sanctae Mariae*, the source of which was the apocryphal *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, which I will discuss below, and it is significant because "the compiler of the *Libellus* sought to legitimatize the legends found in *Pseudo-Matthew* and to streamline the materials it contained, focusing it more intensely upon the Virgin" (Fassler 2000: 402). Thus, the compiler's goal mirrored Fulbert's own intentions.

Emmanuhel"[18]—lent itself to claims of prophetic fulfillment in the canonical Gospels, as well as in the New Testament apocrypha.[19] Biblical prophecies drawn from the Hebrew Scriptures were well known when the earliest of the Marian apocrypha were being written in the second century; hence the invention of the apocryphal proclamation of Mary's birth and name in her Nativity, which relates to the events of the Gospels, finds validation through prophetic precedent (Clayton 1998: 7).

Shortly after discussing the divine plan of Mary's name, Fulbert intensifies the meaning of her name by elaborating on the *iter para tutum* of the *Ave maris stella*:

> Nautis quippe mare transeuntibus, notare opus est stellam hanc, longe a summo coeli cardine coruscantem, et ex respectu illius aestimare atque dirigere cursum suum, ut portum destinatum apprehendere possint. Simili modo, fratres, oportet universos Christicolas, inter fluctus hujus saeculi remigantes, attendere maris stellam hanc, id est Mariam, quae supremo rerum cardini Deo proxima est, et respectu exempli ejus cursum vitae dirigere. (322)[20]

As noted above, Bede appears to be the first to elaborate on the metaphor by alluding to the "waves of the slipping world," and Fulbert, clearly familiar with Bede's work, expands on the theme

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[18] "Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Behold a virgin will conceive and bear a son and his name will be called Emmanuel."

[19] Fulbert includes most of Isaiah 7:14 verbatim in his *Approbate consuetudinis* though not all of it. He adapts the first part and then uses *ecce* [...] *Emmanuhel* verbatim.

[20] "For sailors, certainly, crossing the sea, it is necessary to distinguish this star, twinkling from afar at the highest point in the heavens, and to appraise and direct its course out of respect for that, so that they may be able to lay hold of the chosen port. In a similar way, brothers, it is proper for all worshippers of Christ, rowing among the waves of this world, to turn toward this star of the sea; it is Mary, who is nearest to God, the highest point in the universe, and to direct the course of their life through consideration of her example."

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in a similar fashion. For the first time, we see the beginning of the full potential of the meaning behind the *stella maris* metaphor. Theologians do not liken Mary to a shining celestial entity merely because she is perpetually pure, thus radiating a bright, blinding light, even if that may be how the idea began. Rather, most important to Fulbert and later theologians was the guidance and protection Mary provides by way of the perfect example. Christians must look to Mary's shining example of purity and faith in order to navigate the storms of earthly temptation; she alone can lead the faithful Christian to heaven's gates. Therefore, not only does Mary emerge as the "star of the sea" and the "gate of heaven," but she also becomes the mediator, or "mediatrix," between humans and God. In the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux takes this elaboration to a new level by rendering what has now become familiar Marian devotional material in striking and seemingly new ways.

Born in 1090 in Bourgogne, Bernard was admitted to the Cîteaux monastery, which was the nexus of the Cistercian order, in 1112, and the order went through a vast expansion throughout Europe primarily because of his involvement (Gambero 2005: 131). Bernard went on to found a monastery at Clairvaux, which he dedicated to Mary as was the custom of the Cistercian order, and he served as abbot for thirty-eight years until he died in 1153 (2005: 131). Although Bernard does not write extensively on Mary in his numerous works, his contribution to her devotional writing is found in the beauty with which he writes about her. Chrysogonus Waddell writes, "Bernard's genius was not that [of] an initiator or innovator, but of a witness to tradition," and even though Bernard was influenced by traditional works, he rendered them so beautifully that "it seemed as though his hearers and readers were discovering them for the first time" (Clairvaux 1993: vxiii). Homily II on the Gospel of Luke, which extols the virtues of Mary and elaborates on her role in human redemption, contains a beautiful elaboration of the *stella maris* in the last section, but Bernard takes his time getting there. As Waddell explains, we see how the traditions of

Marian etymology and biblical prophecy play into Bernard's praise of the Virgin as the *stella maris.*

Before he elaborates on the meaning of Mary's name as the star of the sea, in sixteen sections Bernard gives a creative summation of what had become central elements of Marian doctrine by this time, such as Mary's perpetual virginity, a reference to prophecy in Numbers 24:17—"orietur stella ex Iacob" ("A star will rise out of Jacob")—and Mary as guiding intermediary. Finally, in the seventeenth and final section of his homily, the abbot begins with a verse from Luke 1:27, "et nomen virginis Maria*"* ("And the virgin's name was Mary"), and then proceeds, first, with her perpetual purity relative to the nature of a star:

> Loquamur pauca et super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum *maris stella* dicitur, et matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparator; quia, sicut sine sui corruptione sidus suum emittit radium, sic absque sui laesione virgo parturit filium. (1852: 70)[21]

After the direct reference to the rising star prophecy, Bernard finally delves into the meaning and elaboration of the *stella maris* as a guide for the metaphorical seafarers of life:

> O quisquis te intelligis in hujus saeculi profluvio magis inter procellas et tempestates fluctuare, quam per terram ambulare; ne avertas oculos a fulgore hujus sideris, si non vis obrui procellis. Si insurgant venti tentationum, si incurras scopulos tribulationum, respice stellam, voca Mariam. (1852: 70)[22]

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[21] "Let us say a little about this name, which is said to mean the 'star of the sea,' and for the Virgin mother it is very appropriate. For she is most fittingly compared to a star; because, just as a star sends out its ray without its own corruption, thus without injuring her own virginity she brought forth her son."

[22] "O whoever you are who feel you are more likely to be tossed among storms and tempests in the flowing waters of this world, than to walk along the earth; do not avert your eyes from the brightness of this star, if you do not wish to be overwhelmed by the storms. If the winds of temptations rise up, if you run into the rocks of tribulations, look to the star, call Mary."

This passage begins Bernard's exhortation to the audience that they should look to Mary whenever they are in need, and the influence of Bede is clear when Bernard mentions the *saeculi profluvio*, which he then links to the temptation of the deadly sins.

### 3  MAKING ENGLISH LATINATE

Having discussed the Latin sources of the *stella maris* above, I turn now to the ways in which vernacular English writing in the twelfth century sought to introduce an appearance of Latinity to its reader-audience. In *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*, Emily Thornbury resists the institutionalized belief that Old English poetry suffered a "decay" from the tenth century onward. Instead, she argues that late Old English poetry may be considered, more usefully, a new form of Old English verse that actually represents "the apotheosis of Old English verse, not its downfall" (2014: 224). Dubbed the Southern mode because of its origin and surviving manuscripts being localized to the south of England—though some also extend to the West Midlands—this new form purposefully diverged from the classical Old English poetic style while heavily relying upon Latin sources to create new vernacular texts that "functioned not as commentaries or retellings, but as simulacra" (2014: 224). Not all texts in the Southern mode take their material directly from a Latin source; however, "the essential criterion is that a poem *sound* as if it *might* have a Latin original" (2014: 225). Furthermore, and most pertinent to my purposes, Thornbury argues that the true "power" of this form of composition was in its ability to transcend the boundaries of the religious institution to reach the laity:

> [...] by giving laypeople the chance to feel that they were directly experiencing Latin texts, the authors of such poems could also help build ties beyond cloister and cathedral walls. It is even possible that some authors in the Southern mode were themselves laypeople who wanted to participate in Latinate high culture: even a poet with "small Latin" or none

could create verse that sounded as if it had a Latin antecedent.
(2014: 235–236)

One example is the Old English *Judgment Day II*, which is a translation, more or less, of Bede's *De die iudicii*. As I will demonstrate below, Orm was working from Continental Latin sources to create a vernacular version of the *stella maris* for his lay audience. To this, I would also argue that the very meter in which Orm chooses to write—the fifteen-syllable septenary with seven feet and an unstressed final syllable—is also an attempt to present an English text in such a way as to elevate it through a meter based on a Latin model.

The first scholar to publicly recognize that the *Ormulum* was written in verse rather than prose, which is how George Hickes (1705: 88) and Humfrey Wanley (1705: 63) produced excerpts of it in their scholarship, was Thomas Tyrwhitt in 1775 (repr. 1845: 206–208).[23] Jakob Schipper (1895: 186–189) was the first to identify the type of meter used in both the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* as the septenary, and the debate of its exact categorization and origins has been ongoing.[24] Nevertheless, scholars have long recognized that Orm uses a fifteen-syllable line that consists of seven metrical feet and ends with an unstressed, and therefore fifteenth, syllable. His lines are unrhymed, unlike the contemporaneous *Poema Morale*, and he does not appear concerned with maintaining the native Old English tradition of alliteration, which the author of the

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[23] I would like to thank one of my reviewers who pointed out that Jan van Vliet (d. 1666) was really the first to identify the verse form of the *Ormulum* in his notebook (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 783), but his findings were never published. Thus, the first published recognition of Orm's use of verse is Tyrwhitt's essay.

[24] For a debate on the origins of the septenary in English, see Trautmann (1882: 111–130), Menthel (1885: 49–86), and Solopova (1996: 423–439). For an argument against the appropriation of the term "septenary" for English verse, see the entry for "Septenarius" in Preminger *et al.* (1993: 1145), which, unfortunately, offers no alternative.

contemporaneous poem "The Grave" attempts. Occassionally, Orm will utilize alliteration briefly for rhetorical and mnemonic effect, but it is not a key element of his verse.

While other Middle English (both early and late) poems contain unstable verse lines, Orm's use of the strict fifteen-syllable line regularly produces an iambic meter so that it would not be entirely inaccurate to refer to his verse as iambic heptameter:

Nu bró-|þerr wáll-|t*err*. bró-|þerr mín. | Affté*rr* | þe flǽ-|shess kínd-|e (D1)[25]

As this line demonstrates, Orm adds an unstressed syllable after the final stressed syllable in the seventh foot, which renders the final metrical foot incomplete. Furthermore, due to the clear structure of the verse line—four feet with a strong ending in the first half-line and three feet and extra syllable with a weak ending in the second half-line—on the one hand, one may argue for a traditional page layout with intented half-lines, as printed in Holt's edition:

> Nu, broþerr Wallterr, broþerr min
> Affterr þe flæshess kinde;
> ⁊ broþerr min i Crisstenndom
> Þurrh fulluhht ⁊ þurrh trowwþe; (D1–4)[26]

On the other hand, one may argue for a page layout with long lines and a visible caesura, as I do in my transcription of the same lines:

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[25] All excerpts from the *Ormulum* in this article come from my edited transcriptions, and all translations are my own. Line numbers follow the numbering in Holt's edition (D = Dedication; no letter is used to designate the Homily lines) since it is the only complete edition currently available. However, I have expanded all abbreviations and Tironian notae in italics, silently inserted superscript letters, and left out Orm's accents. "Now, Brother Walter, my brother according to the nature of the flesh."

[26] "Now, Brother Walter, my brother according to the nature of the flesh and my brother in Christendom through baptism and through belief."

Nu broþerr wallt*err.* broþerr min.  Aff*terr* þe flæshess ki*n*de.
*Annd* broþerr min i crisstenndom.  þurrh fulluhht. *annd* þurrh trowwþe.[27]

The only aid that the manuscript provides is punctuation between each half-line, which I have maintained in the transcription above although, as the first line above indicates, Orm also sometimes uses punctuation syntactically. The layout, therefore, appears to be subject to traditional editorial policies, or, rather, to personal aesthetic preferences.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editorial practice generally published the septenary verse of the *Ormulum* in alternating half-lines, which is the case with Tyrwhitt, Holt, and Henry Sweet (1884: 47–78). However, Edwin Guest published his second volume of *A History of English Rhythms* in 1838 with extracts of the *Ormulum* in long lines (208, 210–216). Like Guest, Joseph Hall published his excerpt in long lines wih a caesura in his *Selections from Early Middle English* (1920: 112–117). More recently, editors like J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers (1966) and Elaine Treharne (2009) have maintained the tradition of the half-line layout. In the history of publishing Early Middle English texts with the fifteen-syllable line, it appears that only *Poema Morale*, *The Passion of our Lord*, and *The Woman of Samaria* have been consistently printed in the long lines. This is likely based on lineation within the manuscripts even though one of the earliest manuscripts of *Poema Morale* is laid out like prose in the same way that Orm writes out his verse while another later *Poema Morale* manuscript lays out the poem in half-lines so that its rhyming couplets appear in every other line.[28] The layout of the *Ormulum*'s septenary verse, therefore, has fallen

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[27] The visible caesura that I use is a personal editorial choice, though unnecessary, since other Early Middle English poems are usually published in an unbroken long line, as I will demonstrate below.

[28] For the poem laid out as prose, see London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487, and for the poem laid out in alternating half lines, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 4.

to either tradition or personal preference, not metrical necessity. Elizabeth Solopova has effectively demonstrated that the format of an edition cannot be determined by meter since the structure of the *Ormulum* warrants an editorial layout in both the half-lines and the long lines (1996: 436).

As for the origin of Orm's septenary line, Schipper suggests that Orm was influenced by the Latin iambic catalectic tetrameter, also known as the septenarius, because of the extra syllable at the end of the verse in the *Ormulum* (1895: 186). The example he provides—"O crux, frutex salvificus, / vivo fonte rigatus"—comes from the *Planctus Bonaventurae* of the thirteenth century. Significantly, Schipper has written two tetrametric lines, which, alone, typically contain four metrical feet, to demonstrate how every second line is catalectic. That is, the line is incomplete and ends with only half a foot. When the two lines are combined into a long line, we suddenly find a verse form very similar to that found in the *Ormulum*: fifteen syllables, seven feet, and an additional unstressed syllable.

While Schipper's argument is appealing, Solopova maintains a direct correlation between this specific form of Latin meter and Orm's verse is not necessarily accurate. She reminds us that the fifteen-syllable catalectic tetrameter was not written in iambic meter at the time of Orm's composition (1996: 428). Rather, it was usually written as the trochaic tetrameter catalectic, and Orm's meter more closely resembles the "native tradition" found in *Poema Morale*, *The Woman of Samaria*, and *A Good Orison of Our Lady* (1996: 428). This tradition refers to the native four-beat verse, which may have contributed to the eight-syllable half-lines that emerge in the Early Middle English period. The native tradition, however, is not explicit in these poems for two reasons. First, the *Ormulum* predates these three poems but his meter is more regular, and, second, one cannot find one clear evolutionary track easily from Old English to Early Middle English verse. I argue, however, that the iambic septenary line must be a natural result of lengthening the Old English metrical line while also drawing influence from

Latin models. Trochaic or not, English poets certainly were familiar with the iambic septenary in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[29] In fact, a cursory search of the poetry collected in Richard Morris's editions reveals that the three pieces of verse listed above are not the only ones that use the fifteen-syllable line.

Morris's editions of Early Middle English literature, which he identifies as Old English, are crucial to the study of this body of work, and in some cases, his editions remain the only ones in existence, such as his editions of the Lambeth Homilies and Trinity Homilies—the manuscripts of which both contain a copy of *Poema Morale* from the end of the twelfth century.[30] In his *Old English Miscellany* (1872), there are at least four more potential texts that use the same meter: *The Passion of Our Lord*, *The Duty of Christians*, *The Eleven Pains of Hell*, and *An Orison of our Lady*. The last three poems have perhaps escaped notice because of their lineation into short rhyming verse. The stanzas of *The Duty of Christians* are arranged in octets with an *abababab* rhyme scheme:

> Þeo soþe luue a-mong vs beo.
> wyþ-vten euch endynge.
> And crist vs lete wel i-þeo.
> and yue vs his blessynge.
> And yeue vs þat we moten fleo.
> euer sunegynge.
> And þene feond and al his gleo.
> and al his twyelinge. (141, ll. 1–8)[31]

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[29] The iamb may be a natural evolution from Old English B-type verse—one of the most common forms—in which each half-line contains two occurrences of one or more unstressed syllables followed by a stressed syllable: x / x /. Unfortunately, there is no room in this article to elaborate further now.

[30] For the Lambeth Homilies (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487), see Morris (1867), and for the Trinity Homilies (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 52), see Morris (1873).

[31] "The true love among us is without each ending, and may Christ allow us to do well and give us his blessing, and grant us that we may flee from ever sinning and the fiend and all his mockery and all his deceit."

However, when we scan the lines, something peculiar stands out:

> Þeo só-|þe lú-|ue‿a-móng | vs béo.
> wy-þú-|ten éuch | endíng-|e.

It becomes clear that we have a replication of not only the fifteen-syllable line reproduced in alternating four-feet and three-feet hemistichs, but also the iambic meter. Therefore, instead of the octet, we may write the poem in quatrains of long lines with the first half-lines rhyming internally at the caesura and the second half-lines rhyming at the end of each line:

> Þeo soþe luue a-mong vs beo.      wyþ-vten euch endynge.
> And crist vs lete wel i-þeo.      and yue vs his blessynge.
> And yeue vs þat we moten fleo.      euer sunegynge.
> And þene feond and al his gleo.      and al his twyelinge.

Interestingly, even though Orm does not make much use of rhyme, he does occasionally utilize it in the same way that he sometimes uses alliteration to emphasize a particular piece of exegesis or didacticism.

The following couplet appears twice in what is typically referred to as the Dedication of the *Ormulum*:

> Wiþþ ære shollde lisstenn itt.      Wiþþ herrte shollde itt trowwenn.
> Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn itt.      Wiþþ dede shollde itt follȝhenn.
> (D133–136; D309–312)

In the first appearance of these lines, Orm is explaining why he wants all English people to have access to the Gospel: they should hear it, believe it, preach it, and follow it. He has based his masterpiece on doubling and repetition but also upon the idea of the number four: there are four Gospels and Gospel writers, and Orm likens the four books to the "quaþþrigan" (80) or *quadriga*, a four-wheeled chariot, of Amminadab, who is one of Christ's distant ancestors according to the Hebrew Scriptures and the Gospels of Luke and Matthew.[32] It follows, then, that Orm decided to reiterate these

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[32] For more on the *quadriga* in the *Ormulum*, see Johannesson (2007a).

lines after explaining the rationale behind his *quadriga* framework and metaphor because of its group of four hortatives.

Thus, the *Ormulum* anticipates a much more widespread use of the fifteen-syllable iambic line than scholars have previously thought, and with the English iambic septenary appearing in the *Ormulum* first and then remaining in use through the thirteenth century, it seems reasonable to claim that the lengthening of the Old English metrical line adapted well to the Latin meter. Orm's meter, however, is only one characteristic of the Latinity of his collection of homilies. The other major contribution to the seeming Latin nature of his work lies in the treatment of his source material to produce a vernacular English version of the *stella maris*.

## 4 Early English translations of the *stella maris*

Orm's use of the "sæsterrne" for Mary is only the second occurrence of the *stella maris* epithet in the English vernacular. The first occurrence exists in three manuscripts of the same text, the Old English translation of the apocryphal *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 114; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 367, Part II; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343. The source of the Old English text is the Latin *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, which is a reworking of the Latin *Proteuangelium Iacobi*. The *Proteuangelium* was the foundation for a great amount of the Marian apocrypha and eventually led to the series of Marian feasts (Clayton 1998: 8). Additionally, it supplies the first account of the birth and childhood of Mary, which made its way into the vernacular translation of the Latin *Pseudo-Matthew*. The Latin text that was likely the source of the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* is extant in Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 25 and can be placed in Bury St. Edmunds by 1154 (1998: 129). Although the manuscript dates to the eleventh century, the collection of texts must have been available no later than the tenth century in England because Old English homilies in the Vercelli Book, the *Old English Martyrology*, and other vernacular compilations draw on its contents (1998: 130).

The earliest evidence of any reference to Marian apocryphal material in Anglo-Saxon England is the Irish monk Adamnan's account of Arculf's visit to Mary's tomb in Jerusalem in *De locis sanctis*, written in Latin in the late seventh century (Clayton 1998: 101). The *Old English Martyrology* was composed in the mid ninth century, and *The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold* dates to the late tenth century, both of which make use of the apocryphal material (1998: 107–108). Unlike his teacher Æthelwold and many other contemporaries, Ælfric chose not to use apocryphal texts in his preaching, a choice which was likely based on his desire not to perpetuate the supposed heresy (Clayton 1990: 244). A note titled *De Maria* that was added to the end of the homily for the Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost in the second series of his *Catholic Homilies* reads:

> Hwæt wylle we secgan ymbe Marian gebyrd-tide, buton þæt heo wæs gestryned þurh fæder and ðurh moder swa swa oðre men, and wæs on ðam dæge acenned þe we cweðað sexta idus Septembris? Hire fæder hatte Ioachim, and hire moder Anna, eawfæste men on ðære ealdan æ; ac we nellað be ðam na swiðor awritan, þy-læs ðe we on ænigum gedwylde befeallon. (Godden 1979: 78)[33]

Ælfric was, however, anomalous in this period for his prolific writing and popularity as much as he was for his orthodoxy: his writings are the only extant forms of resistance to apocryphal texts (Clayton 1998: 111). Unfortunately, his admonitions do not seem to have had much effect on his reader-audience. As my discussion of Fulbert above demonstrates, the Marian nativity apocrypha found its way into liturgical texts, and the creation of two new feasts in

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[33] "What will we say about the birthday of Mary except that she was begotten by father and by mother just as other people, and was born on the day that we call the eighth of September? Her father was called Joachim, and her mother Anna, pious people in the old law, but we will not write more about them, lest we fall into any error."

England, which was the first in the West to celebrate such feasts, provides further evidence for this liturgical addition (1998: 114).[34]

The earliest manuscript of the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew*, which does not translate the Latin text in full because the Latin only partially survived into the eleventh century, dates to the end of the eleventh century (MS Hatton 114), and it translates the surviving chapters I through XII and adds a prologue and epilogue. The narrative contains the Nativity of Mary because it is a homily for the feast of her birth and childhood, but the contents extend past the parameters for her feast as the homily continues into the Annunciation and her pregnancy. Clayton takes the continuation of the homily into the Annunciation as evidence that the composition of the homily was not necessarily based on the demands of the feast (1998: 136–137). Furthermore, the addition of a prologue with a discussion of Mary as the "sæsteorra," which does not exist in the Latin text, and the continued narration of her life past the Annunciation may suggest that the scribe was more focused on the devotion to the Virgin than the particular theme of the feast. The "sæsteorra" passage reads:

> Sæsteorra heo is ʒecweden, forðan þe se steorra on niht ʒecyþeð scypliðendum mannum, hwyder bið east and west, hwyder suð and norð. Swa þonne wearð þurh ða halʒan fæmnan Sancta Marian ʒecyþed se rihte siðfæt to ðam ecan life þam ðe lanʒe ær sæton on þeostrum and on deaþes scuan and on þam unstillum yðum þære sæ þises middaneardes. (Assman 1889: 117–118)[35]

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[34] Clayton explains that Winchester began the feast of the conception of Mary around 1030, masses for which are found in the New Minster Missal, Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330 (mid-eleventh century) and in the Leofric Missal, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579 (*c.* 1066).

[35] "She is called star of the sea because the star of the sea at night makes known to seafaring men where are east and west, south and north. In the same way, was through the holy virgin, Saint Mary made known the right path to eternal life to those who long before sat in darkness and in the shadow of death and upon the restless waves of the sea of this middle-earth."

The tradition of commenting on Mary's name, especially its significance as the *stella maris*, originates with the early Latin commentators, as I have shown, and while several Continental writers contribute to the overall corpus, the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* author is closer to the Insular Latin writings of Bede.

Bede's homily for the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary refers to the temporal world as "fluctus saeculi labentis" ("waves of the slipping world"), and the Old English prologue mentions "þam unstillum yðum sæ þises middaneardes" (1852a: 10). The idea that the North Star represents Mary is perhaps even more strongly evoked in the Old English prologue with the "scypliðendum mannum" seeking the star at night and the reference to the cardinal directions: "hwyder bið east and west, hwyder suð and norð." Although the North Star is implied in the "sæsterrne" passage of the *Ormulum*, the reference is less obvious than the prologue of the *Pseudo-Matthew*—not to mention Orm neglects to refer to waves entirely—which suggests that Orm's homily derives from the Continental Latin texts rather than Bede and other Insular Latin texts.

What is most significant about the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* is the fact that two of the three manuscripts date to the middle and second half of the twelfth century, like the *Ormulum*. Because few people read the *Ormulum* beyond its introductory material (i.e., the Dedication, Preface, and Introduction in Holt's edition), scholars have overlooked Orm's participation in Marian devotion through his vernacular use of the *stella maris* epithet.[36] J. A. W. Bennett mentions Orm's use of the Norse form "sæsteorrne" in reference to Mary only as an example of his "wholly native" language, and he uses this example to emphasize the mixture of English and Scandinavian

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[36] See, for example, Rubin (2009); Clayton (1998); and especially Clayton (1990: 249–252).

languages that arose from the Danelaw (1990: 33). Except for Bennett's minor comment, no other discussion of Orm's use of the "sæsterrne" exists presently.

The epithet arises when Orm relates the Annunciation in Homily 3. In this homily on Luke 1:26, the beginning of which is lacking due to two missing folios,[37] Orm adds an etymological passage about the Virgin's name:

*Annd* ure dere laffdiʒ wass;    þurrh drihhtin nemmnedd Marʒe.
Forr þatt tatt name shollde wel;    bitacnenn hire sellþe.
Forr hire name tacneþþ uss;    sæsterrne onn ennglissh spæche.
*Annd* ʒho beþ æfre. *annd* wass. *annd* iss;    sæsterne[38] inn haliʒ bisne.
Forr all swa su*mm* þe steressmann.    aʒʒ lokeþþ till ane sterrne.
þatt stannt aʒʒ stille uppo þe lifft.    *annd* swiþe brihhte shineþþ.
Forr þatt he wile follʒhenn aʒʒ.    þatt illke sterrness lade.
Swa þatt he muʒhe lendenn rihht.    to lande wiþþ hiss wille;
All swa birrþ all *cri*sstene follc.    till sannte Marʒe lokenn.
Þatt stannt wiþþ hire sune i stall.    þær heʒhesst iss inn heffne.
*Annd* iwhillc an crisstene mann.    ðatt ʒerneþþ aff*terr* blisse;
Birrþ stanndenn inn affterr hiss mihht.    to follʒhenn hire bisne.
Swa þatt he muʒhe lendenn rihht.    aff*terr* hiss aʒhen wille.
Vpp inntill hefennriches ærd;    to brukenn eche blisse.
                                        (2,131–2,146)[39]

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[37] In the Holt edition, the missing bifolium is identified by the columns (45–52), but it would have been located between folios 22 and 23 at the break between the two quires.

[38] Orm forgot to add a superscript ⟨r⟩ here.

[39] "And our dear lady was called Mary by the Lord because that name should well signify her blessing, for her name signifies for us the sea-star in the English language, and she ever will be, and was, and is the sea-star in holy example. Just as the steersman always looks to a star, which always stands still up in the sky and shines so brightly, because he wishes to follow always that same star's way, so that he is able to proceed correctly to land by his will. So it behooves all Christian folk to look to Saint Mary, who stands with her son in place where it is highest in heaven."

In this passage, Orm is introducing his audience to Mary for the first time, which prompts him to elaborate on the meaning of her name based on the tradition of the etymologies by Jerome and Isidore. Significantly, her name was not chosen arbitrarily, but rather, the "Drihhtin" called her thus because her name should "bitacnenn" the dual blessing she embodies. First, she is blessed: she is chosen by God to be the vessel for the Son of God because of her mental and physical purity and religious devotion. Second, she creates a blessing: by giving birth to Jesus, she literally produces the possibility of redemption and salvation for humanity. Thus, she is the "sæsterrne inn haliʒ bisne" through her purity and steadfast faith in God, and, as the "sæsterrne," she serves as a spiritual guide for those who are still earth-bound and in danger of losing eternal salvation. Orm explains that, just as a steersman follows a star to find his bearings at sea, so too "all *cris*stene follc" should look to Mary to find their way across the perilous sea of life. In Old and Early Middle English homiletic literature, Christ is often referred to as the brightest of all stars, eternally shining because he is truth and salvation, and Orm ties the new vernacular tradition of Mary as the star of the sea to this older authoritative tradition of Christ as a star. But Mary does not simply reside in heaven: she "stannt wiþþ hire sune i stall. þær heʒhesst iss inn heffne." Similar to her depiction as *regina*, Orm depicts Mary as equal in status and nobility to Jesus because of her role in human salvation.

The notion of Mary as the queen of heaven is not new to the twelfth century, but the way that vernacular English literature depicts her as royalty seems to change. For instance, Orm regards her as the "allre shaffte cwen" (2,159, "queen of all creation"). The Anglo-Saxon *Dream of the Rood* contains an early poetic example in vernacular English literature that contains slightly different praise for Mary:

> Hwæt, me þa geweorðode     wuldres ealdor
> ofer holmwudu,     heofonrices weard!
> Swylce swa he his modor eac,     Marian sylfe,
> ælmihtig god     for ealle menn

> geweorðode    ofer eall wifa cynn.
> (Krapp 1932: ll. 90–94)[40]

Furthermore, in *De assumptione beatae Mariae* in the first series of the *Catholic Homilies,* Ælfric refers to Mary as the "ealles middangeardes cwene" (Clemoes 1997: 430, "queen of all of middle-earth"). There appears, then, to be an evolving trend to expand Mary's worth in the English vernacular. First, *The Dream of the Rood* poet makes her the worthiest of all women, and then Ælfric raises her to the status of "queen of all of the world," which is the realm that resides between heaven and hell (i.e., *this* world). Finally, Orm considers her the queen of *all* creation, which transcends all the spheres of existence, just as "weop eal gesceaft" (55, "all creation wept") for the death of Jesus on the Cross in *The Dream of the Rood.* The shift from the earlier valuation of Mary ranking above all "wifa cynn" to a monarch ruling over all "middangeard" to, ultimately, ruler over all "shaffte" is significant because it parallels the entry of the *stella maris* epithet into the English vernacular.

One of the other key differences between the use of the Marian epithet in the Old English prologue to the *Pseudo-Matthew* and in the *Ormulum* is the fact that the former precedes Marian apocrypha on Mary's nativity and childhood while the latter occurs in narration of a canonical Gospel teaching. Orm resolutely avoids apocryphal material in his homilies, like his predecessor Ælfric, so his "sæsterrne" appears where one would expect to find it in the Gospels: in the Annunciation scene when we first encounter Mary. As the several etymologies for names in the *Ormulum* indicate, whenever a new name arose in discussion, Orm provided an explanation for it. Therefore, following an orthodoxy similar to Ælfric's and his own Augustinian inclinations towards etymological exposition, Orm's only concession to popular taste was to include

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[40] "Lo, then the lord of glory honored me above the trees on the hill, protector of the kingdom of heaven! Just as he, Almightly God, also honored his mother, Mary herself, over all womankind for all people."

a brief note on the *stella maris* epithet for Mary in his homily on the Annunciation.[41] The side effect, however, was that Orm was bringing Marian material, which had entered the Latin liturgy prior to the twelfth century, to the English laity for the first time.

## 5 Conclusions

The sources that Orm used in the creation of his impressive collection are constantly under scholarly debate and include the *Glossa ordinaria*; the pseudo-Anselm *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*; the homilies and commentaries of Bede and Hrabanus Maurus; the homilies of Wulfstan and Ælfric; Fulbert of Chartres's homily on Mary's nativity; and other recently developed material from the early twelfth century, such as the work of Bernard of Clairvaux. His use of "brihhte shineþþ" is reminiscent of Bede's and subsequent writers' use of "refulsit," just as his statement that the lost sailor can "lendenn rihht to lande" by following "þatt illke sterrnes lade" seems to echo the hymn's "iter para tutum" and Maurus's "stellam viros ad portum adducat." Moreover, Bernard's refrain of "respice stellam, voca Mariam" is echoed in Orm's "birrþ all Crisstene follc till Sannte Marȝe lokenn." Fulbert's treatment of the *stella maris*, though, seems to resonate the most in the *Ormulum*'s passage. Orm's final line of the "sæsterrne" passage reads: "Þatt stannt wiþþ hire sune i stall. þær heȝhesst iss inn heffne." Fulbert refers to the "summo coeli cardine" and then explicitly writes: "id est Mariam, quae supremo rerum cardini Deo proxima est." Finally, Fulbert is the only writer to refer to the Virgin Mary as an "example" by using "exempli" in his *stella maris* passage, and Orm specifically uses the word "bisne" to point to Mary as a perpetual holy example embodied by the figure of the sea-star.

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[41] Bede refers to Mary as the *stella maris* in his homily for the feast of the Annunciation, as mentioned above. Thus, if Orm took anything from Bede regarding his "sæsterrne," it may be the context in which he used the epithet.

Based on the evidence, it would appear that Orm valued Fulbert's writings above others, even his English predecessors. As I have shown, Morrison's assertions are credible, especially when considered alongside Orm's Marian devotion and the similarities between his *stella maris* section and those of writers in or near France. What is most significant is the change of context for the material in the *Ormulum*, which may anticipate the expanded use and wider application of this particular Marian imagery later. For Orm, the meaning of Mary's name as the "sæsterrne" is crucial to the narration and explication of the Annunciation. As my survey of Latin sources indicates, Orm elaborates on the epithet in a way similar to the texts of major Continental Latin writers, and his use of the *stella maris* motif seems unrelated to the one found in the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew*. The "unstillum yðum" in the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* is evocative of Bede's *fluctus saeculi labentis*, and this implies that the composer of the Old English prologue to the *Pseudo-Matthew* relied on Insular Latin sources to a greater extent than Orm did. These two earliest vernacular English versions of the *stella maris* epithet, then, are unconnected; however, the fact that two of the three manuscripts of the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* date from the twelfth century, like the *Ormulum*, indicates the growing popularity of the *stella maris* metaphor in English in this period.

It is not necessary to prove with historical evidence the connections that may have existed between Bourne and Normandy, between Orm and the Cistercian order's practice of strong devotion to Mary, and between Orm and the early Latin tradition of etymologies although such proof would be welcome. Orm's treatment of his material alone provides enough evidence of a connection to the Continent. Although the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* is written in the vernacular as well, the composer of the prologue to the Marian apocryphon upheld the native style of Old English prose and relied on Insular source material. Orm was shaped by his Anglo-Norman environment and by his desire to

bring Latin high culture, which he had the privilege to access, to the English laity for whom he wrote his homilies. As a result, the relation of the Virgin Mary as the "sæsterrne" in the *Ormulum* appears less native to England and more comfortable in the Latin works of the Continent, both in substance and in poetic form.

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