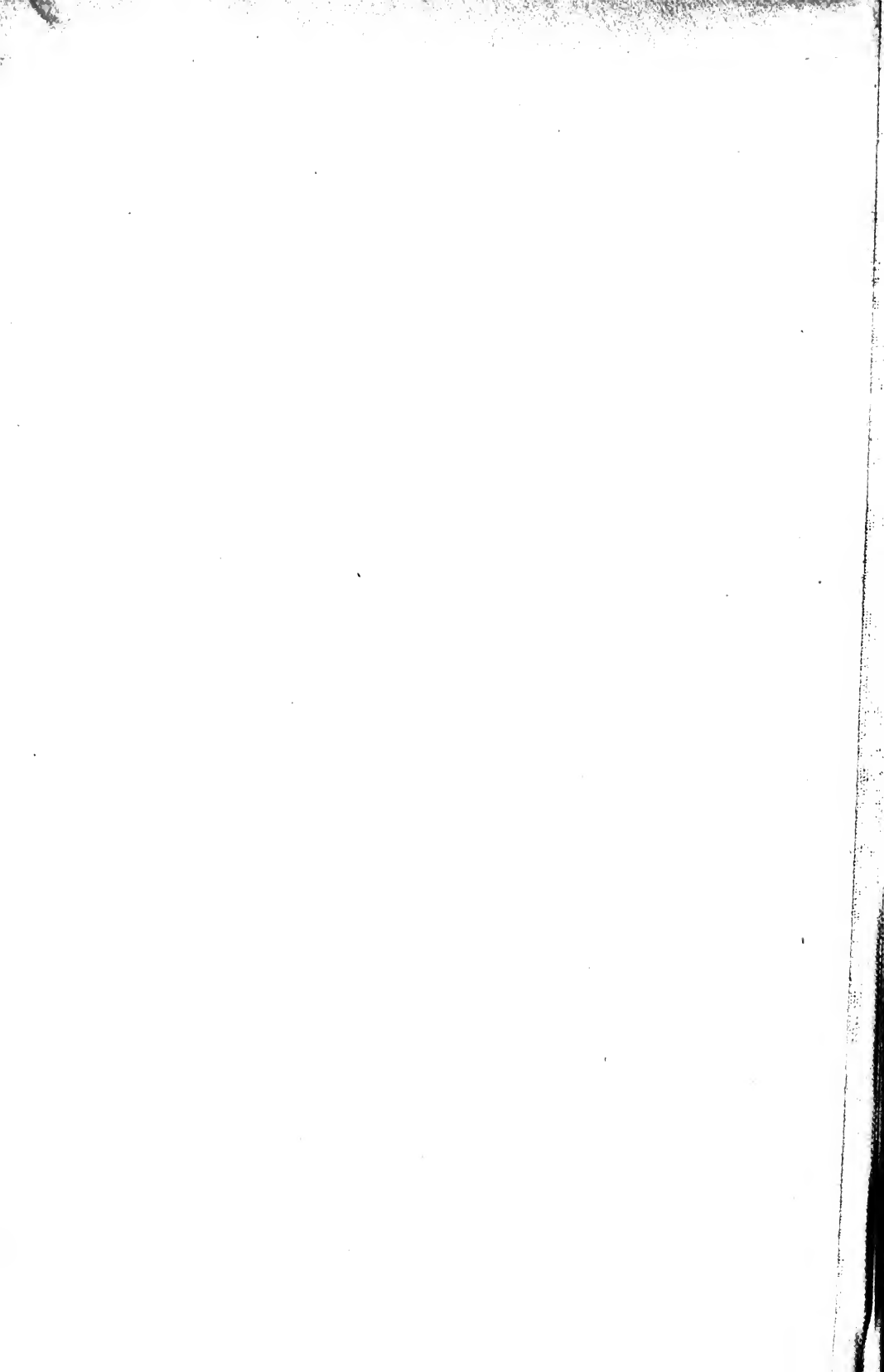


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BULLETIN

OF

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

MANCHESTER

EDITED BY
THE LIBRARIAN

VOLUME 6
JANUARY, 1921—JANUARY, 1922

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BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN

VOL. 6

JANUARY, 1921

Nos. 1-2

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS

THE present issue of the BULLETIN marks an epoch in the history of the John Rylands Library, seeing that it was on the 1st of January, 1900, that its doors were first opened to readers. It is true, as we have pointed out on another page, that the formal dedication ceremony took place on the preceding 6th of October, but the admission of readers had to be postponed until the beginning of the following year for administrative reasons. Consequently the actual opening synchronised with the dawn of the twentieth century.

THE LIB-
RARY'S
COMING-
OF-AGE.

In order to mark the attainment of our official majority, we have ventured to review, as briefly as possible, the history and work of the library during the twenty-one years which have elapsed since it entered upon its career.

We are often questioned as to the form and principles of construction of the new general catalogue of printed books, which is at present in course of preparation, and, in order to satisfy such inquiries, and at the same time give readers some insight into the process of cataloguing, we have ventured to include some notes "on the preparation and use of the catalogue" in the hope that it may facilitate its consultation by students.

USE OF
THE CATA-
LOGUE.

We have also had prepared by one of the assistant-keepers of manuscripts a brief hand-list of the Latin manuscripts which have been added to the library since the year 1908, with the object of revealing to students the importance of the additions which are constantly being made to our collections.

NEWLY AC-
QUIRED
LATIN
MANU-
SCRIPTS.

We have merely dealt with the Latin codices, leaving out of consideration the two thousand charters which have been acquired during the same period, many of which date back to the twelfth century. A

hand-list of these interesting documents is in active preparation, and will be printed as soon as practicable, but in the meantime any student interested in the study of such material may readily have access to the catalogue as far as it is completed.

In 1916 we recorded the acquisition of a collection of forty manuscripts of undetermined antiquity in the language of the Mo-so people, through the instrumentality of Mr. George Forrest, who had obtained them in the remote and little-known country of their origin. Early in 1917 Mr. Forrest again set out for the Far East, penetrating far into Thibet, and again passing through the Mo-so country, whence he returned a few months since, after an absence of nearly four years, bringing with him a further collection of these curiously shaped documents, numbering upwards of sixty pieces, which we have been able to add to the group already in the library.

MANU-
SCRIPTS IN
THE MO-SO
LAN-
GUAGE.

The manuscripts are mostly oblong in shape, measuring about three inches in height by ten inches in width, and are written in picture characters, on a thick oriental paper of uneven texture, apparently brown with age.

The Mo-so are a non-Chinese race scattered throughout Southern China, but their stronghold, and the seat of their traditions, is the prefecture of Li-Kiang-fu, called in Thibetan "Sa-dam," and in Mo-so "Ye-gu," which is in the north-west of Yun-nan.

Travellers from the days of Marco Polo have made reference to this people, but until recent years no attempt has been made to deal with their history and language, probably because few scholars had penetrated to the remote region of their habitat. The first scientific monograph upon the subject was read before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1908, by M. Cordier. In 1913 another scholar, M. J. Bacot, after a residence of several months in the Mo-so country, published an interesting study of the ethnography, religion, language, and writing of the people in which he was assisted by M. E. Chavannes, who was responsible for a translation and study of the texts, dealing with the genealogy of the King of Mo-so, who traces his descent to a line of kings that go back as far as the year 618.

The Mo-so language differs from the written language, which consists of pictographic, ideographic, and syllabic characters.

Many of the ideographic characters, M. Bacot tells us, are very

obscure. It is for that reason we attach considerable importance to an excellent key to one of the manuscripts, which Mr. Forrest was fortunately able to obtain through the services of a Chinese scholar, who was familiar with the people and their language, and also to another key in the shape of a Thibetan translation which is written over each pictograph or ideograph on a number of the leaves in one of the manuscripts belonging to the latest group.

The text of the translated manuscript is of a religious character, opening with a version of the creation story, and as far as we are able at present to judge, most of the others are of a similar type.

The religious practices of this people seem to follow the cults of the particular regions where they are settled, and include natural religion, Lamaism, magic, and ancestral worship. The practice of so many cults, differing so greatly in character, seems to indicate a certain indifference to religion, which may account for the failure of the Christian missionaries, who, for sixty years or more, apparently have been active among this people, but hitherto without making a single convert.

The religion proper of the Mo-so people is the Cult of Heaven, which embraces a Supreme Being endowed with infinite attributes, providence, and justice. They have their holy city at Bedjre, a shrine to which every priest or sorcerer is expected to make at least one pilgrimage during his lifetime. Their temples, if they may be so described, are enclosed spaces, or clearings in the forest, of which the only roof is the canopy of heaven. These enclosures are entered once a year, when sacrifices are offered upon the stone altar which is erected in the centre.

In due course we hope to find some student who will undertake the preparation of these texts for publication, and it is not unlikely that they will furnish new evidence as to the religious rites and ceremonies to which we have incidentally referred.

An interesting and important addition has been made to the library's collection of early wood-engravings under quite accidental circumstances. In the binding of a manuscript volume of legal forms, which at one time belonged to a Preston solicitor, it was found that the binder had used a number of playing cards to reinforce the covers. These have been carefully removed and mounted. There are in all seventy-one cards, forming

EARLY
PLAYING
CARDS.

parts of at least two packs, some of which have been much cut away, but on several of the picture cards, which have been coloured by hand, the names of the printers survive, and enable us to fix the date of one of the packs as having been printed by G. Hervieu at Rouen, in or about 1572, whilst the other was printed by Jean Gaultier at Paris, in or about 1576. They must, therefore, have been imported into this country in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

In the binding of another manuscript acquired as long ago as 1911, which was formerly in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and is numbered in his catalogue "6968," there have been found twenty-four leaves of manuscript on paper, which had been pasted together to form the reinforcement of the boards of the binding. These have been carefully separated and mounted, and prove to be the remains of the accounts of the French Royal Artillery at the time of Louis XI, and of the pocket-book of the "Garde Général de l'Artillerie," whose office corresponded to that of our Q.M.G. of Artillery. These documents throw a new light on the organisation of the French artillery after the reform ascribed to Gaspard Bureau, and fill quite an important gap in the history of the French Army.

FRENCH
ARTILLERY
ACCOUNTS.

The additions to the library during the year 1920, by purchase and by gift, number 11,762 volumes, of which 4162 were acquired by purchase, and 7600 by gift or by bequest.

THE
YEAR'S
ACCES-
SIONS.

One bequest calls for special mention, that which was received under the will of the late Dr. Lloyd Roberts, consisting as it does of upwards of 6000 volumes, many of which are of extreme interest and importance, notably several hundreds of specimens of the work of the great binders of the fifteenth and later centuries, illustrating the history of binding in a remarkable manner. At the same time many of these volumes are of interest as having come from the libraries of such famous collectors as : Grolier, Maioli, Canevari, De Thou, Marguerite de Valois, Marie de Medicis, Henri II, Diane de Poitiers, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, several of the English Kings and Queens, and others too numerous to mention in a short paragraph like the present. We shall deal with this bequest in greater detail in our next issue.

In connection with the commemoration of the six hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante, which occurred at Ravenna on the 14th

of September, 1321, it is intended to arrange an exhibition in the main library, with the object of directing attention to the wealth of material available here for the study of Italy's great poet, which comprises five manuscripts and upwards of 6000 printed volumes and pamphlets.

600th AN-
NIVER-
SARY OF
DANTE'S
DEATH.

Of the five manuscripts the three most important are a copy of the "Canzoni" written in the latter part of the fourteenth century for Lorenzo degli Strozzi, which is ornamented with large initial letters and illuminated borders, containing portraits of Dante and of his innamorata; a copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the date 1416, containing a number of variants from the common text, made by B. Landi de Landis, of Prato, of whom nothing is known; and a sixteenth-century copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the "Credo" and other poems at the end, which at one time was in the possession of Cavaliere S. Kirkup.

Of the printed editions there are the three earliest folios of the "Divina Commedia," printed in the same year (1472) at Foligno, Mantua, and Jesi respectively. The only serious gap in the collection is the fourth folio, undated, but which issued from the press of Francesco del Tuppo at Naples between the years 1473 and 1475. Of this edition not more than three or four copies are known to have survived. With this exception, the entire range of the early and principal critical editions of the text of Dante's great poem is represented.

Of the first illustrated edition of the "Divina Commedia," which has also the distinction of being the only one printed in Florence during the fifteenth century, one of the two copies in the library is believed to be the only one containing twenty of the engravings, said to have been executed by Baccio Baldini.

This exhibition will be on view from Wednesday the 20th of April, when there is to be a meeting of the Manchester Dante Society in the library.

The reports that are current as to the discovery of a fragment of the Greek text of the "Apology of Aristides" among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri have set Dr. Rendel Harris examining the text as it was published by himself and Dr. Armitage Robinson thirty years since. Dr. Harris is especially interested to find out whether the lapse of time has invalidated his theory

THE
APOLOGY
OF ARIS-
TIDES.

that this famous apology was the book to which Celsus the Epicurean replied in the second century, a point on which Dr. Armitage Robinson was, to say the least, sceptical. The result of the re-examination appears to leave no doubt as to the correctness of Dr. Harris's original argument, and the prospect opens out before us some further discoveries in the region of second century apologetics. Dr. Harris's article on "Aristides and Celsus," printed elsewhere in the present issue, will be warmly welcomed by scholars.

The following arrangements for the delivery of public lectures were made at the commencement of the session :—

PUBLIC
LECTURES.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 19th October, 1920. "Some Approaches to Religion through Literature in the Nineteenth Century." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Tuesday, 11th January, 1921. "Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' and its Traditional Misinterpretation." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

"Two Biblical and Devotional Lectures for Ministers and Others." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Tuesday, 1st February, 1921. "A Lesson in Ornithology."

Tuesday, 1st March, 1921. "The Gospel of God = the Novel of God."

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 10th November, 1920. "The Philosophy of Vergil." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th December, 1920. "The Place of Saint Thomas of Canterbury in History." By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th January, 1921. "Euripides' 'Alcestis': an Interpretative Recital." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Wednesday, 9th February, 1921. "The Messianic Conscious-

ness of Jesus : 2. The Son of Man." By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th March, 1921. "Giambattista Vico : an Eighteenth Century Pioneer." By C. E. Vaughan, M.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of English Literature in the University of Leeds.

Unfortunately, Dr. Richard G. Moulton, whose visits are always looked forward to with so much pleasure, has had a serious breakdown in health, and has been compelled to cancel all his engagements.

We are glad to hear that he is making progress towards recovery, and we shall look forward to the pleasure of again welcoming him to the library next year.

In place of Dr. Moulton, Dr. Rendel Harris kindly undertook to lecture, on the Tuesday afternoon, on "The Biblical Targum and the Odes of Solomon"; and Professor Tout rendered a similar service, on the Wednesday evening, by lecturing upon "France and England in the Fourteenth Century and Now".

Since the publication of the last report of progress in connection with the Louvain Library scheme, which appeared in July last, we have been able to dispatch a further consignment of books, consisting of 5212 volumes, which carries the total number of volumes actually transferred to Louvain to the substantial figure of 35,639.

LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
RECON-
STRUC-
TION.

Evidence of the continued interest which is being evinced in this project is to be found in the following list of contributors who, during the last six months, have forwarded to us donations to the extent of nearly 7000 volumes. We take this opportunity of again formally thanking them for their generous and welcome co-operation.

(The figures in Brackets represent the number of Volumes.)

Mrs. ANDREWS, Colwyn Bay.	(338)
ANONYMOUS.	(127)
ANONYMOUS, Buxton.	(12)
E. AXON, Esq., Manchester.	(6)
The Rev. G. H. BALL, Torquay.	(15)
The Rev. C. R. BINGHAM, Boroughbridge.	(22)
H. B. BINGHAM, Esq., London.	(10)
The BRADFORD LIBRARY AND LITERARY SOCIETY, Bradford. (E. DANIEL, Esq., Librarian.)	(491)

- The BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE, London. (S. GASELEE, Esq., M.A., Librarian.) (Second instalment.) (1521)
- C. R. A. BYRDE, Esq., Halifax. (5)
- CLARK UNIVERSITY, Worcester, Mass. (Dr. L. N. WILSON, Librarian.) (30)
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Mrs. SKEAT, South Croydon.	(5)
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The Right Hon. J. PARKER SMITH, P.C., Edinburgh.	(48)
The FATHERS OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. (Per the Rev. J. H. Wright, S.J.)	(144)
The Ven. Archdeacon SPOONER, Canterbury.	(18)
The Misses THOMAS, Llandudno.	(6)
The UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, Canada. (H. H. Langton, Esq., M.A., Librarian.)	(1229)
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The work of reproduction was carried out in the Printing Department of the College of Technology, by the courtesy of the governing body, under the direction of Mr. R. B. Fishenden, the head of the department, to demonstrate the development of a new process of photo-lithographic off-set printing.

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.
A RECORD OF TWENTY-ONE YEARS' WORK.

1900 JANUARY 1921.

BY THE LIBRARIAN.

THE 1st of January, 1921, marks an epoch in the history of the John Rylands Library, seeing that the twenty-first anniversary of the opening of its doors to readers, an event which synchronised with the advent of the twentieth century, is commemorated on that day.

It is true that the dedication ceremony had taken place some three months earlier, namely, on the 6th of October, 1899, but the interval of three months between the handing over of the building by the contractor in the preceding July and the formal inauguration, was found to be too short to allow of the completion of the necessary arrangements preliminary to the admission of readers, so that the actual opening of the library doors was postponed until the 1st of January following.

The initial stock of books with which the library commenced its career consisted of nearly 70,000 volumes. These were transferred from Longford Hall, the residence of Mrs. Rylands, where they had been gradually accumulating, to the new building in the month of July, and had to be checked, classified and arranged upon the shelves, before they could be regarded as available to the prospective readers, in whose interests they had been brought together; for until such a collection has been properly classified and catalogued it is little better than a "mob of books," and the title "library" cannot be fittingly applied to it. Therefore the interval between the inauguration and the actual opening of the library was devoted to the completion of these arrangements, and to the organisation of the administrative machinery, with a view to the provision of an efficient service together with the adequate safeguards which are essential to such an institution.

As we look back over those twenty-one years, we cannot help feeling that this anniversary is an occasion which unites the past, the present, and the future in happy association. It awakens feelings of intense gratitude for a great bestowal, followed by a great bequest, which make the horizon of the future bright with hope, since, in accordance with the wish and intention of the founder, these benefactions are being devoted to the encouragement of scholarship and original investigation. It may truly be said that in aiding those who are conducting research all other causes are, at the same time, effectively advanced.

For that reason we venture briefly to review the history of the library from the date of its inception, in the hope that others, richly dowered as was the founder of this institution, who have not yet given thought as to the disposition of their wealth, may be induced to follow the example of Mrs. Rylands and dedicate their remaining years to some such worthy object, and by so doing invest their lives with a new and larger interest.

The library, whose coming of age we commemorate in these pages, owes its existence to the enlightened munificence of the late Enriqueta Augustina Rylands, the widow of John Rylands, by whom it was erected, equipped, and liberally endowed as a memorial to her late husband, whose name it perpetuates.

There is little glamour of romance about the life of the man to whose memory this library is dedicated. It was a life of hard work, frugality, and persistent endeavour, which enabled him to climb, step by step, to the almost unparalleled position which he ultimately attained in the Manchester trade.

Born at St. Helens on the 7th of February, 1801, and educated at the Grammar School of his native town, John Rylands early displayed an aptitude for trade. After carrying on a small weaving concern of his own, he entered into partnership, when barely eighteen years of age, with his two elder brothers, Joseph and Richard. Their father joined them in 1819, when the firm of Rylands & Sons was established, with its seat of operations at Wigan. John, the youngest partner, occupied himself in travelling for orders until 1823, when he opened a warehouse for the firm in Manchester, on the site of the present range of warehouses in New High Street. Business increased rapidly, and in 1825 the firm became merchants as well as manufacturers.

Joseph and Richard retired from the business about 1839, and upon the death of their father, in July, 1847, John became sole proprietor of the undertaking.

John Rylands was endowed with that abounding energy coupled with sagacity and financial ability which enabled him to turn to good account many an enterprise that other men had been unable to develop and which they had regarded as worthless. By men of affairs, with whom he did business, he was looked upon as very astute and far seeing. He took up one enterprise after another and made of each an upward step in his career, which was one of uninterrupted prosperity. In all his undertakings he was a tremendous worker. Not only was he a great organiser and administrator, he was also a remarkable judge of men, and by surrounding himself with men of character and ability who were able to assist him in his numerous enterprises, he built up the immense business concern with which his name is still associated.

John Rylands was of a peculiarly retiring and sensitive disposition, and always shrank from public office of any kind, although he was not by any means indifferent to public interests. When the Manchester Ship Canal was mooted and there seemed doubt as to the ways and means for the enterprise, he took up £50,000 worth of shares, increasing his contribution when the project appeared again to be in danger. His charities were numerous but unobtrusive. Among other benefactions he established and maintained orphanages, homes for aged gentlewomen, a home of rest for ministers of slender means, and he provided a town-hall, baths, library, and a coffee-house in Stretford, the village, near Manchester, in which he resided for so many years. His benefactions to the poor of Rome were so liberal as to induce the King of Italy to decorate him with the order of the Crown of Italy.

For many years he employed competent scholars to prepare special editions of the Bible and religious works, which he printed for free distribution. These include : The Holy Bible arranged in numbered paragraphs : a large quarto volume of 1272 pages, first issued in 1863, with an excellent topical index extending to 272 pages, and of which two subsequent editions were printed in 1878 and 1886 respectively. Diodati's Italian Bible, similarly arranged and indexed, was printed for distribution in Italy. Ostervald's French Testament, arranged on a similar plan, was also printed for distribution in France. "Hymns of the Church Universal, with prefaces, annotations, and

indexes :” a volume in roy. 8vo, of 604 pages, which was issued in 1885, is a selection from a collection of 60,000 hymns made by Mr. Rylands, which is preserved in the library in thirty-four folio volumes, with a manuscript index extending to nine volumes of like dimensions.

Furthermore, Mr. Rylands took an interest in all that related to literature, but the absorbing cares of business necessarily prevented him from living as much as he would have wished among books. He was always ready, however, to extend his help and encouragement to students. He took a special interest in adding to the studies of the poorer Free Church ministers gifts of books which were beyond their own slender means to provide, but which were necessary to keep them in touch with the trend of modern religious thought, since, in many cases, they were stationed in rural districts remote from anything in the nature of a library.

When, therefore, upon the death of Mr. Rylands, which took place on the 11th of December, 1888, Mrs. Rylands found herself entrusted with the disposal of his great wealth, she resolved to commemorate the name of her husband, by dedicating to his memory an institution devoted to the encouragement of learning, which should be placed in the very heart of the city which had been the scene of his varied activities and triumphs. She recalled the little library at Longford Hall, Stretford, which Mr. Rylands had watched over with so much care, and which in its time and measure had been of incalculable benefit to many a struggling minister. She also remembered how great an interest he had taken in theological studies, and accordingly resolved to establish a library in which theology should occupy a prominent place, where the theological student should find all the material necessary for his study and research. It was intended to be a religious foundation in the broadest sense of the words. There were to be no sectarian limitations to vex the students who should come to read, no “index expurgatorius” to exclude from the shelves any author who might happen to propound theological views contrary to those held by the founder.

With this idea of the library in view, Mrs. Rylands, in 1889, entered upon the collection of standard authorities in all departments of literature, and in the year 1890 the erection of the present building was commenced from the design of Mr. Basil Champneys.

The scheme was conceived in no narrow spirit. Mrs. Rylands was a woman of catholic ideas, and allowed the purpose she had in view to mature and fructify as time went on. It was fortunate that she proceeded in a leisurely manner, since various unforeseen circumstances helped to give a shape to the contemplated memorial, which neither she nor anyone else could have anticipated.

Whilst the building was rising from the ground books were being accumulated, but without ostentation, and few people were aware that a great library was in process of formation.

The only interruption of the perfect quiet with which this project was pursued, occurred in 1892, some two years after the builders had commenced their work of construction, when there came to Mrs. Rylands an opportunity of giving to this memorial a grandeur which at first had not been contemplated. In that year it was announced that Earl Spencer had decided to dispose of that most famous of all private collections "The Althorp Library". Lord Spencer wisely stipulated with the agent, that a purchaser should be found for the collection as a whole, so as to obviate its dispersal in all directions. For some time this object seemed to be impossible of realisation, but when the matter was brought to the notice of Mrs. Rylands she recognised that the possession of such a collection would be the crowning glory of her design, and at an expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million of money she decided to become the purchaser.

As soon as it was announced that this famous collection had been saved from the disaster of dispersal, and was to find a home in Manchester, a great sigh of relief went up all over the country. The nation was relieved to know that so many of its priceless literary treasures were to be secured for all time against the risk of transportation, and the public spirit which Mrs. Rylands had manifested was greeted with a chorus of grateful approbation.

Although the Althorp Library, which consisted of rather more than 40,000 volumes, is but part of the John Rylands Library, which to-day numbers upwards of 250,000 volumes, it is, by common consent, the most splendid part. Renouard, the French bibliographer, described it as "The most beautiful and richest private library in Europe," and another writer has spoken of it as "a collection which stands above all rivalry". Its distinguishing feature is the collection of early printed books, which, in point of condition, is probably with-

out rival, thanks to the book-loving and scholarly instincts possessed by the second Earl Spencer, the founder of the library at Althorp, who for something like forty years haunted the salerooms and booksellers' shops throughout Europe in his eagerness to enrich his collection with whatever was fine and rare.

Thus it may be said that a collection of books had been acquired for Manchester which in many respects was unrivalled, the possession of which gave to the city a distinction enjoyed by few others. In doing this Mrs. Rylands had enlarged the scope of her original plan, and decided to establish a library that should be at once "a place of pilgrimage to the lover of rare books," and a "live library" for the stimulation of learning, and for the extension of the boundaries of human knowledge, whether in the departments of theology, philosophy, history, philology, literature, art, or bibliography, where students would find not merely the useful appliances for carrying on their work, but an atmosphere with a real sense of inspiration, which would assist them to carry it on in the loftiest spirit.

In this great metropolis of the North of England, which had already placed itself in the front rank of cities which are true cities, which had raised itself to a position of eminence amongst the universities of the world, and had come to be regarded as an important centre of intellectual activity, a place was already open for such an institution, and in a short time it gained a reputation that it might have taken a century or perhaps centuries to acquire, if ever it could have been acquired at all, had it begun in the ordinary way. It is not surprising therefore that it received the hearty welcome of the scholars of the country, and sprang as if by magic into a high place among the great libraries not only of this country but of the world.

There is a vast difference between a bequest and a bestowal, but we are accustomed to speak of them in the same terms, although in reality there is a moral distinction between the two which compels us to put them in altogether different classes of action. A benefactor who gives her money while she lives is on a higher plane than one who resorts to testamentary methods to dispose of it.

It has been said that a man who wants to build a library or similar institution will save himself a great deal of trouble and anxiety by letting somebody else build it after he is dead. This was not the view held by Mrs. Rylands, she preferred to build during her lifetime, and gave

personal attention to every detail of the scheme, being ever ready to accept new ideas and to adjust herself to them.

After ten years of loving and anxious care the building was ready for occupation. Only those who were associated with Mrs. Rylands know how much she put into those ten years. From the very inception of her scheme she took the keenest possible interest in it, devoting almost all her time, thought, and energy to it. Not only every detail in the construction of the building, but every other detail of the scheme in general, was carried out under her personal supervision. Nothing escaped her scrutiny, and it would be impossible to say how many admirable features were the result of her personal suggestion. No expense was spared. The architect was commissioned to design a building which should be an ornament to Manchester, in the construction of which only the best materials should be employed, and it is not too much to say that stone-mason, sculptor, metal-worker, and wood-carver have conspired under the direction of the architect, and under the watchful eye of the founder, to construct a building in every way worthy of the priceless collection of treasures which it was intended to house, and one which has come to be regarded by competent authorities as one of the finest specimens of modern Gothic architecture to be found in this or in any country.

It was on the 6th of October, 1899, that this building and its contents were formally dedicated to the public, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of people from all parts of Europe. The inaugural address was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford—an address in every sense worthy of a great occasion, from which a few passages may be appropriately quoted :—

“It would have been a comparatively simple and easy thing for Mrs. Rylands, out of her large means, to set aside a sum ample enough to build this edifice, to equip and endow this institution. She had only to select an architect and choose a librarian, to summon to her side ministers and agents capable of carrying out her will, saying to them : ‘Here is money, spend it in the princeliest way you can, and, if more be needed, more will be at your command’. But she did not so read her duty. The ideal created in her imagination, by the memory and character of her husband, was one she alone could realise. And she proceeded to realise it, with the results that we this day behold.

Nothing was too immense, or too intricate to be mastered, nothing was too small to be overlooked. The architect has proved himself a genius. He has adorned Manchester, he has enriched England with one of the most distinguished and the most perfect architectural achievements of this century. . . . The library will be entitled to take its place among the deathless creations of love. To multitudes it will be simply the John Rylands Library, built by the munificence of his widow. . . . But to the few, and those the few who know, it will for ever remain the most marvellous thing in history, as the tribute of a wife's admiration of her husband, and her devotion to his memory. The opening of this library calls for national jubilation. All citizens who desire to see England illumined, reasonable, right, will rejoice that there came into the heart of one who inherited the wealth of this great Manchester merchant, the desire to create for him so seemly a monument as this. It stands here fitly in a city where wealth is made, to help to promote the culture, to enlarge the liberty, to confirm the faith, to illumine the way of its citizens, small and great."

At the conclusion of this ceremony Mrs. Rylands was summoned to the Town Hall to receive the freedom of the City of Manchester, as the highest distinction that it is in the power of the city authorities to bestow.

The scroll on which the freedom of the City was presented records the resolution of the City Council in the following terms :—

"That the members of this Council desire to express their opinion that the powers accorded to them by law for the recognition of eminent services would be fittingly exercised by conferring upon Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands the freedom of the City—the highest distinction which it is their privilege to bestow. Mrs. Rylands is distinguished and honoured by the community for the generous manner in which she has founded and dedicated to the public, and enshrined in a beautiful and costly edifice, a noble library for the promotion of study and the pursuit of learning ; for the large collection of books formed by herself, and especially for its enrichment by the addition of the celebrated Althorp Library, purchased from Earl Spencer ; for the exceptional service thus rendered by preventing this invaluable library from being removed from England ; for the important facilities she has thus afforded to the student of bibliographical research by bringing together so many of the rarest and most precious of literary treasures

as will make Manchester a place of pilgrimage to scholars throughout the world; for the enlightened wisdom by which this valuable property will be invested in trustees, its government entrusted to chosen representatives, and its management based on broad and liberal principles. The Council, in recognition of these and other eminent services, do hereby, in pursuance of the Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Act, 1885, confer upon Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands, the honorary freedom of the City of Manchester, and hereby admit her to the honorary freedom of the City of Manchester accordingly.'

The silver casket enclosing the scroll, which was handed to Mrs. Rylands on the occasion of her admission to the freedom of the City, has quite recently been presented to the Governors for preservation in the library in perpetuity, through the intervention of the present Lord Mayor (Alderman William Kay), by the family of the late Mr. Stephen Joseph Tennant, the brother of Mrs. Rylands, into whose possession it passed at the death of his sister.

Mrs. Rylands' liberality was not by any means confined to the library. When the Whitworth Hall was built for the Owens College, by the late Chancellor Copley Christie, Mrs. Rylands crowned the benefaction by the gift of a fine organ, which was ready for use, when the Prince and Princess of Wales performed the opening ceremony on the 12th of March, 1902. It should be mentioned that the celebration of the jubilee of the Owens College had been deferred for a year until the building of the hall was finished.

On the day following the opening ceremony a number of honorary degrees were conferred to mark the celebration of the Jubilee, when Mrs. Rylands received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters, at the hands of the Chancellor of the University, in the person of Earl Spencer, whose library she had been the means of bestowing on Manchester.

Mrs. Rylands was presented to the Chancellor in the following terms of appreciation, by the late Professor A. S. Wilkins:—

"I present Mrs. Rylands, who, with splendid munificence, has gathered in Manchester a magnificent library as the most fitting memorial for one who cared much that the best books should be accessible to all, who laid down the rules for its government with far-sighted sagacity, who endowed it lavishly, and who is never weary of adding to its treasures with a watchful and discriminating generosity."

Mrs. Rylands' interest in the library did not end with the erection and equipment of the building. She endowed it with an annual income for its maintenance and extension, and again and again when rare and costly books or collections of books came into the market, which were beyond the reach of the ordinary income of the library to secure, she readily and generously found the money for their purchase if only she could be assured that the usefulness of the library would be enhanced by their possession. Never has the philosophy of large giving had a better illustration.

In the month of August, 1901, another instance of the munificence of the founder, and of her continued interest in the library was made public, with the announcement that the celebrated collection of illuminated and other manuscripts belonging to the Earl of Crawford, numbering upwards of six thousand items, had been acquired for a sum little less than that paid for the Althorp collection. The purchase came as a great surprise to all but a very few, for the negotiations had been conducted in that quiet, unostentatious manner which was characteristic of all Mrs. Rylands' actions.

The importance of this addition to the library's resources cannot be overestimated, since it gives to it a position with regard to Oriental and Western manuscripts similar to that which it previously occupied in respect of early printed books through the possession of the "Althorp Library," for just as the distinguishing mark of that collection was to be found in the early printed books, so the manuscripts formed the distinguishing mark of the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana".

In order that the value and contents of the collection should be brought to the knowledge of scholars in all parts of the world, Mrs. Rylands generously undertook to defray the cost of cataloguing it in a manner commensurate with its importance. To this end arrangements were entered into with a number of leading scholars to deal with manuscripts in their own special line of research, and, although several of these catalogues have since appeared, and others may be expected shortly, it is to be regretted that Mrs. Rylands did not live to see this part of her scheme carried through.

From first to last Mrs. Rylands' interest in the library was unflagging. Until within a few weeks of her death she was making purchases of manuscripts and books, and one of her last cares was to provide accommodation for the rapid extension of the library, so that the work

should in no wise be hampered for want of space. A fine site adjoining the library had been acquired, and it was her intention, had she lived, to erect thereon a store building that would provide accommodation for at least half a million volumes. Unfortunately death intervened before the arrangements in pursuance of her intentions could be completed.

There are those who believe that institutions of this character grow of themselves when once started. This is a mistaken idea which, fortunately, was not shared by Mrs. Rylands. She realised very fully that they do not grow of themselves, that they must be made to grow, and that money is the only fertiliser that is of any use.

Mrs. Rylands' death occurred on the 4th of February, 1908, to the irreparable loss not only of the institution which she had founded, but to the entire city of Manchester.

In her will Mrs. Rylands made additional provision for the upkeep and development of the library, which has enabled the trustees and governors to administer it in a manner worthy of the lofty ideals of the founder.

In addition to the monetary bequests, Mrs. Rylands bequeathed to the library, all books, manuscripts, and engravings in her residence at Longford Hall, numbering several thousand volumes, many of which were of great importance. These she had gathered round her during the last twenty years of her life not alone for her own pleasure, but with a view to the ultimate enrichment of the library.

Hitherto, our remarks, of necessity, have been confined almost exclusively to Mrs. Rylands' relations to the library, which she looked upon with pardonable pride as her great achievement. But her munificence did not end there, nor with her gifts to numerous other public objects in which she took a keen interest. The full extent of her benefactions will probably never be known. She was naturally reserved, and delighted to do good by stealth, but those who take an active part in charitable work in Manchester could testify to her unflinching readiness to assist any good cause of which she approved. She did not simply give money out of her great wealth, she also gave care, thought, and attention to all that she was interested in.

Personally, Mrs. Rylands was little known, she shrank from publicity, she kept no diary, and left only a few scattered notes which could be employed as aids to memory, but whatever material there

was in writing at the time of her death was committed to the flames by her express direction. She was a woman of very marked ability and of great determination, and those who had the privilege of assisting her in any of her numerous and absorbing interests can testify to her wonderful business capacity, and to her mastery of detail. She possessed truly, and in a remarkable degree "the genius of taking pains".

The property was vested in a body of nine trustees, to hold office continuously, with power to fill any vacancies, as they should occur, by the vote of the surviving members of the Trust; whilst the administration of the library was entrusted to a council of eighteen governors, consisting of ten representatives of the University and City of Manchester, and certain other bodies which are not local in character, and eight co-opted governors appointed by the council under regulations prescribed in the constitution.

Of the nine trustees originally appointed by Mrs. Rylands only two survive: Sir Adolphus William Ward, the Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and Sir Evan Spicer, J.P. The present board consists of the two continuing trustees, and the following members: Gerard N. Ford, Esq., J.P., Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., W. Arnold Linnell, Esq., Sir Thomas T. Shann, J.P., The Marquis of Hartington, The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, P.C., and Sir Henry A. Miers, F.R.S.

Of the eighteen governors forming the first council, who were also appointed by Mrs. Rylands, only two survive: Professor T. F. Tout, F.B.A., and Professor A. S. Peake, D.D. The present council is constituted as follows: Sir Henry A. Miers, F.R.S. (Chairman), Sir Thomas T. Shann, J.P. (Hon. Treasurer), Gerard N. Ford, Esq., J.P. (Hon. Secretary), Professor C. H. Herford, Litt.D., Professor L. E. Kastner, W. Marsden, Esq., J.P., Henry Plummer, Esq., J.P., Sir William Stephens, J.P., Professor T. F. Tout, F.B.A., Professor Charles E. Vaughan, Litt.D., who are representative governors, and the following co-opted members: the Right Rev. Bishop E. Knox, D.D., the Rev. George Jackson, D.D., the Rev. R. Mackintosh, D.D., the Rev. J. T. Marshall, D.D., Professor A. S. Peake, D.D., Sir Alexander Porter, J.P., the Rev. F. J. Powicke, Ph.D., and the Rev. J. E. Roberts, D.D.

The first Chairman of the Council was William Linnell, Esq., one of the original Trustees and a Life-Governor, who had been

closely associated with Mrs. Rylands from the inception of her scheme, and rendered very valuable assistance in connection with the building and organisation of the library down to the time of his death, which took place in 1901. He was succeeded by Alderman Harry Rawson from 1901 to 1903 ; by Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., from 1903 to 1918 ; by Sir George W. Macalpine, J.P., from 1918 to 1920 ; and by Sir Henry A. Miers, F.R.S., since 1920.

The first occupant of the office of Honorary Treasurer was Stephen Joseph Tennant, Esq., the brother of Mrs. Rylands, who, also, from the inception of the scheme was closely associated with his sister, and served the library with untiring devotion until within a few days of his death, which occurred in 1914. He was succeeded by the present Treasurer, Sir Thomas Thornhill Shann, J.P.

The Rev. J. W. Kiddle, one of the Trustees and Governors, was the first Honorary Secretary, an office which he continued to fill until his death in 1911, when he was succeeded by Gerard N. Ford, Esq., J.P.

In addition to the above-named members of the Trust and Council, the following have been actively associated with the administration of the library, either as Trustees or Governors, during the respective periods covered by the years indicated within the brackets after their names : The Rev. Principal W. F. Adeney, D.D. (Governor, 1904-1913) ; Sir William H. Bailey (Governor, 1899-1913) ; the Rev. C. L. Bedale (Governor, 1917-1919) ; William Carnelley, Esq. (Trustee and Governor, 1899-1919) ; Lord Cozens-Hardy of Letheringsett (Trustee, 1899-1920) ; Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, LL.D., etc. (Governor, 1909-1915) ; J. Arnold Green, Esq. (Governor, 1899-1901 ; the Rev. Samuel Gosnell Green, D.D. (Trustee, 1899-1905) ; H. A. Heywood, Esq. (Governor, 1919) ; the Right Rev. Bishop E. L. Hicks, D.D. (Governor, 1905-1910 ; the Rev. Silvester Horne (Trustee, 1899-1914) ; Professor Victor Kastner (Governor, 1907-1909) ; John E. King, Esq. (Governor, 1899-1903) ; the Rev. A. Mackennal, D.D. (Governor, 1899-1904) ; the Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D. (Governor, 1899-1910) ; Professor James Hope Moulton, Litt.D., etc. (Governor, 1904-1917) ; J. Lewis Paton, Esq. (Governor, 1913-1917) ; the Rev. Marshall Randles, D.D. (Governor, 1899-1904) ; Reuben Spencer, Esq. (Trustee, 1899-1901) ; Professor J. Strachan, Litt.D., etc.

(Governor, 1903-1907); the Rev. A. W. H. Streuli (Governor, 1899-1913); Alderman Joseph Thompson, LL.D. (Governor, 1899-1909); Sir William Vaudrey, J.P. (Governor, 1899-1911); the Right Rev. Bishop J. E. H. Welldon, D.D. (Governor, 1910-1918); Professor A. S. Wilkins, Litt.D., etc. (Governor, 1899-1905); the Venerable Archdeacon James Wilson, D.D. (Governor, 1899-1905).

The Corporation of Manchester have the right to appoint two of the representative governors, but the library is in nowise subject to the control of the Municipality, nor does it derive any financial support from the city; its income is derived from endowments provided by the founder, and it may therefore be regarded as a national trust. The conditions under which permission to read therein is granted are exactly similar to those which obtain at the British Museum. Indeed, the aim of the governors, from the very outset, has been to build up a reference and research library for the North of England on the lines of the great national institution at Bloomsbury.

It is gratifying therefore to be able to report that one of the outstanding features of the use made of the library during the period covered by this review is the large amount of original research which has been conducted by students, not only from the home universities, but also by scholars from all parts of the world.

Throughout the twenty-one years of its activities the duty of the library to scholarship has been recognised, and the governors, with a liberal interpretation of their responsibility to learning, have realised that, whilst it is their primary duty carefully to preserve the books and manuscripts entrusted to their care, yet the real importance of such a collection rests not alone upon the number or the rarity of the works of which it is composed, but upon the use which is made of them. Only in this way can the library be worthy of its history.

It was inevitable that the possession of so great an inheritance of literary treasures should cause the library to become a place of pilgrimage for those who have given themselves to the service of learning, as well as for the lovers of rare books. From the first, however, it has been the steadfast aim of the governors to make it an efficient working library for students, and, with this end in view, they have developed the collections by the provision of the best literature in the various departments of knowledge which comes within the scope of the library, so as to excite and diffuse a love of learning, and at the

same time assist the original investigations and efforts of those who might devote themselves to the pursuit of some special branch of study.

This design has been consistently followed without any material change since the day of its inauguration. It has remained only to build up the collections along lines which have already been fruitful of good results, and as a consequence the library has quickly and almost imperceptibly developed into an admirable laboratory for historical and literary investigation.

In the early years it was not surprising to find that there were many lacunæ in the library's collections, but every effort has been employed gradually to reduce their number, and with gratifying success. In this respect we have gratefully to acknowledge the valuable services rendered by readers, who, from time to time, have pointed out the library's lack of important authorities in their special lines of research. Suggestion of this or of any kind, which tend to the improvement of the library, have always been both invited and welcomed, and have received prompt and sympathetic attention.

It may not be out of place at this point briefly to refer to the help and guidance which the officials are constantly called upon to render, not only by personal attention in the library itself, but also in response to written requests from all parts of the world. Such services cannot be reduced to any reliable statistical statement, but they bear fruit in the grateful acknowledgments of indebtedness to the library, which constantly find expression in the foot-notes and prefaces to published works, and in presentation copies of the works containing such acknowledgments.

The governors also considered it desirable to give to the general public, as well as to those who had not yet discovered the delights and advantages of literary study, or who had only a casual acquaintance with books, opportunities for forming some idea of the scope and character of the collections and of the possibilities of usefulness, which the library offered.

Therefore, with the object of providing the means for fostering such interest, and of making the resources of the library better known, provision was made in the planning and equipment of the building for exhibitions and public lectures, by the installation of ten exhibition cases in the main library, which is situated on the first floor, and of

two lecture halls on the ground floor, the larger intended for public lectures, the smaller for lecture demonstrations.

One of the first steps to be taken in this endeavour to popularise the library, in the best sense of that term, was by the arrangement of exhibitions, which have since come to be regarded as one of the permanent features of the library's work. They are designed to reveal to visitors something of the character of the collections which have made the library famous in the world of letters, and which at the same time have helped to make Manchester a centre of attraction for scholars from all parts of the world.

Among the subjects with which these exhibitions have dealt, the following may be mentioned: "The Art and Craft of the Scribes and Illuminators of the Middle Ages"; "The Beginnings of Books"; "The History of the Transmission of the Bible from the Earliest Times"; "Books and Broad-sides illustrating the History of Printing"; "Original Editions of the Works of John Milton"; "Manuscripts and Printed Editions of the Works of Dante Alighieri"; "Original Editions of the Principal English Classics"; "Mediæval Manuscripts and Jewelled Book Covers"; and "The Works of Shakespeare, his Sources, and the Writings of his Principal Contemporaries".

In connection with each exhibition it has been customary to issue a descriptive hand-book, which usually contains an historical introduction to the subject dealt with, a list of the principal works bearing upon it which may be consulted in the library, and facsimiles of title-pages or characteristic pages, of some of the most famous of the exhibits. These hand-books, which often extend to upwards of a hundred pages, are prepared with the greatest possible care, and are calculated to be of permanent value to students.

If we may judge from the large number of people, including groups of students, who, with evident enjoyment and avowed benefit, have visited these exhibitions, as well as from the appreciative notices which have appeared in the press, the object which we had in view has been abundantly realised.

Interest in the library has also been fostered by means of public lectures. The first series was arranged in 1901, and dealt exclusively with the history and scope of the institution. This was followed in the succeeding session by a series on "Books

and their Makers". Such was the success of these experiments that a more ambitious scheme was entered upon, and in each of the subsequent seventeen years a syllabus has been arranged, which has included the names of scholars of the highest eminence, who have gladly responded to the invitation extended to them to lecture upon the subjects of which they are the recognised authorities. In the course of these lectures new theories and discoveries have often been advanced, which were calculated to impart a fresh stimulus to study in their respective fields of research. The lecture-room has generally been filled to overflowing, with an audience which was at once responsive and inspiring, and on numerous occasions large numbers have been unable to gain admission.

The object of these lectures, as already stated, is to stimulate interest in the library and in the higher branches of literature, and each lecture is made the occasion for reminding the audience of this fact by directing attention to the available sources of information upon the subject dealt with.

Another department of work which has met with encouraging success is represented by the bibliographical and other demonstrations for organised parties of students from the University, the training colleges, the technical and secondary schools, and other similar institutions in Manchester and the neighbouring towns.

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As a rule the demonstration deals with the author or subject, sometimes a period of history or of literature, which has been the theme of class study during the term. Such subjects as "The Beginnings of Literature," "The Beginnings of Printing," "The Books of the Middle Ages," "The Revival of Learning," "The Early Settlement of America," "The Bible before Printing," "The Printed English Bible," "Aldus," "Chaucer," "Wiclif," "Shakespeare," "Dante," and "Milton" have each in turn been dealt with in this manner.

These parties, which consist of from twenty-five to a hundred students, have been accommodated in one of the lecture rooms, around tables upon which the manuscript and other material for the demonstration had been arranged.

Experience has taught us that nothing will help a student to appreciate the reality underlying the great names of literature or history

like a personal introduction to the original editions of their works, or to the most authoritative material bearing upon the subject. In dealing with ancient history, for example, to be able to show a group of tablets, consisting of letters of the time of Hammurabi or Abraham, a proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar, the writing tablets of one of the Roman Consuls, or a papyrus document written during the lifetime of our Lord, is to make history live. In the case of Shakespeare, to be able to show copies of the actual editions of the books to which Shakespeare must have had access, and which he drew upon in the writing of his plays, or of the original editions of his own works, is to impart a sense of personal acquaintance with, or a vivid impression of the writer, which not only intensifies the student's love for the particular subject, but stimulates an interest in the many valuable collections which the library possesses, and in that way lays a foundation for future study.

On several occasions, at the request of the Head Teachers' Association and the Teachers' Guild, model demonstrations of a similar character have been given to large parties of teachers, who have expressed appreciation of this method of utilising the resources of the library, opening out, as it does, vistas of usefulness not hitherto contemplated by them.

Groups of craftsmen connected with the printing, book-binding, and other trade societies, have also had lecture demonstrations arranged for them upon such subjects as writing, printing, book-illustration, and book-binding, which, to judge from their expressions of grateful appreciation, have enabled them to carry away a new conception of the dignity and possibilities of the particular craft to which they belonged.

From the educational point of view, the library has achieved a gratifying measure of success by means of these exhibitions, lectures, and demonstrations, since many of the schools and colleges have been avowedly aided in their work, and have been drawn into closer relationship with the institution. Not only so, but in a large number of cases which have been brought to our knowledge, the interest of the casual visitor has also ripened into a desire to become a regular reader, with the avowed object of following up lines of study suggested to them in the course of some lecture or demonstration.

In the year 1910 the governors wisely decided to instal a photographic studio with a complete and up-to-date equipment of apparatus,

and their action has been abundantly justified by the results already obtained. This new department is fraught with possibilities of world-wide benefit, for it has made it possible to render to scholars, both at home and abroad, most valuable assistance, by furnishing them with photographed facsimiles of pages from some of the rarer printed books and manuscripts. Again and again, in the case of requests for transcripts and collations of passages from some important text in the possession of the library, it has been found possible, at small cost, to provide a photograph or a rotograph of the passage required, which was at once more trustworthy and more acceptable than the best hand-made transcript could possibly be.

PHOTO-
GRAPHIC
STUDIO.

With the object of increasing the facilities for advanced study which the library offers, every attention has been paid to the improvement of the equipment, especially in the gallery alcoves, which are now reserved for students who are conducting special research. This accommodation is much coveted by readers, in consequence of the greater freedom from distraction which it offers, and also because each alcove is furnished with a small standing-press, in which they may keep out, from day to day, the works which they require for continuous study. These seats are allotted to students in the order of their application, and, as a rule, for the whole of the session. Indeed, such has been the increasing demand for them during the last few years, that invariably every seat has been allotted before the session opens. This constant solicitude on the part of the governors for the comfort of readers has evoked expressions of unqualified gratitude and appreciation.

EQUIP-
MENT.

Throughout the period covered by the war the service of the library was maintained, as nearly as possible, at the regular level of its efficiency, in spite of the absence of eleven members of the staff who enlisted in H.M. Forces, in one capacity or another, in response to the call of King and Country. This continuance of the service was rendered possible by the loyal and untiring devotion of those officials who, from one cause or another, were exempt from active military duties.

THE LIB-
RARY
DURING
THE WAR.

It is true that several important pieces of work, which were in contemplation at the outbreak of war, had to be set aside in consequence of the absence of so large a proportion of the staff, but that was not

to be wondered at, for plans conceived in time of peace naturally change and shrink under the strain and stress of war.

Of the members of the staff already referred to as having been absent on active service, ten returned to duty, glad to exchange life in the army for the peaceful atmosphere of the library, but we have to deplore the loss of Captain O. J. Sutton, M.C., whose death deprives the library of a trustworthy and valued assistant, who had been associated with the institution from the time of its inauguration until he was called up for active service in August, 1914.

One piece of war-work, to which the governors may point with pardonable pride, is represented by the assistance which the library has been able to render to the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war, by providing them with the nucleus of a new library to replace the famous collection of books and manuscripts which had been so ruthlessly destroyed by the Germans in August, 1914.

RECON-
STRUCTION
OF THE
LOUVAIN
LIBRARY.

Within four months of the perpetration of that wanton act, the new library was already rising, phoenix-like, out of the ruins of the old one, as a result of the scheme of replacement which grew out of the desire on the part of the governors to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of Louvain. This they felt could best be accomplished by means of a gift of books, and forthwith the offer of an initial group of 200 volumes was made.

The offer was gratefully accepted, and acknowledged as the first contribution which had been effectually made to the future library of Louvain, but as Belgium was at that time in the occupation of the Germans, and the members of the University were scattered and in exile, the governors were requested to house their gift until such time as the country had been freed from the presence of the invaders, and the University had been repatriated.

Having gladly undertaken this service, it occurred to the governors that there must be many other libraries and learned institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in such a project, and, with a view of inviting their co-operation, an announcement was made in the subsequent issue of this BULLETIN (which appeared in April, 1915) of our willingness to be responsible for the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us

for the purpose. We also announced our intention of preparing a register of the various contributors, with an exact description of their gifts, for presentation with the books when the appropriate time should arrive, to serve as a permanent record of this united effort to repair at least some of the damage which had been wrought by the war.

Our appeal met with an immediate and generous response, which has continued unabated throughout the six years that have elapsed since it was first made public. One of the most pleasing features of the response has been that all classes of the community, not only in this country, but in many parts of the English-speaking world, as well as in several of the allied and neutral countries, have participated in it. Many of the gifts may be said to partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since they consist of treasured possessions which had been acquired by struggling students through the exercise of economy and self-denial.

Early in 1916 a national committee was formed, upon the initiative of the President and Secretary of the British Academy, to co-operate with the governors in the development of the scheme which they had already inaugurated. This resulted in a new impulse being given to the movement.

Reports of progress, coupled with new appeals for help, have been made from time to time in the pages of the BULLETIN, with encouraging results. In one of our appeals we explained that, whilst keeping in view the general character of the library which we had in contemplation, we were at the same time anxious that it should be thoroughly representative of English scholarship, in other words that its equipment should include the necessary materials for research on the history, language, and literature of the country, together with the contributions which British scholars have made to other departments of learning. The attainment of that object has been made possible by the ready and generous co-operation of many of the learned societies, universities, university presses, and leading publishers.

In this connection it may not be out of place to quote a few sentences from a letter received in April last, from Professor A. van Hoonacker, in which he refers to the character of the British contribution in the following terms :—

“ . . . The restoration of our library is progressing splendidly, and it is gratifying to acknowledge for us that the most valuable contributions

by far, are those of our English friends. Our debt of gratitude towards the Rylands Library is very great indeed and can never be forgotten. Our library will be a historical monument in a special way: it is going to be for its best part an English library."

Throughout the six years during which the scheme has been in operation, gifts of books, in large or in small consignments, have been reaching us almost daily. In order to obviate the risk of having collections of volumes dumped upon us indiscriminately, we have been careful to invite prospective donors to send to us, in the first instance, lists of the works they desired to offer, so that we might have the opportunity of respectfully declining anything deemed to be unsuitable, or of which a copy had already been contributed by some other donor. In this way we were able to secure for our friends at Louvain a really live collection of books, embracing all departments of knowledge.

The work of receiving, rebinding or repairing such volumes as were not quite sound in their covers, registering, cataloguing, repacking, and making them ready for shipment, involving, as it did, a formidable amount of correspondence, in addition to the other operations referred to, has been at times a serious tax upon the resources of the library, but the work has been regarded as a labour of love by the various members of the staff who have had a hand in it, and, thanks to their loyal and at times self-sacrificing devotion, the project has been carried through to a successful issue, without any serious interference with the regular routine and service of the library.

In January, 1919, not only was Belgium freed from the hateful presence of the invaders, but the University of Louvain was repatriated by the return of the authorities to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to assemble their scattered students, to resume their accustomed work, and to take a prominently active part in the immediate business of effecting a transition to a peace footing, as well as in the educational and other schemes of reconstruction which were already taking shape.

If one of the first essentials in the organisation of any University is a library, it was not surprising to learn that, in the absence of this essential part of the University's equipment, the work of the students during the first session of their revival had been seriously hampered. Fortunately this was a deficiency that was remedied during the ensuing session. Temporary premises were secured to serve as library and

reading-room pending the erection of the new library building, and it was our privilege to assist in the furnishing of the shelves with an up-to-date collection of books designed to meet the immediate requirements of staff and students.

As evidence of the success of this scheme it needs only to be stated that, since December, 1919, we have had the pleasure of transferring to Louvain 443 cases, containing no fewer than 35,639 volumes, forming the splendid collection of books which had been gradually accumulated here in the John Rylands Library as the outcome of these combined efforts.

There are still several thousands of volumes either in hand or under promise for the next shipment, so that a total of at least 40,000 volumes is within sight, and for this we renew our thanks to all who have in any way assisted us to realise this successful issue to our scheme.

From the beginning of their administration of the library the Governors have recognised the advantages of employing the printing press for disseminating information concerning its varied contents, in order that scholars throughout the world should have the means of ascertaining something of their character and importance.

To this end they have sanctioned the production of a number of catalogues and other publications, many of which have come to be regarded as valuable contributions to the study of the subjects with which they deal.

It should be pointed out, however, that the first publications to be issued in connection with the library, were prepared and printed at the expense of Mrs. Rylands, and were ready for distribution immediately after the inauguration ceremony had taken place.

They consisted of a "Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts" with which the library commenced its career, forming three volumes in quarto; a special "Catalogue of the Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Books in English Printed Abroad, to the Year 1640," in one volume uniform with the aforesaid general catalogue; and a sumptuous folio volume furnished with twenty-six collotype facsimiles and many engravings, in which the collection of English Bibles printed between 1525 and 1640 are fully described from the bibliographical standpoint.

The first publication to be issued under the auspices of the governors, and one of the most important and ambitious catalogues hitherto published by the library, was issued in 1909, under the title "Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library," by F. Ll. Griffith, in 3 vols., 4to. It was the first issue of the series of descriptive guides or catalogues to the collection of Oriental and Western manuscripts in the possession of the library, but it was something more than a catalogue, since it included collotype facsimiles of the whole of the documents, with transliterations, complete translations, valuable introductions, very full notes, and a glossary, representing, in the estimation of scholars, the most important contribution to the study of Demotic hitherto published. It was the result of nearly ten years of persistent labour on the part of the editor, who was at that time Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford.

This was followed in the same year by the "Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library," by W. E. Crum, in one volume uniform with the former. In this also, many of the texts were reproduced *in extenso*, and in facsimile. The collection includes a series of private letters considerably older than any hitherto known in Coptic, in addition to many manuscripts of great historical and theological interest.

In 1911 the first volume appeared of the "Catalogue of Greek Papyri . . ." by Dr. A. S. Hunt, which dealt with the literary texts in the collection. These texts were reproduced *in extenso*, some of them in facsimile, and comprise many interesting Biblical, liturgical, and classical papyri, ranging from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. Included are probably the earliest known text of the "Nicene Creed," also one of the earliest known vellum codices, containing a considerable fragment of the "Odyssey," probably of the last decades of the third century A.D., which is included amongst the papyrus documents with which its date and Egyptian provenance naturally associate it.

The second volume of this catalogue appeared in 1915. It dealt with the documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and was compiled by Dr. A. S. Hunt, J. de M. Johnson, and Victor Martin. The volume runs to upwards of 500 pages, and deals with 400 papyri, consisting mainly of non-literary documents of an official or legal character, as distinguished from the literary documents forming the subject

matter of the first volume. The chief interest centres in the description of the collection of carbonised papyri from Thmûis, which were found, without doubt, in the ruined buildings of Tell Timai, partly excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund during 1892-93, the chambers of which were found choked by a medley of decayed rolls, and it is interesting to learn that the documents printed in this volume form the largest body yet published from that source. The students of New Testament Greek, and of the history of the period covered by this group of documents, especially in relation to law, economics, and taxation in Egypt during the Roman occupation, will find a mass of useful information, not only in the documents themselves, but in the exhaustive and illuminating notes by which they are accompanied.

In the same year (1915), another interesting quarto volume made its appearance, under the title : "Sumerian tablets from Umma in the John Rylands Library," transcribed, transliterated, and translated by C. L. Bedale. This volume was of considerable interest, since it made available for study the first batch of tablets from this particular site at Umma, which had been acquired for the library some years earlier at the suggestion of the late Professor Hogg and Canon Johns. The work of editing the collection was to have been undertaken by Professor Hogg, but death intervened, and Mr. Bedale, who succeeded him as lecturer in Assyriology at the University of Manchester, very gladly undertook the task with the assistance of Canon Johns, producing a piece of work which reflected credit not only upon the editor, but also upon the library.

In 1909 a series of reprints was commenced which was to be known as the "John Rylands Facsimiles," the object of which was to make more readily accessible to students, by means of faithful facsimile reproductions, some of the most interesting and important of the rarer books and prints which are in the possession of the library, and also to avert the disaster and loss to scholarship involved in the destruction by fire or otherwise of such unique and rare literary treasures, when they have not been multiplied by some such method of reproduction.

The first work to be treated in this way was the "Propositio Johannis Russell, printed by William Caxton, *circa* A.D., 1476," edited with an introduction by Henry Guppy. The library copy of this tract of six printed pages, from which the facsimile was prepared,

was for many years considered to be unique. Since then, however, another copy has been discovered in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall. It consists of the Latin oration, pronounced by the Chancellor of England, on the investiture of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with the order of the Garter, in February, 1469, and is printed in the second fount of type employed by Caxton.

The second issue appeared in the following year (1910), and consisted of a reproduction of what is believed to be the sole surviving copy of a quaint little rhyming primer, which had the laudable object of instructing the young in the names of trades, professions, ranks, and common objects of daily life in their own tongue. The lists were rhymed, and therefore were easy to commit to memory, and they are pervaded by a certain vein of humour. The title of the volume is as follows: "A Booke in Englysh Metre, of the Great Marchaunt man called 'Dives Pragmaticus' . . . 1563." It was edited with an introduction by Percy E. Newberry; and remarks on the vocabulary and dialect with a glossary, by Henry C. Wyld.

The third issue, which appeared also in 1910, was the reproduction of a tract on the Pestilence, of nine leaves, written by Benedict Kanuti, or Knutsson, Bishop of Västerås, of which three separate editions are known, but only one copy of each is believed to have survived. There is no indication in any edition of the place of printing, date or name of printer, but they are all printed in one of the first types employed by William de Machlinia, who printed in the city of London at the time when William Caxton was at the most active period of his career at Westminster. The title of the work is as follows: "A Litel Boke the whiche traytied and reherced many gode thinges necessaries for the . . . Pestilence . . . made by the Bishop of Arusiens . . ." [1485]. Edited, with an introduction, by Guthrie Vine.

The fourth publication of this series to make its appearance, in 1915, was a portfolio of facsimiles of eight early engravings, which are preserved in the library, under the title: "Woodcuts of the Fifteenth Century in the John Rylands Library. . . . With an introduction and descriptive notes by Campbell Dodgson." Two of the woodcuts dealt with are of exceptional interest, and have been known and celebrated for a century and a half, but had not hitherto been reproduced in a satisfactory and trustworthy manner by any of

the modern photo-mechanical processes. The two woodcuts referred to represent "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation," the former of which has acquired a great celebrity by reason of the unquestioned date (1423) which it bears, and which until recently gave it the unchallenged position of the first dated woodcut. These two have been reproduced in the exact colours of the originals as well as in monochrome. The metal dotted print of the "Passion" scene is probably the finest extant example of this description of engraving. Indeed, all the engravings reproduced are said to be unique.

The governors were fortunate in being able to secure the services of Mr. Dodgson, the recognised authority on such matters, in the preparation of the text, since the presence of his name on the title-page gives at once an authority and distinction to the volume.

The first two volumes of the "Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts," compiled by Dr. M. Rhodes James, will, it is hoped, be in circulation by the time these pages are in print. This catalogue was commenced many years ago, in the first place by arrangement with the Earl of Crawford, and later under a new arrangement with Mrs. Rylands, the work on which has been continued, in the intervals of a very busy life by Dr. James. The manuscripts described in this first instalment of the catalogue comprise 183 rolls and codices. They include the small group contained in the Althorp Library, in addition to the Crawford collection, and a certain number of items which have since been acquired from the Phillipps and other sales.

The first volume will contain the catalogue proper, which extends to 400 pages, whilst the second will consist of a thoroughly representative set of about 200 facsimiles of characteristic pages of the manuscripts dealt with.

The first volume of the new and standard edition of the "Odes and Psalms of Solomon," edited by Dr. Rendel Harris and Dr. A. Mingana, appeared in 1916. It furnished for the first time a facsimile of the original Syriac manuscript, now in the possession of the John Rylands Library, accompanied by a retranscribed text, with an attached critical apparatus.

This was followed in 1920 by the second volume, which comprises a new translation of the "Odes" in English versicles, with brief comments by way of elucidation, an exhaustive introduction dealing with the variations of the fragment in the British Museum, with the

original language, the probable epoch of their composition, their unity, the stylistic method of their first writer, the accessory patristic testimonies, a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since its first publication in 1909, a complete bibliography of the subject, and a glossary of the text.

In 1917 there were republished in one volume, under the title "The Ascent of Olympus," four interesting articles by Dr. Rendel Harris on the Greek cults, which had appeared at intervals in the *BULLETIN*. They were republished as nearly as possible in their original form, but with some corrections, expansions, justifications, and additional illustrations.

Another volume which attracted great attention and elicited a good deal of healthy criticism at the time of its appearance, in the early part of 1918, consisted of an elaboration of three lectures delivered in the John Rylands Library by Professor G. Elliot Smith, on "The Birth of Aphrodite," "Incense and Libations," and "Dragons and Rain-gods," which make a substantial volume of 250 pages, with numerous illustrations, under the title of "The Evolution of the Dragon".

Two pieces of pioneer work were carried out in the course of 1909, which it was hoped would lead to far-reaching developments.

The first marked a new stage in library administration and co-operation, since it was the first catalogue of its kind to appear in this country or abroad. It consisted of a "Classified Catalogue of Works on Architecture and the Allied Arts in the Principal Libraries of Manchester and Salford," edited conjointly by the Librarian and Sub-Librarian, for the Joint Architectural Committee of the Manchester University and the Manchester Education Committee. It is a volume of 336 pages, in which the main entries are arranged according to the Dewey Decimal system of classification, followed by alphabetical author and subject indexes. By means of this guide, in which the location of the various books is clearly shown, it is possible to determine at a glance whether any particular work is contained in one or other of the twelve principal libraries of the district, and where.

The second of the volumes referred to above, the "Analytical Catalogue of the Contents of the Two Editions of the English Garner," was printed with the object of emphasising the need for analytical treatment of composite works of such a character. It was also intended to demonstrate the practicability of placing the work of one

library at the service of other libraries at a small cost, and for that reason it was printed in such a way that the entries could be cut up and utilised for insertion in any cumulative catalogue. It was also felt that it would be of service to the students of the history and literature of our own country, since it provides a key to a storehouse of pamphlets, broadsides, and occasional verses, which are collected in the "Garner," and are practically unobtainable elsewhere.

Other publications have been issued as occasion demanded in the form of descriptive catalogues of the exhibitions which were arranged from time to time in the main library, either to signalise the visit of some learned society, or to mark the commemoration of some anniversary of literary or historical interest. These need not be enumerated here, as they are briefly described in the accompanying list of publications, together with many other miscellaneous items which do not call for special mention.

In the year 1903 the publication of the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY was commenced with the object of providing a medium of communication between the library and its readers, and at the same time of making clear to all lovers of literature the great possibilities which such a library holds out. It was continued by annual issues until 1908, when, by reason of the exigencies of other work, it was found necessary to suspend publication until the more urgent claims of the library had been satisfied.

In October, 1914, publication was resumed in consequence of repeated inquiries for the BULLETIN, which seemed to reveal the real need for some such link between the library and those who were interested in its welfare.

Such was the enthusiastic welcome accorded to it in its revived form, coupled with the generous response on the part of scholars to our appeals for help in the shape of contributions, that we are encouraged to believe our aim to secure for this periodical, by the publication of a regular succession of original articles, a greater permanence as a literary organ, is at least in process of accomplishment. Many of these articles consist of elaborations of the lectures delivered in the library, the importance of which may be gathered by a glance at the accompanying list of reprints.

A certain number of catalogues and other publications are either in the printer's hands, ready for the press, or in active preparation.

The first is "A Catalogue of English Incunabula in the John Rylands Library". This will be uniform with the catalogues of manuscripts, and will probably extend to 200 pages. It will consist of an accurate bibliographical description of the library's collection of English books printed before 1501, including of course the sixty Caxtons. It will furnish full collations, notes as to provenance, and incidentally, each volume, by means of this treatment, will be made to tell its own story, so often hidden in the prologues, epilogues, and colophons in which the early translators, editors, and printers delighted to indulge. It will be illustrated by facsimiles of pages from some of the rarer items in the collection.

The "Catalogue of Books in the John Rylands Library, printed in Great Britain, and of English Books printed abroad, between 1474 and 1640" is also ready for the printer, and work upon it will be commenced as soon as ways and means render it practicable. It is calculated that it will form two or three quarto volumes, uniform with the preceding catalogue, and will furnish complete bibliographical descriptions of the rich collection of books with which it deals. It is designed to be of service not only to users of the library, but to bibliographers and students of English literature in general.

In the course of the examination and description of the library's collection of Arabic manuscripts, upon which Dr. Mingana is at present engaged, many of them have been invested with a new importance by reason of the unusual palæographical, and textual interest which they have been found to possess.

One volume of modest appearance and dimensions has proved to be of quite exceptional importance, as may be gleaned from the following notes. It consists of an "Apology of the Muhammadan Faith," by a learned Muhammadan doctor, named Ali b. Rabbān at-Tabari.

The ninth century of the Christian era is marked by numerous apologetic works by Christians and Muhammadans, who lived not far from Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbaside dynasty of the Eastern caliphate. The names of Abu Nuh, Timotheus the Patriarch, and Ishak al-Kindi, among Christian apologists are known by all interested in Oriental learning. In particular the "Apology of the Christian Faith," by Al-Kindi can hardly be ignored by any educated Muslim, or by any educated Christian living with Muslims. But, as far as we are aware, hitherto no such apology of Islam, of so early a date, and of

such outstanding importance, by a Muhammadan has been known to exist. It is, therefore, gratifying to be able to announce that a work similar to that of Al-Kindi, has been found in our collection. The work is of first-rate importance to the Muslim, and not of less importance to every Oriental scholar, whilst to anyone interested in theological questions it must have an interest. It follows generally the apology of Al-Kindi, which the author probably intended to refute. The work contains about 130 long Biblical quotations to prove the divine mission of the Arabian prophet. These quotations follow the Syriac version of the Bible, said, in the manuscript, to have been translated by an unknown author called "Marcus the Interpreter". If this Marcus may be identified with the Marcus mentioned in the "Fihrist" (p. 306), and among the writers preceding the time of the Prophet, the book would become of paramount importance for many questions dealing with the redaction of the Kur'an. The Syriac word *Mshabbha*, "the Glorious," wherever occurring in the Old Testament, is translated in Arabic by the word *Muhammad*. It is possible, therefore, that the Prophet having heard this word pronounced, wrote (S. vii, 156, etc.) that his name was found in the Sacred Books of the Christians and the Jews.

The writer is the physician and moralist 'Ali b. Rabbān at-Tabari, who died about A.D. 864. He wrote his book at the request of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861), at Baghdad in the year A.D. 850. The manuscript is a transcript of the autograph of Tabari himself, and is certainly the most seriously written book on the apologetic theme existing in our days.

The governors contemplate the publication of editions of the Arabic text, and also of an English translation, which have been prepared by Dr. Mingana. The manuscripts are ready for the press, and will be placed in the hands of the printer as soon as conditions are more favourable.

Other catalogues in preparation are—

"Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (codices). . . ." By Dr Alphonse Mingana.

"Catalogue of Arabic Papyri. . . ." By Professor Margoliouth.

"Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts. . . ." By Professor A. R. Nicholson.

"Catalogue of Samaritan Manuscripts. . . ." By Dr. A. E. Cowley

“Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts. . . .” By Dr. Rendel Harris.

“Catalogue of Greek Papyri. . . . Vol. 3. Documents of the Byzantine Period.” By Dr. A. S. Hunt.

The following are the publications issued by the Library between 1899 and 1920.

CATALOGUES OF PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE LIBRARY.

Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. 1899. 3 vols. 4to.

Catalogue of books in the John Rylands Library printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of books in English printed abroad to the end of the year 1640. 1895. 4to, pp. iii, 147.

Catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. By W. E. Crum, M.A. 1909. 4to. pp. xii, 273. 12 plates of facsimiles.

Catalogue of the Demotic papyri in the John Rylands Library. With facsimiles and complete translations. By F. Ll. Griffith, M.A. 1909. 3 vols. 4to.

Vol. 1. Atlas of facsimiles in collotype. Vol. 2. Lithographed hand copies of the earlier documents. Vol. 3. Key-list, translations, commentaries, and indexes.

Catalogue of the Greek papyri in the John Rylands Library. By Arthur S. Hunt, M.A., Litt.D., J. de M. Johnson, M.A., and Victor Martin, D. ès L. Vol. 1: Literary texts (Nos. 1-61). 1911. 4to, pp. xii, 204. 10 plates of facsimiles. Vol. 2: Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Nos. 62-456). 1916. 4to, pp. xx, 488. 23 plates.

The English Bible in the John Rylands Library, 1525 to 1640. By Richard Lovett. 1889. Fol., pp. xvi, 275, with 26 facsimiles and 39 engravings.

THE JOHN RYLANDS FACSIMILES.

1. *Propositio Johannis Russell*. Printed by William Caxton, *circa* A.D. 1476. . . . With an introduction by Henry Guppy. 1909. 8vo, pp. 36, 8.

2. *A booke in Englysh metre, of the great marchaunt man called "Dives Pragmaticus"* . . . 1563. . . . With an introduction by Percy E. Newberry; and remarks on the vocabulary and dialect, with a glossary, by H. C. Wyld. 1910. 4to, pp. xxxviii, 16.

3. *A litil boke the whiche traytyed and reherced many gode thinges necessaryes for the . . . pestilence . . . made by the . . . Bisshop of Arusiens . . . [London,] [1485?]. . . . With an introduction by Guthrie Vine. 1910. 4to, pp. xxvi, 18.*

4. Woodcuts of the fifteenth century in the John Rylands Library. Reproduced in facsimile. With an introduction and notes by Campbell Dodgson, 1915. Fol., 10 plates and 16 pp. of text, in a portfolio.

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES.

- Catalogue of the manuscripts, books, and book-bindings exhibited at the opening of the John Rylands Library, October 6th, 1899. 1899. 8vo, pp. 41.
- The John Rylands Library: a brief description of the building and its contents, with a descriptive list of the works exhibited in the main library. By Henry Guppy. 1902. 8vo, pp. 47.
- Catalogue of an exhibition of Bibles in the John Rylands Library illustrating the history of the English versions from Wiclif to the present time. Including the personal copies of Queen Elizabeth, General Gordon, and Elizabeth Fry. 1904. 8vo, pp. 32.
- Catalogue of the manuscripts and printed books exhibited in the John Rylands Library on the occasion of the visit of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches. 1905. 8vo, pp. 38.
- A brief historical description of the John Rylands Library and its contents with catalogue of the selection of early printed Greek and Latin classics exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Classical Association in October MCMVI. 1906. 8vo, pp. 89, with plates.
- Catalogue of an exhibition of Bibles in the John Rylands Library illustrating the history of the English versions from Wiclif to the present time, including the personal copies of Queen Elizabeth, Elizabeth Fry, and others. 1907. 8vo, pp. vii, 55, with plates.
- Catalogue of the selection of books and broadsides illustrating the early history of printing, exhibited in the John Rylands Library on the occasion of the visit of the Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades in June, MCMVII. 1907. 8vo, pp. v, 34.
- Catalogue of an exhibition of illuminated manuscripts, principally Biblical and liturgical, exhibited in the John Rylands Library on the occasion of the meeting of the Church Congress in October, MCMVIII. 1908. 8vo, pp. vii, 62, with plates.
- Catalogue of an exhibition in the John Rylands Library of the original editions of the principal works of John Milton, arranged in celebration of the tercentenary of his birth. 1908. 8vo, pp. 24.
- Catalogue of an exhibition of the works of Dante Alighieri, shown in the John Rylands Library from March to October, MCMIX. 1909. 8vo, pp. xii, 55.
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- Catalogue of an exhibition of manuscripts and printed copies of the Scriptures, illustrating the history of the transmission of the Bible, shown in the

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Catalogue of an exhibition of mediæval manuscripts and jewelled book covers shown in the John Rylands Library from January XII to December, MCMXII, including lists of palæographical works and of historical periodicals in the John Rylands Library. 1912. 8vo, pp. xiii, 134, with plates.

A brief historical description of the John Rylands Library and its contents, with catalogue of a selection of manuscripts and printed books exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in October, MCMXII. With illustrations. Edited by Henry Guppy. 1912. 8vo, pp. x, 143.

Catalogue of an exhibition in the John Rylands Library of the works of Shakespeare, his sources, and the writings of his principal contemporaries. With an introductory sketch by Henry Guppy, and sixteen facsimiles. Tercentenary of the death of Shakespeare, April 23rd, 1916. 1916. 8vo, pp. xvi, 169.

— Second edition. 1916. 8vo, pp. xvi, 169.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

An analytical catalogue of the contents of the two editions of "An English Garner," compiled by Edward Arber, 1877-97, and rearranged under the editorship of Thomas Seccombe, 1903-04. 1909. 8vo, pp. vii, ff. 221.

The ascent of Olympus. By Rendel Harris. 1917. 8vo, pp. 140. 20 illustrations.

Bibliographical notes for the study of the Old Testament. By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D. To accompany his lecture on how to study the Old Testament, delivered in the John Rylands Library, November 26th, 1913. 1913. 8vo, pp. 7.

Bibliographical notes for students of the New Testament. By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D. To accompany his lecture on how to study the New Testament. 1914. 8vo, pp. 10.

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A brief historical description of the John Rylands Library and its contents, illustrated with 37 views and facsimiles. By Henry Guppy. 1914. 8vo, pp. xv, 73.

A brief sketch of the life and times of Shakespeare, with chronological table of the principal events. By Henry Guppy. Reprinted from the

"Catalogue of an exhibition of the works of Shakespeare. . . ." 1916. 8vo, pp. 30. Frontispiece.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Edited by the Librarian. 8vo. *In Progress.*

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The evolution of the dragon. By G. Elliot Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Illustrated. 1919. 8vo, pp. xx, 234.

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Memorial of the inauguration of the John Rylands Library, 6th October, 1899. Morning programme and brief description of the building. 1899. 8vo, pp. 23.

The movement of Old Testament scholarship in the nineteenth century. Synopsis of a lecture by . . . A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., delivered in the John Rylands Library on November 11th, 1903. With some leading dates in Pentateuch criticism. 1903. 8vo, pp. 8.

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Vol. 2: The translation, with introduction and notes.

The public library: its history and its functions. By Henry Guppy. An address delivered at the Educational Committees' Association Conference, held at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on April 28th, 1906. 1906. 8vo, pp. 27.

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- Bruton (F. A.). The story of Peterloo. Written for the centenary, August 16th, 1919. 1919. 8vo, pp. 45, with plates.
- Conway (R. S.). The Venetian point of view in Roman history. 1917-18. 8vo, pp. 22.
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- James Hope Moulton, 1863-1917. 1. A biographical sketch, with some account of his literary legacies. By W. Fiddian Moulton, M.A. 2. A record of Professor J. H. Moulton's work, with some explanation of its significance. By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D. 3. Letter from Dr. Rendel Harris to the Rev. W. Fiddian Moulton. 1917. 8vo, pp. 18, with portrait.
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- Perry (W. J.). War and civilisation. 1917-18. 8vo, pp. 27, with 9 sketch maps.
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- Smith (G. E.). The influence of ancient Egyptian civilisation in the East and in America. 1916. 8vo, pp. 32. 7 illustrations.
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- Souter (A.). List of abbreviations and contractions, etc., in the John Rylands Library manuscript no. 15. 1919. 8vo, pp. 7.
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- Tout (T. F.). Mediæval and modern warfare. 1919. 8vo, pp. 28.
- Tout (T. F.). A mediæval burglary. 1915. 8vo, pp. 24.
- Tout (T. F.). Mediæval forgers and forgeries. 1920. 8vo, pp. 31.
- Tout (T. F.). Mediæval town planning. 1917. 8vo, pp. 35. 11 illustrations.
- Works upon the study of Greek and Latin palæography and diplomatic in the John Rylands Library. 1903. 4to, pp. 15.

Admirable as the building is from the architectural point of view, it became evident within a few months of the opening of the library that adequate provision had not been made for the administrative requirements of such an institution, or for the growth and development of its collections.

EXTEN-
SION OF
THE BUILD-
ING.

Representations were consequently made to Mrs. Rylands, who, with her usual readiness to listen to any proposals which were calculated to increase the usefulness and efficiency of her foundation, at once undertook to equip two large book-rooms at the rear of the building, in one of which the manuscripts were later housed, and to furnish the basement with shelves. At the same time she caused inquiries to be made as to the possibility of acquiring land to provide for future extension. Unfortunately, the owners of the property adjoining the library were either unwilling to sell, or would only sell at a price which was prohibitive, so that the matter for the time being had to remain in abeyance.

No further action was taken until 1907, when a block of property, covering an area of 476 square yards, situated at the side of the library but not adjoining it, was purchased by Mrs. Rylands, for the purpose of erecting thereon a store-building on the stack principle, in the absence of a more suitable site. Mrs. Rylands was at that time in a rapidly failing state of health, and death intervened before the arrangements in pursuance of her intentions could be completed, or her testamentary wishes with regard to them could be obtained.

Beyond the clearance of the site nothing further had been done towards the utilisation of this land, when in 1909 circumstances arose which rendered such considerations unnecessary, since the governors were offered one plot of land at the rear of the library and immediately adjacent, and after somewhat protracted negotiations they were able to acquire not only that plot but also nine others, covering an area of nearly 1200 square yards. This was a source of great relief, for it provided not only for the future extension of the library, to meet the normal growth of its collections for at least a century, but at the same time it removed an element of great risk due to the proximity of some very dangerous property, parts of which were stored with highly inflammable material. It was also possible to create an island site of the library buildings, by arranging that an open space should be left between the new wing and the nearest of the adjoining property.

These purchases were completed in 1911, and a scheme for the utilisation of the newly acquired site was prepared, in which, briefly stated, the specified requirements to be met were as follows :—

One of the most urgent needs was accommodation for book-storage. This was to be provided by means of stacks of enamelled steel, divided into floors of a uniform height of 7ft. 6in., in order that every shelf should be within reach, without the aid of ladders.

In the matter of provision for administrative work the library was very deficient, with the result that much of the work had to be carried on under conditions which were far from satisfactory. This was to be remedied by the inclusion of: (*a*) an accessions-room, where the books could be received, checked, registered, and otherwise dealt with preparatory to their handling by the cataloguers; (*b*) a binding-room where the work of preparation for the binder could be carried out, and where repairs to valuable books and manuscripts could be effected under proper supervision by an imported craftsman, so as to obviate the risk involved in their removal to the binder's workshop; (*c*) a room for the assistant secretary, where the secretarial work could be carried out under proper conditions, and where the numerous account books could be kept together, and provision made for their safe custody.

In the original building no special arrangements had been made for the custody of manuscripts, since the initial stock included but a handful of such volumes. When the Crawford collection came to be transferred to the library by Mrs. Rylands, the only accommodation available was on the ground floor, where there was little natural light. Therefore, a new adequately lighted and specially equipped room was urgently needed to provide for the development of this rapidly increasing department of the library. Adjoining the manuscript-room a work-room was essential for the shelving of the necessary reference books, such as catalogues of manuscripts in other libraries, and the collection of works on palæography and diplomatic.

Hitherto no provision had been made for the staff in the way of common-rooms, and it was proposed that two such rooms should be provided, one for the men and the other for the women assistants, to serve as rest-rooms during the intervals between periods of duty. It was also proposed that a work-room should be provided in close proximity to the main reading-room, where the librarian could, when

necessary, escape the constantly increasing interruptions to which he has properly to submit when in his official room. Here also it was proposed to make provision for the storage of all library plans and official documents. A room was also needed for the storage of the publications issued by the library.

Another need which was making itself felt was additional accommodation for readers, and this, it was felt, could best be met by the provision of a new reading-room reserved for special research, similar to the inner room in the British Museum, where specially rare books could be consulted under proper supervision. The proposal was to place this room at a point of the site farthest from Deansgate, on the top of the large stack building, so as to provide the lightest and quietest room of the suite, where readers would be able to work in comfort surrounded by the general reference works arranged on open shelves, and at the same time be free from the distractions which are inevitable in the more public part of the library.

Communication between all the floors of the original building and the new wing was to be obtained by means of a new automatic electric lift, placed between the two sections of the building, and the various departments were also to be linked up by means of an internal system of telephones.

The experience gained during the twelve years of working had revealed the fact that the heating and ventilation systems were by no means satisfactory. It was considered advisable, therefore, to overhaul the installation with a view of securing much greater efficiency, whilst at the same time providing for the increased requirements of the extended range of buildings under contemplation.

One grave mistake which had been made in the original scheme of ventilation, which was on the "plenum" system, was to place the air inlets and fans at the pavement level in the side streets, which are always more or less foul. One of the first requirements, therefore, in the new block, was the erection of a shaft for the intake of air at the highest possible point, where it would be less polluted than at the street level, of a capacity sufficient to provide for the whole of the buildings, present and future.

After careful consideration by the governors these proposals were forwarded to Mr. Basil Champneys, the architect of the original structure, with a request that he would prepare designs for the contemplated

extension, in which the character and spirit of the original structure should be maintained, and in such a way that the work could be carried out in two sections.

The architect submitted his sketch plans in 1912, but it was not until the end of 1913 that work was commenced upon the first part of the scheme, which was to include all the specified provisions, except the larger stack-room and the large reading-room.

From beginning to end the matter bristled with difficulties, new problems having to be faced at every turn, such as a new system of drainage, and the reconstruction of the boiler-house to meet the requirements of the enlarged building in the matter of heating. Then the war intervened, bringing in its train new obstacles in the way of shortage of labour, and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary materials, with the inevitable result that work was at first retarded, and, for nearly eighteen months in 1918 and 1919 it was brought to a complete standstill. Fortunately, with the help of the late Sir George Macalpine, who, as Chairman of the Council of Governors and also of the Building Committee, rendered invaluable service, and of Mr. William Windsor, the surveyor, who was untiring in his efforts to expedite the work, these difficulties were surmounted one by one, until, in July of last year, the contractors having completed their undertaking, it was with a sense of relief that the first portion of the new wing was brought into use, and the work of the library has since been greatly facilitated.

With the completion of the first part of our scheme, providing as it does shelf accommodation for an additional 150,000 volumes, much of which, it should be pointed out, has already been taken up by the accumulations of the last few years, the immediate cause for anxiety has been removed.

When, however, it is understood that the normal rate of growth during the past twenty-one years has averaged something like 10,000 volumes per year, it will be realised that within the next decade the need for further shelf-accommodation will again become urgent, and it will be necessary to consider ways and means for carrying out the deferred part of the scheme, under which it is estimated that the requirements of the library both in respect of book storage and also of seating accommodation for readers for at least the remainder of the present century have been fully anticipated.

In pre-war days the income of the library was considered to be

adequate to meet not only the cost of maintenance and ordinary book purchase, but also to allow of the creation of a reserve fund from which to meet such contingencies as are represented by exceptional book purchases, dilapidations, and building extension. Such, however, have been the financial effects of the war, that an income that was considered to be ample for all purposes in 1914 is now barely sufficient to meet the current and growing needs of the institution, if it is to be kept abreast of the times ; so that the provision of anything in the nature of a reserve fund is practically out of the question, and we can only hope that some enlightened benefactor, will conceive the desire of taking up the work inaugurated by Mrs. Rylands, and by so doing assist the governors not only to carry it on in the spirit and intention of the founder, but to develop it along lines which shall yield still greater results in the stimulation of original investigation, and in the encouragement of scholarship.

It is impossible within the limits of such a short article as the present to convey anything like an adequate idea of the wealth of rare and precious volumes which the library contains, and which merit extended notice, for, to do justice to any one of the many sections, would require a volume of considerable length ; and yet, it would be obviously incomplete without some reference, however brief, to at least a few of the most noteworthy of the features which have made it famous in the world of books.

CONTENTS
OF THE
LIBRARY.

Apart from any other consideration we feel this to be necessary, for we are constantly reminded of the fact that there are still many students interested in the various fields of research which the library covers, who have but a vague idea of the range and character of its contents.

One of the most noteworthy of its features is the collection of books printed before the year 1501, numbering upwards of 3000 volumes. These books have been arranged up- on the shelves of the room specially constructed for their accommodation, and known as "The Early Printed Book Room," in such a way as to show at a glance the direction which the art of printing took in the course of its progress and development across Europe.

EARLY
PRINTED
BOOKS.

Commencing with the specimens of block-printing, those immediate

precursors of the type-printed book, which may be described as the stepping-stones from the manuscript to that remarkable development which took place in the middle of the fifteenth century with the invention of the printing press, the first object to claim attention is the famous block-print of "Saint Christopher," bearing an inscription, and the date 1423. This, the earliest known piece of European printing to which an unquestioned and, until recently, unchallenged date is attached, and of which no other copy is known, is alone sufficient to make the library famous. From the single leaf prints, of which there are in addition several undated examples, some of which may belong to a slightly earlier period, to the block-books was the next step in the development. These block-books were mostly made up from single leaves, printed only on one side of the paper from engraved slabs or blocks of pear or apple wood, cut on the plank, and then made up into books by being pasted back to back. Fourteen of these volumes are preserved in the library, of which nine may be assigned conjecturally to the period between 1440 and 1450. The best known are the "Apocalypsis," the "Biblia Pauperum," the "Ars Moriendi," the "Ars Memorandi," and the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis".

Of the earliest examples of the type printed books, assuming that the first press was set up at Mainz, we possess copies of the "Letters of Indulgence" printed in 1454 and 1455 respectively; the two splendid Latin Bibles, technically known as the "36-line," and the "42-line," from the number of lines to a column, and popularly known as the "Pfister or Bamberg Bible," and the "Mazarin Bible"; the "Mainz Psalter" of 1457, 1459, and 1490, the first of which, believed to be the only perfect copy known of the 143-leaved issue, is the first book to contain particulars of date, place, and printers. Of these, and the other productions of the press or presses at Mainz, with which the names of Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer are associated, the library possesses no fewer than fifty examples. By means of the examples from the other presses to be found on the shelves of this room, it is possible to follow the art, step by step, in its progress through Germany, where printing was carried on in at least fifty-one towns by not fewer than 219 printers, before the close of the fifteenth century.

Though the printing press was born in Germany, the full flower

of its development was first reached in Italy, at that time the home of scholarship. The first printers of Italy were two migrant Germans, Sweynheim and Pannartz, who set up their press in the Benedictine monastery at Subiaco, in 1465. With the exception of the "Donatus," of which not even a fragment of the 300 copies printed is known to survive, there is a copy of every book mentioned by these printers in their famous catalogue of 1472. From that date (1465) to 1500 the progress of the art in Italy was quite phenomenal. Within five years of the establishment of the first press in Venice, by another German, named John of Spire, in 1469, printing had been introduced into most of the chief towns in Italy, and before the end of the century presses had been set up in seventy-three towns. In Venice alone at least 151 presses had been started, and something approaching two millions of volumes had been printed, before the close of the fifteenth century, an output which exceeded the total of all the other Italian towns put together. These presses are well represented in the John Rylands collection, and it is possible in most cases to exhibit the first work produced by the respective printers. Of one specimen of early Venetian printing mention may be made; it is the first edition of Boccaccio's "Decameron," printed by Valdarfer in 1471, of which no other perfect copy is known. Of the early productions of the Neapolitan presses the library possesses many examples, several of which are the only recorded copies. The printers of Basle are well represented, as also are the printers of Paris, Lyons, and the other centres of printing in France, Holland, and Belgium.

Turning to the shelves devoted to England, we find that of genuine Caxtons the library possesses sixty examples, four of which are unique. The collection includes the first book printed in English at Bruges; "The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye," the first dated book printed at Westminster; "The Dictes or Sayengis of the philosophres," "The Advertisement," "Malory's Morte d'Arthur," and the "Propositio Johannis Russell," of each of the three last named only one other copy is known.

Of the works of the later printers in London: Wynkyn de Worde, Lettou, Machlinia, Pynson, Notary, and of the Schoolmaster printer of St. Albans, the library possesses many examples, whilst of the early Oxford books there are nine, including the famous "Expositio" of Rufinus, with the misprinted date of 1468.

There are a few of the monuments of early printing which, to the number of 3000, three-fourths of which were printed before 1480, are to be found upon the shelves of the Early Printed Book Room, the majority of them remarkable for their excellent state of preservation, and a considerable proportion of them printed on vellum.

Not less remarkable than the "Incunabula" is the collection of books printed at the famous Venetian press, founded by the scholar-printer Aldus, in or about the year 1494. ALDINE PRESS.

The collection is considered to be the largest ever brought together, numbering as it does upwards of 800 volumes, many of them printed on vellum. Few men in his own, or in any age, have done more for the spread of knowledge than Aldus. His earliest aim seems to have been to rescue the masterpieces of Greek literature from the destruction ever impending over a few scattered manuscripts, but he did not by any means confine his attention to the Greek classics, though the achievements of his Latin press are not so distinguished as those of his Greek press. It was Aldus who was responsible for the introduction of the famous *Italic* type, which he first employed in printing the Vergil of 1501, and which is said to be a close copy of the handwriting of Petrarch. The closeness of this new type enabled the printer to make up his sheets into a size of volume that could easily be held in the hand, and readily carried in the pocket. At the same time the new type also allowed him to compress into the small dainty format, by which the press of Aldus is best remembered, as much as the purchaser could heretofore buy in a large folio. Aldus died in 1516, but his printing establishment continued in active operation until 1597, a period of 102 years. The collection also comprises a considerable number of the counterfeit Aldines.

Equally noteworthy are the Bibles which have been brought together in the "Bible Room," comprising copies of all the earliest and most famous texts and versions, together BIBLE COLLECTION. with the later revisions and translations, from the Mainz edition of the Latin Vulgate of about 1455 to the "Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures," 1913, etc. Indeed the Bible collection may be looked upon as the complement of the other collections, since, between the printing of the first and the last editions, an interval of four and a half centuries, it shows the progress and comparative development of the art of printing in a manner that no other single book can. As the

art of printing made its way across Europe, the Bible was generally the first, or one of the first, books to be printed by many of the early printers. Four editions of the Bible in Latin, and two great Latin Psalters had appeared in type before a single volume of the classics had been dealt with in a similar way. The earliest printed Bibles were of the Latin Vulgate, and of this version alone upwards of one hundred editions had appeared before the close of the fifteenth century. The most important of these editions, to the number of sixty-four, thirty-two of which have been added to the collection during the period under review, are to be found in the Bible Room, together with many of the editions of the sixteenth and later centuries.

The collection also includes the four great Polyglots, printed at Alcalá (Complutum), Antwerp, Paris, and London respectively; the Greek texts from the Aldine "editio princeps" of 1518, with the facsimiles of the principal codices, and all the important editions down to that of Von Soden, issued in 1911-13; and the Hebrew texts commencing with the Bologna and Soncino portions of 1477 and 1485, followed by a long series of editions down to and including the current texts of Ginsburg and Kittel. Of the translations into German, French, Italian, Icelandic, Danish, Dutch, Bohemian, Polish, Slavonic, Spanish, Welsh, Manx, Gaelic, Irish, and Chinese, the earliest, almost without exception, and the most important of the later editions are represented, many of the copies being of exceptional interest, if not unique. Indeed, if we include the more modern translations of the whole Bible or parts of it, issued by the various Bible Societies, upwards of four hundred languages or dialects are represented in the collection.

The English section illustrates very fully the history of the English versions from Wiclif (of which there are twelve manuscript copies) to the present day, including such rarities as Tindale's "Pentateuch," his "Testaments" of 1534 and 1536; the "Coverdale Bible" of 1535, and the "Matthew Bible" of 1537, to mention only a few of the outstanding items.

On the classical side the library is pre-eminently rich, with its remarkable series of early and fine impressions of the Greek and Latin classics, which, with few exceptions, still retain the freshness they possessed when they left the hands of the printers four hundred years ago. On the occasion of the

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holding of the annual conference of the Classical Association in Manchester in 1906, we were able to exhibit of the fifty principal Greek and Latin writers the first printed edition of each, including the only known copy of the "Batrachomyomachia" of 1474, which has the distinction of being the first printed Greek classic. The value of such a series, apart from typographical considerations, as aids to textual criticism, is obvious enough when it is remembered that many of the manuscripts from which these texts were printed have since perished. Of Cicero alone there are seventy-eight editions of such of his works as were printed before 1501. With scarcely an exception the collection contains not only the first, but the principal editions of the Greek and Latin writers, together with all the modern critical apparatus, and the facsimiles of the famous codices, which have been issued within recent years.

Of the great masters of Italian literature the library possesses a considerable collection. The Dante collection alone ITALIAN CLASSICS. numbers upwards of 6000 volumes, including five manuscripts; and is specially rich in early editions of the "Divina Commedia," comprising the three earliest printed editions of 1472, issued respectively at Foligno, Jesi, and Mantua, and two copies of the Florentine edition of 1481 with Landino's commentary, one of which contains the twenty engravings executed by Baldini in imitation of Sandro Botticelli. The collection of Boccaccio's "Il Decamerone" consists of eight fifteenth century editions, including the only known perfect copy of the "editio princeps," printed at Venice by Valdarfer, in 1471, and a long series of sixteenth century and later editions. Many other names are equally well represented, as are also the writers of the sixteenth and later centuries down to the present day.

The department of English literature is remarkable for its richness. It is not possible to do more than mention a few names, therefore the extent of the collection must not be ENGLISH LITERATURE. estimated by the limited number of works to which specific reference is made. Shakespeare is well represented with two sets of the four folios, the "Sonnets" of 1609 and 1640, and a long range of the later and the critical editions. Of Chaucer there are the earliest as well as the principal later editions, commencing with the "Canterbury Tales" of 1478. These are followed by a long series of the original editions of Ben Jonson, Spenser, Milton, Bunyan,

Drayton, and the other great classics of England, including a large number of the smaller pieces of Elizabethan literature. On the modern side there is an equally representative collection of the original issues of the works of the principal writers such as Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin, Byron, and Lamb, to mention only one or two of the outstanding names, together with all the modern critical literature which students are likely to require in conducting their research.

In French literature the library is particularly rich in the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, including a number of finely illustrated editions of the great classics, whilst the modern writers, comprising the more recent schools of poetry, together with the critical literature surrounding them, are to be found abundantly represented.

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SPANISH,
GERMAN,
AND
OTHER
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TURES.

There is an excellent collection of Spanish and of German literature, and to a lesser degree of Portuguese and Russian, whilst the other minor literatures have not been neglected. Indeed, the student of comparative literature will find here most of the authorities he is likely to need for consultation in the course of his investigations. Not only will he find the masterpieces of literature, those great books which have been made great by the greatness of the personalities that gave them life, but he will find them surrounded by the wide range of critical literature to which they have given rise.

The departments of classical philology, and of Oriental and modern European languages, include all the important reference books, with the working material necessary for linguistic studies.

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OLOGY.

The historical section which has been gradually and systematically built up by well-selected purchases, commences to attain some measure of completeness, so that students, whether of the ancient, classical, mediæval, or modern periods, will find the library's range very comprehensive. It is well equipped in the matter of the great historical collections, such as : Rymer, Rushworth, Montfaucon, Pertz, Muratori, the " *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*," " *Le Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*," " *Gallia Christiana*," " *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*," " *Commission Royale d'histoire de Belgique*," " *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*," the various " *Collections des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*," the " *Rolls Series of Chronicles and Memorials*," the " *Calendars of State Papers*," the

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“Acta Sanctorum” of the Bollandists, the collections of Wadding, Manrique, Holstenius-Brockie, the principal editions of the mediæval chroniclers, together with the publications of the most important of the archæological and historical societies of this country, and of Europe generally, as well as of America, and the principal historical periodicals of this and other countries. Quite recently special attention has been given to the history of India and America, with the result that collections of some thousands of volumes have been obtained, with a view of encouraging research in these fields of study. For the history of India the collection of research material, both manuscript and printed, is very extensive, consisting of state papers, government reports and publications, many of which, printed in remote parts of India, would have been unprocurable but for the generous assistance rendered by the Secretary of State for India. For the history of the East India Company and Warren Hastings, the material is especially rich. The student of American history will find, in addition to many of the rare early printed sources and the standard modern authorities, a collection of the publications and transactions of historical associations of the various states. The collection of pamphlets, numbering upwards of 15,000, is of extreme importance, offering valuable original material for research for the study of the Civil War, the Popish Plot, the Revolution of 1688, the Non-Juror controversy, the Solemn League and Covenant, of English politics under the first three Georges, and to a lesser extent for the French Revolution. The few titles and topics mentioned are only intended to indicate the wide scope of the library, covering as it does the whole field of history, from the ancient Empires of the East, through the Greek and Roman periods, down to the present day. In a later paragraph we shall refer to the rapidly growing collection of manuscript material, consisting of charters and other documents awaiting investigation.

The topographical and genealogical collections, which are very extensive, should also be mentioned as of importance. Indeed, every effort is being used to make this department of the library still more efficient to meet the requirements of the students engaged on special research. Reference should also be made to the fact that many of the county histories, biographies, and special histories, have been extra illustrated, with the result that the library contains pictorial matter in the form of tens of thousands of prints, representing persons and places, many of which are of extreme rarity.

Theology occupies a prominent place in the library by reason of the special character that was impressed upon it from its inception. The original intention of the founder was to establish a library, the chief purpose of which should be the promotion of the higher forms of religious knowledge. It is true the scope of the institution was enlarged by the purchase of the Althorp collection, but in the selection of the 200,000 volumes which have been acquired since 1899, the governors have steadily kept in view the founder's original intention. Reference has already been made to the Biblical texts. In the matter of patristic and scholastic theology the library is very rich, especially in the early printed texts, whilst the Benedictine editions of the Fathers there is a complete set. The liturgical section is very strong, its collections of early missals and breviaries being specially noteworthy. There are twenty missals printed between 1475 and 1504, including the famous Mozarabic text of 1500, and eight breviaries printed before 1500, most of which are on vellum. "The Book of Common Prayer" is represented by a long and interesting range of editions, including two of the first, issued in London in 1549, the rare quarto edition printed at Worcester in the same year, and Merbeck's "Common Prayer Noted," of 1550, followed by all the important revisions and variations. There are a number of the early Primers, and fifty editions of the dainty Books of Hours printed in Paris in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The works of the reformers are well represented, with a large number of Luther's tracts, including the original edition, in book form, of the famous "Theses," printed in 1517, and his "Catechismus" of 1529, and a number of the earliest printed works of Erasmus, Hutten, Melanchthon, Savonarola, Zwingli, Tindale, Frith, Roy, Coverdale, Calvin, Knox, and Bunyan; the great devotional books such as St. Augustine's "Confessions," the "Imitatio Christi," the "Speculum Vitæ Christi," the "Scala perfectionis," the "Ars moriendi," and the "Ordinary of Christian Men" are all to be found in the earliest, and in the later editions of importance. On the modern side the student will find the library fully equipped in the departments of Biblical criticism, dogmatic theology, liturgiology, hagiography, church history, and comparative religion.

The ancient, mediæval, and modern schools of philosophy are fully represented, especially in metaphysics, experimental psychology, and psychical science.

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Sociology both on its political and economic side, and from the side of legal history, is well provided for, whilst in constitutional law and history, international law, and Roman law and jurisprudence, the equipment is thoroughly representative, including a special collection of the principal texts and commentaries of Justinian. The subject of Education is also well represented, both from the historical point of view, as from the standpoint of theory and practice. The works of the early humanist educators in the original editions will be found, side by side with the leading authorities in each department and period down to the present day, including a set of the "Monumenta Germaniæ Pedagogica".

Bibliography, which may be regarded as the grammar of literary investigation, is extremely well represented. One of the foremost aims of the library, from the outset, has been to provide the student, in whatever direction his studies may lie, with a bibliography of his subject, when one exists, as the most essential tool of research.

A special feature of the library is the periodical room, in which are made accessible to students the leading periodicals of all countries, to the number of nearly 400, dealing with such subjects as history, philology, philosophy, theology, literature, art, and archæology. The current numbers lie open for consultation, and with very few exceptions, complete sets of each from its commencement are in the possession of the library, constituting in many cases an unexplored mine of valuable research material.

Another of the outstanding features of the library is the collection of Oriental and Western manuscripts, the nucleus of which consisted of a small group of less than a hundred examples contained in the Althorp collection. These have been added to from time to time as opportunities have occurred, but the present magnificence and character of the collection was determined by the acquisition in 1901 of the manuscripts of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, consisting of nearly 6000 rolls, tablets, and codices. From that time forward every effort has been employed to develop and enrich the collection along lines which already have been productive of excellent results in the stimulation of research.

As evidence of the success which has attended these efforts, it needs only to be pointed out that the collection now numbers upwards

of 10,000 manuscripts, illustrating not only the history of writing and illumination, but also the history of the materials and methods which have been employed from the earliest times for the preservation and transmission of knowledge from one age to another, and at the same time offering to students in many departments of research original sources of great interest and importance.

On the Oriental side the languages represented are the following : Abyssinian, Armenian, Ethiopic, Sanskrit, Pali, Panjabi, Hindustani, Marathi, Parsi, Pehlevi, Burmese, Canarese, Singhalese, Tamil, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Javanese, Achinese, Mongolian, Balinese, Thibetan, Mo-So, Batak, Bugi, Kawi, Madurese, Makassar, and Mexican.

Of more general interest are the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts, numbering nearly 2000 volumes, a preliminary examination of which has led to the discovery of several inedited texts of far-reaching importance, notably an unrecorded apology of Islam, written at Baghdad in 850 A.D. The examples of the Kurān, dating from the eighth and ninth centuries, in the stately Cufic and Nashki characters, are in many cases of surpassing beauty and rarity, three of them being written throughout in letters of gold.

Amongst the papyrus rolls and fragments are examples of the "Book of the Dead" both in hieroglyphic and hieratic, and large and important collections of Demotic, Coptic, Arabic, and Greek documents.

There are several very fine Gospel books in the collection of Greek codices, but the most important member of the group is a considerable fragment of the "Odyssey," possibly of the later decades of the third century of the present era, which consequently takes rank among the earliest examples of vellum books which have come down to us.

In Syriac the library possesses a vellum codex of the Peshitta Gospels of the sixth century, and what is probably the earliest known complete New Testament of the Heracleian version, written about A.D. 1000, besides a number of other outstanding texts which await examination. By far the most noteworthy manuscript in this language is that which enshrines the "Odes and Psalms of Solomon," discovered by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1909, and which already has excited such world-wide interest that quite a library of literature has grown

up around it. The Hebrew collection comprises a number of fine "Rolls of the Law," and of the "Megilloth," several illuminated codices of the "Haggadah," and a number of liturgical texts. In Samaritan there is a remarkable group of Biblical and liturgical codices, including a very interesting vellum copy of the "Pentateuch" written A.D. 1211.

Amongst recent acquisitions on the Oriental side is a collection of upwards of a hundred palm-leaf manuscripts of the Buddhist scriptures in Pali, Singhalese, Burmese, and Thibetan, many of which are of exquisite workmanship. Another group of considerable importance on account of their extreme rarity, consists of about a hundred pieces of undetermined antiquity, in the language of the Mo-So people, a non-Chinese race scattered throughout Southern China, which are written in picture characters on a thick Oriental paper of uneven texture, apparently brown with age.

Turning to the Western manuscripts, whether produced in England, Flanders, France, Germany, Italy, or Spain, there are some hundreds, comprising examples of first class quality of the art and calligraphy of the great mediæval writing schools of Europe, ranging from the sixth to the nineteenth century, and covering a wide range of subjects including : Biblical, liturgical, and patristic texts, hagiography, theology, classics, chronicles, histories, charters, papal bulls, pedigrees, heraldry, law, science, and alchemy. Many of these manuscripts are encased in jewelled and enamelled bindings in metal and ivory, dating from the tenth to the twelfth century, which impart to them a character and value of a very special kind.

During the last few years considerable additions have been made to this Western section, many of which are of considerable historical importance, including a number purchased at recent sales of the collections of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps. The following items, taken almost at random, may be mentioned as indicating the character of these recent acquisitions : Cartularies of St. Mary's Abbey at York, Warden Abbey, Tolethorpe, Melsa, and one volume of that of Fountains Abbey ; several early papal bulls ; an interesting collection of briefs, patents, wills, marriage contracts, deeds of gift and other documents relating to the Medici family, from the Medici Archives ; a number of wardrobe and household expenses books of King Edward I, King Edward II, Queen Philippa of Hainault, Queen

Joan of Navarre, and Queen Catherine of Aragon ; a treasury account book of King Charles VI of France ; a fourteenth century chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy and Kings of England ; a large number of court and manor rolls ; the original collections of Sir John and Sir Henry Savile for the history of Yorkshire ; two fifteenth century manuscripts of Richard Rolle of Hampole ; a fifteenth century illustrated chronicle in roll form ; a fourteenth century Latin Bible on uterine vellum ; a palimpsest Icelandic manuscript of laws promulgated in Iceland from 1281 to 1541, and many other documents which are of interest to students of diplomatic as representing the legal and court hands of the same period, comprising all aspects of the study, and including about 2000 charters, of which 100 were acquired at the recent sale of the Baroness Beaumont's collection.

With a view of providing for the wider interest in the study of Greek and Latin palæography and diplomatic, which may be looked for as a result of the development of this side of historical and classical study at the University in recent years, every effort has been made to provide as complete an equipment as possible of the principal authorities, with the result that the collection now numbers upwards of 1000 volumes, covering all branches of the subject, and including catalogues of the manuscripts in the principal public and private collections throughout the world, whether dispersed or still existing.

The library possesses a large number of books which have an interest in themselves as coming from the libraries of such famous collectors as Grolier, Thomas Maioli, Canevari, Marcus HISTORIC BOOKS. Laurinus, De Thou, Comte d'Hoym, Duc de La Vallière, Loménie de Brienne, Diane de Poitiers, Henri II, Margaret de Valois, Marie de Medicis, Charles d'Angoulême, the French and the English Kings and Queens, Thomas Wotton, who has come to be known as the English Grolier, many Popes and lesser church dignitaries, and others too numerous to mention. As an indication of the interest surrounding such volumes, mention may be made of a few taken at random. There is a copy on vellum of the "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus M. Lutherum" of Henry VIII, for which he received the title "Defensor Fidei," and which he presented to Louis II, King of Hungary, with an inscription in his own handwriting "Regi Daciae," on the binding of which are the arms of Pope Pius VI. The Aldine edition of Petrarch of 1501, is from the library of Cardinal Bembo,

and contains marginalia in his handwriting. If, as one authority has declared, "To own one or two examples from Jean Grolier's library is to take high rank as a bibliophile," this library merits a commanding position, since it possesses thirteen such volumes, one of which contains this collector's autograph, whilst another is filled with marginalia said to be in his handwriting. The copy of the first edition of the "*Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*," the tract which caused so great a stir at the time of the Reformation, belonged to Philip Melancthon, and contains many marginalia from his pen. Martin Luther's "*In primum librum Mose enarrationes*" 1544, has upon its title-page an inscription in Hebrew and Latin, in Luther's handwriting, presenting the book to Marc Crodel, rector of the College of Torgau. Other volumes notable by reason of their ownership are: the "Book of Hours" which belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, having two inscriptions in her handwriting; the manuscript copy of Wiclif's Gospels, which was presented to Queen Elizabeth in Cheapside when on her way to St. Paul's, an event which is recorded in Holinshed's "Chronicles"; the "Book of Hours" of King Charles VII of France; the Psalter which belonged to Queen Joan of Navarre, the second consort of our King Henry IV, bearing her autograph; the "Book of Devotions" written and illuminated by or for the Abbot John Islip, the builder of the Chantry Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, bearing in the illuminated borders the same punning rebus on his name which is to be found in the carvings of the Chapel, and presented to Henry VII, with the arms of the King on the binding; the gorgeous "*Missale Romanum*" with many illuminations by Clovio, bearing the arms of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna and said to have been presented to him when he was raised to the Cardinalate; the Gospel Book which belonged to the Emperor Otto the Great, bearing on one of its illuminated pages his effigy. Coming nearer to our own day there is the Bible which Elizabeth Fry used daily for many years, which is full of marks and comments in her handwriting. The Bible from Hawarden Church is of interest as being the identical copy from which W. E. Gladstone frequently read the lessons in the course of divine service between 1884 and 1894. There is also the original manuscript of Bishop Heber's hymn "*From Greenland's Icy Mountains*". Another volume of more than ordinary interest, the "*Valdarfer Boccaccio*," to which reference has been made

already, came into prominence at the sale of the Duke of Roxburghe's books in 1812, when it realised the sum of £2260. It was in honour of the sale of the volume that the Roxburghe Club was founded. The copy of the Glasgow *Æschylus* of 1759 has bound up with it the original drawings of Flaxman, and is clothed in a binding by Roger Payne, which is always spoken of as his masterpiece. Such are a few of the books possessing a personal history, which, in considerable numbers are to be found upon the shelves.

If the books themselves excite interest and admiration, not less striking is the appropriateness, and often the magnificence of their bindings. Lord Spencer believed that a good book should be honoured by a good binding, and he either sought out copies so distinguished or had them clothed in bindings of the highest artistic excellence. Of the many specimens in the library illustrating the history of the art from the fifteenth century to the present day, we need only refer to the great artists who worked for the famous collectors named in the preceding paragraph as figuring in the collection, with examples of the work of Clovis and Nicolas Eve, Le Gascon, Boyet, the two Deromes, the Padeloups, Geoffrey Tory, Bozerian, Thouvenin, Mearne, the English masters of the seventeenth century, whose names, unhappily, have been forgotten, and of Roger Payne, the man who by native genius shines out among the decadent craftsmen of the late eighteenth century as the finest binder England has produced. The library possesses the largest collection extant of Payne's bindings, including the Glasgow "*Æschylus*," already referred to as his finest work, and the unfinished Aldine "*Homer*," which he did not live to complete. Several of Payne's bills are in the library, which are remarkable documents, containing, as they do, in many cases, interesting particulars as to his methods of workmanship. The tradition of fine binding was continued after his death by certain German binders, Kalthoeber, Staggemeier, and others, who settled in London, also by Charles Lewis and Charles Hering, who especially imitated his manner, but lacked the original genius of Payne, and his delicacy of finish. Many specimens of the work of these successors of Payne are to be found scattered throughout the library. The library is almost equally rich in specimens of the work of the great modern binders, especially since the advent of the Lloyd Roberts Collection. These include the work achieved by Trautz-Bauzonnet, David, Lortic, Marius Michel, Chambolle-Duru, Cuzin, Edwards of Halifax, Francis Bed-

ford, Rivière, Cobden Sanderson, Prideaux, Fazakerley, and Zaehnsdorf, to mention the most prominent names. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the whole history of the art of binding might be written from the examples assembled on the shelves of this library.

We can only make a brief reference to the thirty jewelled covers with which some of the manuscripts are adorned, which impart to them a character and value of a very special kind. The extraordinary rarity of these metal and ivory bindings may be gauged by the fact that this collection, whilst containing only thirty examples, yet ranks third among the collections of the world. Many of the covers are of great beauty and interest, none the less so for the process of building up which they have undergone in long past centuries. The normal course seems to have been as follows : a monastery owned a precious tenth century "textus" or manuscript of the Gospels ; it also possessed an ivory "pax" or tablet carved with one or more scenes from the life of Christ, of, perhaps, a century later. A century later still it occurred to some rich abbot to have the second mounted as a cover for the first, and he would call in some jeweller or metal worker from Cologne or Liège, who would encase the tablet in a metal frame richly encrusted with jewels, which had been bequeathed to the church for the enrichment of the reliquary or the altar books, to make the same into a binding to protect the manuscript. Several of the covers to which reference is made partake of the character of reliquaries, since under the four huge rock crystals set at each of the four corners, relics of saints have been preserved ; unfortunately no information is at present available to enable us to determine the identity of the saints so honoured.

The collection also includes a number of very fine Oriental bindings, of which the Persian specimens in particular are of very great beauty.

Then it should be mentioned that for the study of this art or craft, whether from the historical or practical point of view, there is a complete equipment of the principal authorities.

Much might have been written about the large and growing collection of "unique" books, that is to say printed books of which the only known copy is in the possession of the library, but we must content ourselves with this passing allusion to it. Of books printed on vellum the collection numbers upwards of 400, many of which are of extreme rarity, and also of great beauty. There are a number of very fine extra-illustrated or "Grangerised" works, such as Rapin's

"History of England" in twenty-one folio volumes; Pennant's "Some Account of London" in six volumes; Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England" in twenty-one volumes; Shakespeare in seventeen volumes; Chalmers' "Biographical Dictionary" in thirty-two volumes; and many others.

There is a complete set of the astronomical works of Hevelius, seldom found in a condition so perfect. Although ornithology and botany are somewhat out of the range of the library's interests, there is a fine collection of the great bird books of Audubon, Gould, Dresser, and Lilford, to name the principal authorities; and a number of the great herbals, ranging from the Latin and German editions of the "Herbarius" of 1484 and 1485, to Sander's "Reichenbachia" of 1888-94, including the original or best editions of Gerard, Parkinson, Curtis, Jacquin, Dodoens, Culpepper, etc.

The art section comprises the great European "galleries," the principal monographs on the great masters, a complete set of the works of Piranesi, a set of Turner's "Liber Studiorum" in the best states, and a large collection of works on architecture. The applied arts are also well represented. Indeed, the art student will find abundant material in whatever direction his quest may lead him.

We have already greatly exceeded the number of pages which we had allotted to ourselves for the purpose of this hurried glance at the contents of the library, and yet only the fringe of a few of the most important collections have been touched upon in the most superficial way, whilst many sections have had to be passed over entirely. We hope, however, that these hurriedly written and necessarily discursive notes may serve the purpose we had in view, of conveying some idea of the importance of this carefully chosen collection of the world's literary masterpieces, in the earliest and best editions, many of which are in the finest possible condition and state of preservation.

We cannot conclude this brief review of the history of the library during the years of its minority without some reference to the ever increasing appreciation of the institution and its work which has found expression in the numerous gifts and bequests of books, by which its collections have been so greatly enriched. As evidence of this, it needs only to be stated, that since the inauguration of the library, upwards of forty thousand volumes have been added to its shelves from this source alone.

GIFTS AND
BEQUESTS.

THE CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF EDWARD OF CARNARVON.¹

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DURING the last few years a good deal of energy has been put into the study of the reign of Edward II, and a considerable amount of new light has been thrown on the character of that period. As a result there has been some modest sort of rehabilitation, not indeed of the king, but of the times in which he lived. The easy generalisation which saw in the personality of the ruler the character of the age is not one which commends itself to the modern historian. We no longer believe all England virtuous and pious, because Oliver Cromwell was a good family man and a convinced Puritan, and that then suddenly in 1660 all England became vicious, because Charles II was not a model husband and believed that Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman. Similarly there is no need to accept the view that the age of the heroes died with the hero-king Edward I, and that, because Edward II was a scatter-brained wastrel, all the troubles of his twenty years' reign came by the following of his example. Even in mediæval history, where the personality of the ruler counted for much, a weak king might reign decently, if the men who ruled in his name were competent to carry on the administrative machine.

Accordingly it has been urged that the reign of Edward II has an importance of its own, however insignificant may be the character of that ruler. It has been shown that in these twenty years the military system was reconstituted by reason of the borrowing by the

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the chapter house of Gloucester Cathedral on 27 February to the Gloucester and Cheltenham branch of the Historical Association, and in the John Rylands Library, 10 March, 1920.

English of the lessons learnt from the Scots at Bannockburn, and by applying them with such thoroughness that the battle array of Crecy and Poitiers was already in existence when it was revealed to the Continent by the French Wars of Edward III. Again there is reason for recognising that Edward II's reign is a period of great importance in administrative history. The king's favourite, the younger Despenser, was among the few radical reformers in mediæval English history, and his openness to new ideas gave the official class the chance of reforming their administrative departments and making them more efficient and up to date. In the theory of politics too the Whig doctrine of government by a complaisant monarch, ruling only with the counsel and consent of his natural advisers, the territorial magnates of the land, found under Edward II a more complete expression than it ever attained again before the Revolution of 1399. Even in the economic sphere the Staple system of state regulated foreign trade, once ascribed to the wisdom of Edward III, is found to have grown up almost by itself in the reign of Edward II. Save for one hideous period of famine, the period was not particularly unprosperous, and, save for the desolation of the North by the Scots, was fairly peaceful, that is, according to the not too exacting standard of the middle ages.

However much we may strive to claim more importance for the period than historians have always allowed, there has been no attempt to rehabilitate the character of Edward II. That king still remains to the modern historian exactly what he was to the chroniclers of his own and the next succeeding age. He is still, as Stubbs truly said, the first king after the Norman Conquest who was not a man of business. Tall, well-built, strong and handsome, he had no serious purpose in life, no better policy than to amuse himself and to save himself worry and trouble. He is one of the best mediæval examples of the brutal and brainless athlete, established on a throne. He was not, I suspect, exceptionally vicious or depraved. He was just incompetent, idle, frivolous, and incurious. Most of his distractions, for which his nobles severely blamed him, seem to us harmless enough; but contemporary opinion saw something ignoble and unkingly in a monarch who forsook the society of the magnates, his natural associates, and lived with courtiers, favourites, officials on the make, and even men of meaner estate, grooms, watermen, actors, buffoons, ditchers and

delvers and other craftsmen. He lived hard and drank deeply. He was inconstant and untrustworthy, and could not keep a secret. He had so ungovernable a temper, and lost control of himself so easily that anyone who excited his wrath was liable to receive a sound drubbing from his royal hands. His supreme fault was that, being too idle to rule the country himself, he handed over the government to his personal friends and household servants. He not only refused to associate with the nobles; he neglected their counsels and declined to share power with them. This was his great offence to the grim lords of the time; this was the crime for which they could not forgive him.

Had the barons worked together as a single party, they could easily have reduced the weak king to helplessness. But the magnates were so distracted by local and family feuds that it required some great crisis to make them take up a common line of policy. Their co-operation was the more difficult since their natural leader, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was a man whose character was not at all unlike that of his cousin the king. More brutal, vicious, and capricious than Edward, Thomas resembled his kinsman in his laziness, his neglect of business, his wish to shuffle out of responsibility and in his habit of leaving all his affairs to be executed by the officers of his household. The consequence was that there was not only a king, who would not govern, but an opposition leader who could only oppose. In 1312, and again more completely after Bannockburn, the opposition became the government. Earl Thomas now showed himself even more incompetent than his cousin. He refused to govern; he continued as victor to hold aloof from affairs, abiding in the same sulky isolation in which he had lived when he was in opposition. Consequently the failure of Thomas was even more complete than the failure of Edward. Hence the extraordinarily purposelessness of much of the politics of the reign, hence the long-drawn-out intrigues, negotiations, and threatenings of war that take up so much of the story of the chroniclers.

The real struggle was not so much between Edward and Thomas as between the organised households through which, like all mediæval magnates, the king and the earl governed their estates and exercised their political authority. And as between the two there can be no doubt but that the followers of the king were abler, more serious, and better organised than the followers of the earl. They showed great skill in setting the rival factions of the opposition against each other,

and in the end broke up its unity so completely that the king won an easy triumph. The two chief centres of aristocratic power were the North and the West, the lands beyond the Humber, and the Severn valley and the adjacent March of Wales, where the great struggles of the reign were fought out. In the early part of 1322 Edward first conquered his western enemies in a bloodless campaign in the Severn valley, and then turning northwards crushed Earl Thomas and his northern foes. When Lancaster was beheaded under the walls of his own castle of Pontefract, the royalist triumph was consummated, and from 1322 to 1326 the courtiers, inspired by the younger Despenser, ruled England in the king's name. A sanguinary proscription of the contrariant lords now followed. The baronial leaders lost in many cases life, or liberty, and in more cases their lands. Their abject helplessness gave Edward the best chance a mediæval sovereign ever had of making himself an autocrat. But once more the man in power was too incompetent to take advantage of his opportunity. The king, after a short spell of activity, soon fell back into his old ways. Before his sluggishness, indifference, and weakness, the best laid plans of his advisers could not be carried out. Their failure was the more complete since they pursued their own self interest with far more zeal and singleness of purpose than they strove to advance the welfare of the state. The fine schemes of ministers for consolidating the royal power and reforming the government were brought to naught by the intense greediness of the younger Despenser. During four years of isolation from power, the aristocracy had time to reconstitute itself, and the ignoble quarrel of the king and his queen brought about the crisis of 1326.

Isabella and her lover Mortimer landed in Suffolk with a handful of followers. But disgust of the ruling faction drove every one to their standards, the more so as the invaders were shrewd enough to pose as the champions of the outraged contrariants and the avenger of the wrongs of the Martyr of Pontefract. When Henry of Lancaster, the brother and heir of Earl Thomas, joined Isabella and Mortimer, he gave the signal for a general desertion of the king's cause. The king soon found himself powerless to resist the united opposition of the reconstituted baronage, backed up by the sympathy of the mass of the people. Before long even the ministerial rats began to leave the sinking ship. The very courtiers, who had been the chief agents of the

Despensers and the crown, the self-seeking bishops, who had wormed their way to their sees by truckling to the caprices of the king, went over almost as a body to the side whose victory seemed now to be certain. Edward fled to the West, accompanied by the Despensers, his chancellor, Robert Baldock, and a very few faithful followers. He soon found his own realm of England too hot to hold him. Unable to maintain himself at Gloucester, Edward fled beyond the Severn to the great marcher principality which the younger Despenser was erecting out of his wife's lordship of Glamorgan. As a last effort to maintain a foothold in England, the elder Despenser made his way back over the Severn to Bristol, where he at once met his doom. It was in Bristol town that the opposition leaders proclaimed that, as Edward II had openly withdrawn himself from the realm, leaving England without ruler or governance, his son Edward, Duke of Aquitaine, was chosen by the magnates as Keeper of the Realm. It was the first notice to the king that his barons were determined to put an end to his authority.

During the next few days Edward, after an unsuccessful attempt to escape to Lundy Island, wandered aimlessly through Glamorgan. Meanwhile Henry of Lancaster was commissioned to effect his capture, and soon, not without a suspicion of treachery, was successful in his quest. On 16 November, 1326, Edward and his comrades in misfortune were betrayed at Neath; and conveyed thence to Llantrissant. Within a few days Hugh the younger paid at Hereford the same fatal penalty that his father had paid at Bristol. Meanwhile Edward was escorted to Monmouth, where he surrendered the great seal, the symbol of sovereignty which he had hitherto retained, to his bitter enemy Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford.

We have now, at last, reached our real subject—the captivity and death of Edward II. The question at once arises whether, when we have recast so many of our judgments on the period, we may not with advantage review afresh the traditional story of the unhappy monarch's imprisonment, and in particular try once more to pierce the veil of mystery and legend which have obscured the story of his death. Now it may certainly be said that it is well worth our while to reconsider this story, to examine meticulously the evidence on which the account in our histories is based, and to try and fit in a few new but striking bits of testimony that have latterly been brought to light. To

perform this task is now my chief business, but though I may perhaps discharge a useful service in putting together the chief testimonies that bear on the story of the deposed king's last years, yet I may say at once that the result of this investigation is rather negative. It raises doubts ; it explains hesitations ; it gives some justification to those who believed that Edward did not meet a violent death in his prison. Above all, it discredits the only detailed narrative of the sufferings of the wretched king. But it does not shake our faith in the essential truth of the accepted story.

The history of the captivity of Edward II falls naturally into two stages. The first goes from his surrender on 16 November, 1326, to 4 April, 1327. During this period Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Leicester, was responsible for his custody, having been appointed to that charge with the informal approval of the barons. The details of the king's history during these months are fairly well known, and there is little suggestion of mystery about them, though there is plenty of pathos. Within a short time of the tragedy at Hereford, Edward was escorted to Henry of Lancaster's castle of Kenilworth where he remained as long as he continued under his care. During this period the formal stages of the revolution were accomplished. The barons had shown in dealing with the unpopular king a pedantic precision that well anticipates the stiff legalism of the revolution Whigs in their relations to James II in 1688. Their first position was that the king, by withdrawing himself from the realm, had compelled them to appoint a regent, and their choice of his eldest son as Keeper of the Kingdom showed their adhesion to the right line of descent. It is true that Edward of Carnarvon only withdrew himself for a few miles beyond the region where the king's writ ran, and that the lordship of Glamorgan was not foreign to any very impressive extent. But with Edward's forcible return to England this excuse might well seem to have been no longer plausible. This mattered the less since after the barons got possession of Edward's great seal, they could formally act in his name even when he was in their prison. Indeed it seemed to them the line of least resistance to pretend that Edward was still governing. This is best seen in the change in the form of the writs, issued so far back as October, for the assembling of a parliament. The original writs, tested by the young Edward, had stated that, in the king's absence from the realm, the business in parliament would be

dealt with by the queen and the duke, the Keeper of the Realm. But now that the great seal was in the possession of the victors, writs in the usual form were issued to supply the informality of the earlier ones. When parliament at last met on 7 January, at Westminster, it was resolved that Edward should be deposed for incompetence, and his son put in his place. But twice were deputations sent to Kenilworth to induce the king to meet parliament. The motive for this apparently was to extract from him a public resignation. The magnates shrank from the drastic course of deposition, which a few years earlier the nobles of Germany had adopted in the case of their incapable king, Adolf of Nassau. It would seem less revolutionary, and less disturbing to precedent, if Edward could be induced formally to divest himself of the office, which in any case he was no longer to be allowed to hold. But the captive of Kenilworth stubbornly refused to face parliament. As Edward would not meet parliament, parliament resolved that its representatives should meet Edward. A deputation of parliament visited Kenilworth, and Edward was offered the alternative of resignation or deposition. He showed little fight, and promptly accepted the inevitable. Clad in black, dazed with confusion, he was led before the deputies and announced with many tears that he would yield to the wishes of parliament and not stand in the way of his son's advancement. Then the proctor of the parliament renounced formally the fealty and homage which the individual members had made to the king. Finally the steward of the household broke his wand of office to indicate that the royal household was discharged. These things happened on 20 January. On their being related in London, the last stage of the revolution was consummated and Edward, Duke of Aquitaine, was definitely proclaimed as King Edward III. His regnal year was treated as beginning on 25 January.

Now that the pedantic pomps of his resignation were over, the chroniclers tell us little of the doings of Edward of Carnarvon at Kenilworth. In general terms we are informed that his treatment at the hands of his gaoler was good, and that he lacked nothing that a recluse or monk needed for his sustenance. This is likely enough, for Henry of Lancaster was a kindly gentleman, and, though he took a leading part in bringing about the king's deposition and was profoundly conscious of his brother's wrongs and of his own, he was not the man to treat with unnecessary harshness a captive entrusted to his

custody. But Henry soon began to have new grievances of his own. The leaders of the revolution had ostentatiously made the wrongs of Lancaster a pretext for their action. They had besought the pope to canonise the incompetent and disreputable Earl Thomas, and they had, as we have seen, given his more respectable brother the custody of the captive king. They had also—rather tardily—restored him to his brother's earldoms, so that we may henceforth call him Earl of Lancaster as well as Earl of Leicester. They had given him the first place in the standing council of regency which was to act in the name of the infant Edward III. Nevertheless Henry soon found that he had the show of power rather than its reality. Mortimer and the queen, not the Earl of Lancaster, really controlled the government. No sooner had the victorious coalition succeeded in establishing itself, than it began to show signs of breaking up. The moral of Edward II's reign is once more affirmed under his supplanter. It was easy for any strong combination of parties to seize the government of England. It was extremely difficult to retain for any long period the authority thus easily acquired.

Under these circumstances a natural reaction against the new government set in. It was equally natural that it should take the form of a wave of sympathy in favour of the deposed king. Soon partisans of Edward of Carnarvon were traversing the country, dilating upon his misfortunes and his sufferings. English public opinion veered in those days between extremes of brutality and extremes of sentimentality. It was normally callous enough, but from time to time it reacted in a contrary direction. It then became prone to show sympathy for fallen greatness, to pity misfortune, and to assume that the victim of fate was the champion of a good cause, the friend of the people. Thus the wretched Thomas of Lancaster was being acclaimed as a saint, not so much by partisans who wished to make profit by his deification as by simple-minded folk who easily persuaded themselves that a magnate, condemned to so cruel a fate, must surely have laid down his life for the English people or for the Church of God. A similar wave of emotion now arose on behalf of Edward of Carnarvon. Plots were formed for his release, and his custody became a real burden to Henry of Lancaster. The burden was the more serious since a projected campaign against Scotland required the presence of Earl Henry and most of the magnates to the North.

Under these circumstances the custody of Edward of Carnarvon was changed. A canon of Leicester, Henry Knighton, who wrote in a Lancastrian foundation in the Lancastrian interest, tells us that Earl Henry refused any longer to accept responsibility for the deposed king, because, as rumour declared, while the earl was employed elsewhere, some ancient partisans of his captive were weaving plots to abduct him from Kenilworth.¹ On the other side, it is possible that the government, feeling less confidence in Earl Henry, or wishing to have the old king under stricter, perhaps under less scrupulous, direction were not unwilling to dispense with his services. However that may be, the change was made, and on 3 April the care of Edward of Carnarvon was transferred to Thomas of Berkeley and John Maltravers. With this begins the second stage of Edward II's captivity, the stage of mystery and darkness, culminating in more than the suspicion of a tragic end. With this and its after results will be our chief concern on this occasion.

It now becomes necessary, before we proceed with our story, to scrutinise the authorities on which it is based. As everybody knows, the chief sources for mediæval history are chronicles and records. The former, narrative histories in essence, vary immensely in their authenticity, and a good deal, but not everything, depends upon whether or not they are contemporary or nearly contemporary to the events which they describe. The merit of the chronicler is that he gives us a consecutive story, that he often suggests character, motives, reasons, a point of view, and generally gives us contemporary colour. His demerit is that he writes loosely, frequently draws his information from sources of doubtful authority, is often ignorant and prejudiced, and sometimes deliberately aims at falsifying the facts. The merit of the record is that it is impersonal, official, contemporary, and based on knowledge. It is set down, too, in the records of an administrative or judicial court, and is preserved not to help historians or satisfy general curiosity, but to be of practical use to officials, judges, administrators, and other persons employed in the government of the country. But the record has its limitations as much almost as the chronicle, though they are different in kind. It is valuable as evidence of external facts, exact dates, names, costs, movements, and it shows us the

¹ Knighton, i. 444, R.S.

structure, personnel, and functions of the administrative machine. But it seldom throws light on the inner meaning of things ; it is colourless, arid, jejune ; it is largely taken up with common form, and though generally, bar human carelessness, based upon sound information, is liable to be falsified when the need arises. Under normal circumstances we can balance the chronicle and the record with each other, while correcting from the precision of the record, the mere gossip of the chronicler. In the light of the chronicle we can illuminate the dry facts of the record, combine them in some intelligible order, and give them colour and their proper setting.

Up to the transfer of Edward of Carnarvon from the custody of Henry of Lancaster to that of Berkeley and Maltravers, our information, though not very copious, is sufficient for our purpose, and there is no need to say from what source we learn this or that fact, since the whole story works together in substantial harmony. Perhaps the only doubt that has passed my mind in telling you the story in outline is as to certain picturesque details relating to the resignation of Edward, which would have been more picturesque had I the courage to tell you them in detail. These particulars came from the Chronicle of Geoffrey the Baker, a worthy as to whom I shall have later a good deal to say. At this stage I need only remark that, though much of Baker is suspicious, he quotes what seems good authority for this episode. It is the written evidence of an Oxfordshire knight, Sir Thomas de la Moor, who was himself present as a member of the household of Bishop Stratford of Winchester who took a leading part in the ceremony. This is worth remembering since the misunderstanding of Baker's reference to Moor's testimony has been misunderstood, last and not least by so great a scholar as Bishop Stubbs, as meaning that the whole of Baker's Chronicle was based on a French chronicle written by Moor. It is now agreed that this inference is illegitimate.

After April, 1327, our evidence becomes much scantier. We can barely trace the transference of the king's custody, the sum allowed for his maintenance, and a few insignificant details from the public records. There is more illustration of the condition of the country and of public opinion, as to which I shall have occasion to speak again. Moreover, the public records are partially supplemented from the private archives of the house of Berkeley, still largely, I believe, extant, but

mainly accessible through the seventeenth century tractate in which John Smith of Nibley, steward of the Berkeleys of that epoch, wrote his lives of the Berkeleys, which the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society has happily given to the world.¹ From these we learn various significant facts. But it is only after the king's death that the records give us abundant information as to his funeral, his lying-in-state, and ultimately the erection of his tomb. Again after 1330 there is some evidence preserved in the Rolls of Parliament as to the trials of his alleged murderers. The after careers of these suspects we can follow in abundant detail and with some profit from record sources. Even more scanty is the information of the chroniclers. If, as is unlikely, they knew the truth, they assuredly dared not tell it. Though several writers agree that the former king was murdered and even as to the method of his murder, their short accounts were written many years afterwards. The only circumstantial narrative, that of Baker, was written thirty years afterwards and is on the face of it highly suspicious.

The result of the conspiracy of silence was, as usual, a lack of faith in such scanty doles of information as were given out to the public. There was a general disbelief that Edward was really dead, and romantic stories arose in many quarters that he escaped and lived many years afterwards in obscurity. These stories, however fantastic, are natural under the circumstances. They are too corroborated by certain curious pieces of evidence. It is not unlikely that a more meticulous examination of the record sources may give some little further light on the problem. Some remarkable additions to the legend were made some forty years ago. Some very material new facts have been divulged within the last few years. But it is only after 1330 that we have copious references, not to the murder but to the fate of the alleged murderers. The fortunes of all these can be traced in detail, and what emerges from their history suggests some additional considerations as regards the problem of Edward II's end.

We start with the known fact that the custody of the deposed

¹ Smith or Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, 3 vols. Some conception of the wealth of the still surviving Berkeley Castle manuscripts can be obtained from Isaac H. Jeayes' *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments in the possession of Lord Fitzhardinge at Berkeley Castle*. Bristol, 1892.

king was vested in Berkeley and Maltravers from 3 April, and we know within a few days that an allowance of £5 a day was assigned to the two keepers "for the expenses of the household of the Lord Edward, sometime King of England, our father".¹ This was a liberal sum, larger, if we may trust a chronicler, than the sum allowed to Henry of Lancaster for keeping Edward at Kenilworth,² and approaching half the amount of Edward's domestic establishment in his youth before he had been made Prince of Wales. It would have given an ample margin both for maintaining the deposed king with a reasonable degree of state and for the adequate safeguarding of his person. If the captive were not generously entertained, it must have been because his keepers did not wish to treat him well, and perhaps because they regarded the allowance as a bribe to commit evil deeds.

It has often been suggested that Edward was deliberately handed over from kindly to unscrupulous keepers. Yet there is not much to encourage this idea, save inference from later facts. Perhaps the previous career of Thomas of Berkeley and John Maltravers suggests a little more malevolent hostility to their prisoner than Henry of Lancaster felt. But all three keepers were avowed enemies of the captive who in his days of power had inflicted grievous suffering upon them. Berkeley and Maltravers were members of that Lancastrian party of which Earl Henry had been the head. Henry's prudence had saved him from the dire fate of many of the contrariants, and he had condoned his brother's murder by accepting his personal liberty and a mere fragment of his inheritance from Edward II. But the other two had incurred forfeiture. Berkeley had shared the captivity of his father Maurice, and when the latter died in 1326 in confinement, he was still under duress. A Gloucestershire magnate of high position, he had forfeited the ancestral castle of Berkeley, over which Hugh Despenser now ruled. Indeed, the Berkeley lands, included, not only Berkeley, but Redcliffe and Bedminster with a commanding authority

¹ *Fadera*, ii. 705, dated 24 April, Stamford. The issues of Glamorgan, still in the king's hands, were chargeable with the payment which was to be accounted for at the exchequer. Other moneys came from the treasure found at Caerphilly, when the son of the younger Despenser surrendered tardily that stronghold. Ultimately the exchequer took up the burden. The Berkeley household accounts show bountiful provision of wine, wax, capons, kids, eggs, cheese, cows, "ad hospicium patris regis": Jeayes, pp. 274-277.

² Baker, p. 28, gives 100 marks a month as the sum.

over the great mercantile borough of Bristol, which looked on the house of Berkeley as its chief enemy. The absorption of the estate in the Despenser lands would have given Hugh a position in Gloucestershire transcending that of the earls of Gloucester of the house of Clare. The arrival of Isabella in London had released him from his prison. He had followed the queen to Gloucester and thence to Bristol, and was rewarded by his restoration to Berkeley and his great estates in Southern Gloucestershire. But a stronger claim on the victors than his sufferings was the fact that he had married a daughter of Roger Mortimer. John Maltravers, the other keeper, was the son of a Dorsetshire baron who was still alive. He married Thomas of Berkeley's sister and was closely associated with his policy. Luckily for himself he had escaped in the rout of Boroughbridge and had managed to reach the Continent. He only returned in the train of Isabella and Mortimer. On the whole, then, the new keepers were likely to be a little more hostile than Earl Henry to their prisoner. It was in fact a sheer loss to Edward to be removed from the care of the most independent of the magnates to the custody of the son-in-law of the queen's paramour, associated with another dependent of Mortimer who was his own brother-in-law.

Already there had been, as we have said, rumours of plots for releasing Edward and procuring his return. It is possible that such schemes were already being hatched when the ex-king remained at Kenilworth, and the probability is increased by the fact that the chief agents of the plot, the brothers Dunhead, or Dunheved, had property and interests on Dunsmore, Warwickshire, between Kenilworth and Rugby. Of these brothers Stephen Dunhead had been lord of the manor of Dunchurch, near Rugby, but, forced to abjure the realm for felony in 1321, he strove to evade forfeiting it by demising it to a neighbouring baron.¹ His brother Thomas was a Dominican friar and an eloquent preacher, who, if chroniclers' gossip can be believed, had sought to get a divorce between Edward and Isabella from the papal curia.² On his return from this vain quest, Friar Thomas found his former master deposed and in prison, and at once strove to procure his release. As dates are almost lacking, we cannot exactly place the beginnings of this conspiracy, but it must have been when Edward was still at Kenil-

¹ *C. iine R.*, iii. 185.

² *Ann. Paulini*, p. 337, "ut vulgariter dicebatur".

worth, and it soon spread its ramifications far and wide. Mediæval society was always excessively disorderly, but a special epidemic of violent crime ushered in the spring of 1327, and was doubtless the result of the recent revolution and the weak and partisan spirit of the administration which the revolution had established in power. To remedy this the chancery issued an enormous number of special commissions to hear and determine various deeds of violence, and strengthened the law for the purpose. Among the riotous acts thus dealt with was a violent assault on a country parson near Cirencester, to punish which a special commission was appointed. Among the suspected persons Stephen Dunhead is the first to be mentioned.¹ But he certainly was not caught then, for in May we find another order for his arrest and imprisonment in Wallingford Castle.² This also miscarried, for early in June he and his brother were in Cheshire, where they were at the head of a gang of "malefactors" who had "assembled within the city of Chester and parts adjacent" and were perpetrating "homicides and other crimes".³ But though the justice of Chester was besought to lay hands upon these criminals, they managed to escape his grip. A little later they were hiding again on Dunsmore, but they were certainly not captured there, as a chronicler thought. By this time they turned their operations southward, for they must have known that Edward had been transferred from Kenilworth to Berkeley, and their chief objective was ever his release from his captivity. But they were shrewd enough to make their own any grievance that appealed to the local rioter, and a fresh cause of complaint now arose in an unpopular expedition against the Scots and the compulsory levying of soldiers for the Scots' war, even in those midland and southern counties whose levies were seldom called upon to serve so far away from their homes.

Under such circumstances there is small blame to the government for having taken measures to put the captive king under custodians in whom the ministers could rely, and who would under no circumstances be exposed to the temptation of taking up his cause as a good weapon for breaking down the power of Mortimer and the queen. For such a purpose Mortimer's son-in-law and that son-in-law's brother were safer gaolers than Henry of Lancaster, with his scruples, his pretensions,

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 153. Mandate to justice of Chester of 8 June.

and his growing discontent against a government that had used him as a catspaw. It was equally natural that, as soon as the keepership of the late king was transferred from Lancaster to Berkeley and Maltravers, he should be put in some place better under government control than the Lancastrian castle of Kenilworth. That Lancaster himself did not want the worry and expense of his cousin's keeping made his transference all the easier. Accordingly, as soon as the new custody began, Edward was privately removed from Kenilworth and surrounded by a strong escort, covered a journey of over fifty miles in two days, quite good travelling for the fourteenth century. On the night of 5 April, which was also Palm Sunday, the ex-king reached Gloucester. He spent the night at Llantony Abbey, hard by the town, as the guest of the Austin canons of that house.¹ Next day he completed the easy journey to Berkeley. It is probable that efforts were made to keep his destination secret; it is most unlikely that this hasty flight of an armed force could have escaped the notice of a country-side, swarming with Edwardian partisans and sympathisers. Anyhow the plots redoubled in violence, and within two months of the transfer, the conspirators devoted their main energies to Berkeley and its neighbourhood. Let us see the sequel.

In the mass of seething discontent, no district was more disturbed than the lower valley of the Severn. The proximity of the March of Wales, always in extreme disorder; the local revolution worked by the fall of Despenser, in fact if not in name earl of Gloucester, and the further changes consequential on the restoration of the Berkeleys to their old position, were all potent factors of confusion. It was natural under such circumstances that the government should look to the lord of Berkeley and Redcliffe for help. Accordingly even before his formal pardon, still more before his appointment as the deposed king's keeper, Thomas of Berkeley had already been called upon to give his powerful aid in maintaining order in Gloucestershire and the adjacent districts. Thus on 8 March he was one of the two commissioners of the peace for Gloucestershire appointed in accordance with the recent Act for the greater preservation of the peace.² Other and greater responsibilities followed, and the presence of the king at Berkeley did not prevent its lord's full employment as the local agent of

¹ *Ann. Paulini*, p. 333.

² *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 89: The Act was 1 Edward III, sec. 2, cap. 16.

the authorities. The Scottish expedition and the local resistance to it gave a good excuse for heaping new powers on Berkeley, with whom Maltravers is now almost always associated. Thus the local magistrates were called on 30 April to aid the brothers-in-law "whom the king is sending to his castle of Bristol for arms and armour to be used in the northern parts".¹ On 3 July Berkeley was remitted his service against the Scots because he was "charged with special business of the king".² Finally, the two were on 11 July put on a commission of the peace pursuant to the Statute of Winchester, in the seven neighbouring counties of Dorset, Somerset, Hereford, Wilts, Hants, Oxon, and Berks.³ Thus they received executive authority all over the middle south-west. Moreover, as this work, and their own affairs,⁴ kept them, we imagine, away from Berkeley, an experienced king's clerk, John Walwayn, doctor of law, himself a West Country man, who had held the great post of treasurer and the important office of escheator, but who apparently was thought inadequate for the highest positions, was sent down to Berkeley to look after things there.

It was high time, for by July a curious conspiracy had been formed in which men of different regions and strangely varied professions and walks of life banded themselves together, ostensibly to resist service against the Scots, really, as we shall see, for a much more dangerous object. There were Gloucestershire men and Worcester-shire men; there were men from Warwickshire and men from Staffordshire; there were high and low, laymen and clerks, and among the latter, parish priests, preaching friars, Benedictine monks and Austin canons. There was a canon of Llantony, who perhaps had been smitten with compassion for the deposed monarch who had passed Palm Sunday night within his house. There was a monk of the great foundation of Hales; above all there were the brothers Stephen and Thomas Dunhead, still free to conspire and lead rebellions, despite a whole row of orders for their arrest.⁵ It was a formidable crowd, and

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130, shows Maltravers pardoned for acquiring an estate in Wiltshire without license and authorised to hold the same.

⁵ The presence of the Dunheads here shows the inaccuracy of *Ann. Paulini*, p. 337, which states that Thomas had been captured "about 11 June," "apud Bidebrok prope Dunmor" (that is, of course, in Warwickshire), imprisoned at Pontefract, and, failing to escape, thrown down a well and perished. But I think the *Annals* chief error is in dating this too early.

there was no strong force available in these days to deal with a sudden rebellion.

Chance has lately shown us that this conspiracy of the Dunheads attained, at least for a moment, the object of all its efforts. That an attempt was made has long been known by a mandate on the Patent Rolls ordering Berkeley, as a chief keeper of the peace in Gloucestershire, to arrest the Dunheads and their followers "indicted before him for coming with an armed force to Berkeley castle to plunder it and for refusing to join the king in his expedition against the Scots".¹ But a few years ago, a French scholar, Dr. Tanquerey of St. Andrews, unearthed in the Public Record Office and published in the *English Historical Review*² a letter of John Walwayn, written on 27 July from Berkeley Castle to the chancellor, which tells us much more than this. It tells thus that a long list of people, almost, but not quite, the same as those indicted before Berkeley, has been indicted before Walwayn; that Walwayn is doubtful whether he has authority under his commission, and prays the chancellor to ordain an immediate remedy. But it also lets the cat out of the bag. A confidential letter to the chancellor had no reason to deal so discreetly with the truth as the letter patent, open to all the world to read, which the chancery issued, as we have seen, soon after the receipt of this secret despatch. Accordingly Walwayn does not scruple to say plainly that "the culprits indicted before him were charged with having come violently to the castle of Berkeley, with having ravished the father of our lord the king out of our guard, and with having feloniously robbed the said castle against the king's peace." Here is a bit of new information of a startling kind. Within three months of his establishment in Berkeley, a conspiracy to release the old king attained at least a temporary success. The confederates seized the castle and plundered it; they rescued Edward of Carnarvon from his dungeon.

No wonder under these circumstances that the policy of silence and concealment, already adopted as regards the imprisoned king, should be carried out with tenfold rigour than before; that the public records should contain no reference to this tremendous fact; that the chroniclers should in very fear show a compulsory discretion, and that

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, pp. 156-7. This is dated 1 August, at Stanhope, Durham.

² *English Historical Review*, xxxi. 119-24 (1916).

the subsequent career of the unlucky captive should be severely cut short, but after so secret a fashion that a doubt should remain, strong at the time, weaker as years rolled on, as to what fate befell the hapless Edward. Some of these points I must recur to later on : but at present I may record as my conviction, though I do not claim it as more than a judgment based on probabilities, that Edward was very soon recaptured and restored to his prison, and that to save further risk he was quietly done to death some three months later.

Before we approach the final problem, it may be suggested that this proved escape of Edward from Berkeley gives us a clue towards interpreting the two chroniclers who profess to know most about the last adventures of the deposed king. The first of these, Adam Murimuth, a canon of St. Paul's, wrote his history in its final form soon after the time of the battle of Crecy, some eighteen years after these events. But we have internal evidence that he wrote the passages describing Edward II's fate before 1345, because he tells us that Maltravers was still abroad and we shall learn that he was allowed to return to England in that year.¹ After telling us that Edward had been taken to Berkeley in secret "about Palm Sunday" he goes on as follows :—

"And because they were afraid of certain persons coming to him to effect his release, Edward was secretly removed from Berkeley by night, and taken to Corfe and other secret places, but at last they took him back to Berkeley, but after such a fashion that it could hardly be ascertained where he was."²

Murimuth was an intelligent man, accustomed to affairs, associated with the great, and wise enough to be circumspect, though desirous of telling the truth. This passage, interpreted in the light of our knowledge of Edward's escape, suggests that his "secret removal" from Berkeley was the result of the conspirators' temporary success, and that his subsequent wanderings both preceded and succeeded his recapture, and resulted in his being in the end brought back to his ancient place of confinement. I do not for a moment suggest that Murimuth was aware of the carefully guarded secret of Edward's escape : but he did know what all men knew of the notorious attempts to effect his release, and he intelligently connected these with

¹ Murimuth, pp. 52-54, R.S.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

the removal of the old king to Corfe, and other hiding places, and with his subsequent return to Berkeley.

We are now in a position to appreciate the only detailed account of Edward's captivity, that written after 1356 by Geoffrey Baker. Much of it is mere rhetoric, word-painting, and abuse, for Baker was far from being above the crime of "making copy," so hated by the discreet editor and yet so universally practised. When Baker gets to facts, and we can compare him with our other sources of knowledge, we can prove him to be wrong. Thus, beginning with the events of April, he tells us that Edward was put under the custody of Thomas Gurney and John Maltravers, ignoring the fact that the chief keeper was so respectable a nobleman as Thomas Berkeley. He tells a long and demonstrably false story how the king when he was led from Kenilworth was taken first to Corfe, then to Bristol, whence when discovered by the burgesses he was taken by dead of night to Berkeley. He tells us the indignities suffered by him on the way; how his cruel tormentors crowned him with a crown of hay, clothed him with insufficient garments, forced him to ride through the night with uncovered head, fed him on food so nauseous that it made him sick; how they shaved his beard and hair that he might less readily be recognised, and how the suffering Edward warmed with his tears cold water that the barber was compelled to use, how, in short, he endured things that clearly proved that God had marked him out for the crown of martyrdom. These stories he relates as told him over twenty years later by one William Bishop, leader of the captive's guard, a personage whom authentic history certainly cannot distinguish from his various namesakes of this period.

I suggest that Murimuth's story gives the modest nucleus of truth that was elaborated with Baker's picturesque romance. What we now know of the temporary release of Edward further illuminates this point of view. We may feel sure that the crowd under the Dunheads did not keep together long after their opening success.¹ But the duty of its dispersion must have fallen upon Berkeley, as the head of the local administration established for the emergency in the Western shires. It was Berkeley who was to indict the offenders, to press the

¹ Stephen Dunhead was arrested in London before 1 July, 1327, but escaped, and was still wandering at large in 1329. *C.C.R.*, 1327-30, pp. 146 and 549.

hue and cry after them, and imprison their leaders. In this process he was careful to charge the plotters, not with their real offence of abducting the deposed king but with the more commonplace crimes of an attempt to plunder Berkeley and of refusing to undertake military service against the Scots. But the conspiracy of silence obscured the truth for contemporaries even more than for us. One result of Berkeley's activity was doubtless the recapture of Edward, and we may well believe that, as part of the stage management of the mystery, he was hurried to various hiding-places, including perhaps Corfe. But he was certainly brought back to Berkeley. And as one result of Berkeley's administrative duties he was compelled, we may guess, to delegate to others personal custody of Edward. One result of this process was that the sinister presence of Sir Thomas Gurney now comes upon the scene. This Somersetshire knight, becomes, as Berkeley's deputy, the colleague of Maltravers.

We now come to the final stage of Edward's troubles. Of this Baker and Baker only gives a circumstantial account. He tells us that the queen, not unreasonably, we may add, from the point of view of her own safety, thought that the time was now come when her husband must die, and that Adam Orleton, bishop of Hereford, her special confidant, who played the part of the chief villain of the piece, wrote a sealed letter to that effect to his keepers, couched in ambiguous terms that could be interpreted differently according to its punctuation. The hint of murder was conveyed if it read "It is a good thing not to be afraid to kill Edward," but the alternative meaning "It is a good thing to be afraid to kill Edward," might well be brought forward if the message fell into wrong hands.

This is clearly a bit of fiction. It is improbable on the face of it. Even wicked bishops hesitate to send written orders to kill deposed kings, and to plead the accident of a wrong interpretation if their note miscarries. Moreover, at this period Orleton was far from being, as Baker suggests, constantly at the side of the guilty queen. In fact, he had left England for the papal court at Avignon so early as March, when Edward was still at Kenilworth, and did not return from Avignon until after it had been given out at Berkeley that the late king was dead. Moreover, before news of that event could have reached the Pope, John XXII had appointed Orleton by papal provision bishop of Worcester, and this acceptance of promotion involved him

in a fierce conflict with the English crown which had approved of the election by the monastic chapter of Worcester of their prior, Wolfstan of Bransford. In the event the pope prevailed over king and chapter and Orleton became bishop of Worcester, and therefore the diocesan of both Berkeley and Gloucester. It is a fair illustration of the wildness of Baker's guesses that he should make Orleton responsible for an act, which he could not have inspired, at a moment when he was quarrelling with queen and council because they resisted an attempt to make him bishop of the diocese where the crime was perpetrated. No doubt Orleton was a self-seeking ruffian, and there is no reason to accept the suggestion of the recent editor of his Hereford register that because he kept his official records like a good man of business, he was probably a good man. But whatever crimes we may lay to his charge, he did not write a letter urging ambiguously the murder of his ancient monarch. In later years his fiercest enemies never brought that accusation against him. His *alibi* was too clearly proved.

But if Orleton claims a right to be acquitted, circumstances have recently come to light which seem to throw the responsibility for ending Edward of Carnarvon's mortal career on Mortimer himself. The revolution of 1326 had established Mortimer in the position of justice of Wales, held so long by his uncle Roger Mortimer of Chirk. His preoccupations in England gave him little time for exercising in person his duties as justice of Wales, and he ruled North Wales through his lieutenant, William of Shalford. But the Welsh, who had loved Edward of Carnarvon, regretted his fate the more since his fall had restored the rule of a Mortimer over them, and to the Welsh the government of the greatest of the marcher lords was the worst form of tyranny. In 1321-2 a rising in North Wales had made it easier for Edward as king to overthrow the Mortimer power and re-establish his position. What had happened once might well occur again, and it looks as if some of the very Welsh magnates who had followed Sir Gruffydd Llwyd in his earlier attack on the Mortimers were now once more plotting a similar movement. By August, 1327, when the English conspiracies to release Edward had mainly died out, a Welsh conspiracy to effect the same end seems to have been organised. The leader of this movement was a South Welsh knight, Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, who acted apparently at the instigation of certain English magnates, and with the active support of the leading men of

both North and South Wales.¹ We know nothing for certain of the success which attended his efforts. It was, however, enough to excite the alarm of William of Shalford, Mortimer's lieutenant. Accordingly on 7 September, 1327, Shalford wrote to his chief telling him that Sir Rhys and his comrades had formed their plot and that there was real danger, that Edward might be released from Berkeley, and that the only thing for Roger was to ordain a "suitable remedy" to prevent himself and his party from being utterly undone. Shalford's letter reached Mortimer at Abergavenny, and it was believed in North Wales that it induced him to make the fatal decision that the only way of saving his power and his life, was to put Edward forthwith to death. Consequently, Mortimer sent a dependent of his, William Ogle, or Ockley, from Abergavenny to Berkeley, taking with him Shalford's letter, and hinting not obscurely to Maltravers and Gurney what was the obvious remedy to ease the situation.

With the arrival of Ogle the last phase of Edward of Carnarvon's misfortunes began. He was now allowed but a short shrift, for within a fortnight of the date of the fatal letter, written by Shalford, it was officially announced that the "king's father" had died on 21 September. Gurney and Maltravers had doubtless already made up their mind how to act. The arrival of Ogle on the scene brought things to a crisis.

The judicial proceedings taken three years later, feeble and futile though they were, make it clear that these three men, Gurney, Maltravers, and Ogle were looked upon as the direct agents of Edward of Carnarvon's death. Let us put together what little we learn from other sources as to the facts of the case. Firstly, let us interrogate the chroniclers.

We find that most of the chroniclers, though often a day or so wrong, substantially confirm the official statement as to the fact that Edward died on or about 21 September. They are, however, cautious about expressing themselves about the manner of his death and very reticent about details. The most nearly contemporary, the *Annals of St. Paul's*, simply say that the king died at Berkeley.² The north-country Chronicle of Lanercost suggests without confirming a suspi-

¹ For the authorities on which this paragraph is based, see Appendix.

² *Ann. Paulini*, p. 337.

cion.¹ Another northern writer prudently remarks: "With regard to the king's decease various opinions were commonly expressed. I prefer for myself to say no more about the matter, for sometimes, as the poet says, lies are for the advantage of many and to tell the whole truth does harm."² Murimuth, writing a little later with the *Annals of St. Paul's* before him, carries us somewhat further. After mentioning that the king "died" he adds, "And though many persons, abbots, priors, knights, burgesses of Bristol and Gloucester, were summoned to view his body, and indeed superficially examined it, nevertheless it was commonly said that he was slain as a precaution by the orders of Sir John Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gurney".³ The exact manner of the king's death comes later. We find it in Higden's *Polychronicon*,⁴ where testimony is of some importance since it was done into English by John Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley, at a time when Thomas of Berkeley was still alive, and the translator would not have lightly adopted such a suggestion against his patron's honour. Moreover, the Lancastrian Chronicle of Knighton repeats the charge,⁵ and a Westminster monk not only reiterates it, but says that it was known not only to rumour but by the confession of the guilty parties.⁶

The amplification of the horrid story, briefly suggested some twenty years or less after the event, is found in Baker, and in Baker only. He tells us how up to the time of the receipt of Orleton's ambiguous letter, Thomas of Berkeley had treated the fallen king with kindness. But Baker's suggestion that Berkeley was only "lord of the castle" and not also the gaoler responsible for the king's keeping indicates an economy in dealing with truth that might give offence to a powerful nobleman in the next county. This story of Edward's kind treatment by Berkeley is otherwise confirmed. But now, says Baker, Berkeley was denied all relations with his victim. Thereupon, irritated that he was no longer master in his own house, Berkeley bade a sorrowful farewell to Edward and betook himself elsewhere. Unfortunately the Berkeley household accounts show that Thomas went no farther than

¹ *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 260.

² *Gesta Edwardi tertii auctore Bridlingtonensi*, pp. 97-98.

³ Murimuth, pp. 54-55.

⁴ *Polychronicon*, viii., 324: "Cum veru ignito inter celanda confossus.

See also *Cont. Hemingburgh*, ii., 297-8.

⁵ Knighton, i. 446.

⁶ *Chron. J. de Reading*, ed. Tait, p. 78.

Bradley, his manor near Wotton-under-Edge, some six or seven miles away. I have already suggested that the local disturbances must have taken Thomas further afield; but this particular absence at Bradley only took place on Michaelmas Eve, eight days after Edward's reputed death. No great confirmation of Baker's testimony can be extracted from this.

Let us return to Baker. No sooner was Thomas removed from his own castle than the slow murder of the helpless king began. He was confined in a room made pestilential by the stench of decaying bodies. But as his immense strength saved him from death, he was brutally murdered by night, as he lay in his bed, in a fashion that concealed exterior traces of wounds. Already his piteous complaints had informed carpenters, working outside the castle, of his tortures in the prison chamber; now hideous shrieks told town and castle of his violent doom and drove many to their knees to pray for his soul.

Dismissing for the moment the crucial difficulty of the king's end, let us tell from authentic records the history of his remains. From 21 September to 21 October, the body of the king remained at Berkeley, under Berkeley and Maltravers' custody, for which service they continued in receipt of their £5 per diem, "for the custody of the body". During this time, if we may believe the historian of Gloucester Abbey, the royal corpse was offered to various local monasteries, but the Austin canons of St. Augustines at Bristol, the modern cathedral, the Cistercians of St. Mary's at Kingswood, and the Benedictines of St. Aldhelm's at Malmesbury refused this dangerous honour "through fear of Mortimer and Queen Isabella". It is suggested that it was something of an act of heroism that John Thoky, Abbot of Gloucester, consented to receive the body. Thoky, in his own chariot, "nobly adorned with the arms of Gloucester Abbey," conducted it to his convent, where it was "honourably received by the whole community and with all the city in procession". This history, generally attributed to Abbot Frocester,¹ was finally put together in the early fifteenth century, and contemporary records show that nearly every particular statement in it is inexact. There was certainly no "fear of the queen and Mortimer" to deter the neighbouring abbey from accepting the charge of the king's body, for the government took up responsibility from the

¹ It is printed in vol. i. of Hart's *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, 3 vols., R.S. 1863-7.

first, and warned by Sir Thomas Gurney of Edward's death,¹ at once published the news to the parliament which was then assembled at Lincoln. Indeed, the whole administration was then in the North, intent on the parliament sitting at Lincoln at the moment of the king's death and afterwards on the campaign and the negotiations with the Scots. The delay in dealing with the king's body is satisfactorily explained by the remoteness of the court from the Severn valley. As soon as it was possible to act, special arrangements were made for the care of the remains of the king's father. From this point the royal ministers, not Berkeley or the Gloucester monks, assumed the chief responsibility. When the body was removed to Berkeley, it was placed in the hands of officers appointed for the purpose. It is clear from the accounts of these officers that Gloucester represents the government's deliberate choice, and that the expenses of the removal of the body thither were at the charge of the state and not of the abbot. If Thoky sent his "chariot" for the body, the odds are that he got paid for the service he rendered. Anyhow Berkeley charged the crown for many of the expenses of the removal. He put down to the crown account the cost of dyeing black the canvass that covered the hearse, of the cords and the traces of the horses, the expenses of taking the body to Gloucester, and those of his household which accompanied it, of the vase of silver in which Edward's heart was enclosed, and of the oblations in the masses in the castle chapel for the soul of the dead king.² Then Berkeley and Maltravers gave up their charge when the body had reached Gloucester. And of the money that was owed them for the 201 days of their custody the exchequer was still over £300 in arrears when the account was made up.³

The whole business was from this point regulated by ordinances of king and council, and a new set of accounts shows in detail the elaborate arrangements made for the custody of the body as long as it remained above ground. The see of Worcester being vacant or dis-

¹ He was sent to the king when Edward III was at Nottingham, and allowed 31s. 1d. expenses: Smith, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i. 293. The king arrived at Nottingham on 30 September. Compare Jeayes' *Catalogue*, p. 274, ". . . de Gourne eunti apud Notyngham pro morte patris regis regi et regine notificanda cum litteris domini". The "dominus" was, of course, Thomas of Berkeley.

² Smith, i. 293.

³ *Archæologia*, i., 223.

puted, the neighbouring bishop of Llandaff was instructed to remain at Gloucester till the funeral, and received 13s. 4d. a day for his expenses for the fifty-nine days which he devoted to that object. This prelate, John Eaglescliff, was a Dominican friar, forced on Llandaff by the pope in 1323 in despite of king and chapter, and we may charitably assume that one element in his selection was that he belonged to an order which Edward II had always regarded with special favour and from which he had chosen his confessors. Besides the bishop, two knights, at 6s. 8d. a day, and 5s. respectively, were also ordered to be in attendance. To them two royal chaplains, two sergeants-at-arms, and the king's *candelarius* were added. A third sergeant-at-arms, already at Berkeley when the captive died, was also retained, while a royal clerk, Hugh of Glanville, was assigned to pay the expenses of the whole business. Put cynically, we may say that just as secrecy had been the game of the government up to St. Matthew's day, so now a public exhibition of almost excessive respect seems to have been thought the most desirable policy.

The funeral was delayed for two more months. The main reason was the impossibility of the king and court attending in person until the Scottish business was more or less settled. Another was the extreme dispersion of the directing and spending departments. The court and council were wandering over Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, and with them went the wardrobe, the source of household expenditure. But the exchequer, the chief source of national financial expenditure, was then stationed at York, and the great wardrobe, the department of stores, from which came most of the apparatus necessary for the funeral, was permanently established in London. It was no wonder then that there was so long a delay, and the detailed accounts of the keeper of the great wardrobe show how nobly the funeral was conducted. There was an immense display of goldleaf; there were leopards emblazoned on the harness of the horses; there was the hearse, with great golden lions, provided by the king's painter, and effigies of the evangelists standing upon it. There were angels censuring with gold censers; there were knights in attendance with new robes provided at the king's expense; there was a wooden image of the dead king, worth 40s. and a copper-gilt crown upon its head worth 7s. 3d. There were great beams of oak provided to keep back the crowd that thronged to have a glimpse of

the royal corpse.¹ There were heavy charges for the painful dispatch of all these paraphernalia by road from London to Gloucester. There was a full attendance of mourners, including the not very disconsolate widow and the son, the young king who had supplanted him. Everything was done in decency and order, so that we may take for what it is worth the rash statement of chroniclers that the funeral was but a hugger-mugger affair. There was even a pretence at inquiry, for it seems that the woman employed in embalming the body was sent to attend the court to Worcester immediately after the ceremony, that she might give Isabella what light she could as to the circumstances of her husband's end. Then the court went back to the North where the king married his bride, met his parliament, and concluded the "disgraceful peace" with the Scots. There was no more allowed to be said about his father until the question was reopened three years later when the *coup d'état* of the young Edward III at Nottingham drove Mortimer from power to the scaffold, and relegated Isabella not to a dungeon, as the old histories tell us, but to a dignified, free, and luxurious retirement in which she lived to sixty-six, a good old age for those times, and died at last in 1368 in something like the odour of sanctity.

One other observation only need be made as to the period of the regency and that is that the men whom common report associated with the crime, Berkeley, Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gurney remained trusted agents of Mortimer and Isabella. Maltravers in particular was raised to a great position, for between 1328 and 1330 he acted as steward of the king's household, the lay head of the royal establishment, and therefore—we may guess—in a position to prevent any compromising documents appearing in the wardrobe accounts in which his clerical colleague, the treasurer of the wardrobe, recorded the expenses of the court. He had, however, vacated that office before the Nottingham catastrophe, though he still, I imagine, was in the confidence of the Queen Isabella.

Under these circumstances we may well believe that Edward was murdered at Berkeley. It is unlikely that this vigorous and healthy man of forty-three died a natural death. There is every probability that his unscrupulous enemies killed him "as a precaution". It was

¹ Pro claustrum circum corpus regis ad resistendum oppressionem populi irruentis.

always so with dangerous captives from the dawn of history. It was pre-eminently so in the middle ages. Our own history is full of such examples, Arthur of Brittany, Edward II, Thomas and Humphrey of Gloucester, Richard II, Henry VI, the princes in the Tower—leaving out the more respectable cases of pretenders slain in hot blood after a fight. Their ends were always mysterious; the official version generally savoured of the incredible; the probabilities pointed to violence; and there was always the chance to accuse either the supplanter, who had most to gain, or his inferior agents who generally did his dirty work for him. But in no case is there certain evidence of how the deed was done or as to the person doing it. The inevitable result of such an end is the suspicion of murder, and there is little reason for us departing from the commonplace attribution of the crime to those who profited most by it. From this point of view we may agree with the chroniclers that Isabella and Mortimer had the primary responsibility for this deed. But they were shrewd enough to obscure the evidence of their complicity, and there is little evidence even against the underlings who perpetrated the actual crime.

Under such circumstances there arose an impression that, after all, the victim might have escaped. All through history there are men, generally denounced as impostors, who claimed that they had marvelously evaded the doom allotted to them and demanded restitution to their ancient dignities. Instance of this range from the false Smerdis whom we read about in Herodotus to the false Demetrius, whose challenge to the throne of the Tsars is familiar to all students of the modern Russian opera. In English history the familiar instances are the "mammet of Scotland," whose claim to be Richard II was officially recognised by our Scottish enemies, and Perkin Warbeck, whose representation of himself as Richard, Duke of York, was widely accepted both in his own day and since. Now there was exceptional reason, far more than in most of the analogous cases I have mentioned, for believing that Edward II escaped the doom allotted to him at Berkeley, and, though no notorious claimant to his name ever presented himself, we can trace for the best part of a generation how the uncertainty of his fate moved men's minds and, as long as his enemies still ruled the land, how deliberate action based on the belief in his survival, stirred up men to deeds of daring and violence.

At first there was general scepticism as to Edward's fate, and we

can understand this better, now we know that he actually did for a time escape from his dungeon. But it is a remarkable thing that a large number of wise and influential people, and also some neither wise nor influential, profoundly believed that Edward was still alive. Among the latter we may safely class Edward's stupid and unpopular half-brother Edmund, Earl of Kent, whose disgust of Mortimer and Isabella led him into several half-hearted attempts against their administration. But the important thing is that so many of the better sort were impressed by the same rumour. Among these were the excellent Archbishop Melton of York, who had served him from youth up to the end; Bishop Gravesend of London, quite a respectable prelate; many Dominican friars on whom the mantle of Thomas Dunhead had fallen; some representatives of the official class, past and future; magnates who belonged to the court following, including Isabella's kinsman, Henry Beaumont; Scottish enemies of the realm; new and uncertain friends in France, and, strangest of all, the strong and masterful pope, John XXII, one of the greatest lawyers who ever sat on the papal throne. The Dunhead tradition still lingered. Thomas may have been dead, but one chronicler, Lanercost, believed that he was alive and was the preaching friar who convinced Kent of his brother's existence by conjuring up the devil to give testimony to that effect.¹ Even his brother Stephen escaped from gaol and was hard at work up to 1329. Unluckily we still have to move warily, for our chief information as to the development of this new phase of the sentiment of belief in Edward's remaining alive comes from a confession of Edmund of Kent, himself, whose stupidity and credulity make him a poor witness, even though he tried to tell the truth. Besides this Mortimer got wind of Kent's suspicions, and used some of his followers as *agents provocateurs* to lure the silly earl to his ruin. It is hard to know from Kent's story which of the officials were *bona fide* believers in Edward's existence and which were suborned to give false testimony. But we may readily assume that Maltravers, then steward of the household, was of the latter class. Anyhow Kent was involved in a net of treason from which abject confession afforded him no escape. With his execution in March,

¹ Lanercost (p. 265), who summarises Kent's confession from Murimuth (p. 253), identifies Thomas Dunhead with Kent's anonymous devil-invoking friar.

1330, the chief attempt to translate into action the belief that Edward still lived came to an end.

Another reason that suggests scepticism as to Edward of Carnarvon's murder is the extreme tenderness with which the suspected murderers were treated when in the Westminster Parliament of November, 1330, Mortimer and his chief abettors were tried and condemned. It is remarkable how small a place the death of Edward of Carnarvon took in the charges brought against them. It is true that Mortimer was declared guilty, among other counts, of having caused "the father of the lord king" to be murdered, but there were many other hanging matters brought up against him. Of those against whom common fame, then or later, brought direct charges of actually slaying Edward, two only, Sir Thomas Gurney and William Ogle, were convicted of "falsely and traitorously murdering the king's father," but both of these escaped their doom by flight. Ogle's share in the crime has up to lately been obscure, but recently a bright ray of new light has been flashed upon it. To this we shall soon recur. A third culprit, Simon Barford, was executed, but on other counts than the Berkeley murder. A fourth, Maltravers, was also condemned to death, but he, too, was arraigned on the very different charge of compassing the death of Edmund of Kent by persuading him that the old king was alive when he knew very well that he was dead. He, like Gurney and Ogle, escaped his fate by a speedy flight beyond seas. Thomas of Berkeley was dealt with most tenderly of all. Brought before parliament to explain how it happened that the lord Edward should have been suffered to be murdered in his castle and in his custody, he denied all responsibility. He had appointed Gurney and Ogle as his agents, having complete confidence in them. At the time of the murder he was lying sick at Bradley, miles away, and was too ill to have any memory of what had happened. Moreover, he only learnt in the present parliament that the late king had been murdered. Later a jury of knights appeared with Thomas in open parliament, and acquitted him of the chief charges brought against him.

Some of Berkeley's statements are plainly untrue. It looks as if his own household accounts disprove his absence from Berkeley; they certainly show he only got to Bradley more than a week later than Edward's reputed death. It is most improbable that he was so simple as never to have heard that his captive was supposed to have been

murdered, until nearly three years after the event. But parliament accepted him at his word, and ordered him to appear in the next parliament to answer the sole charge which it regarded as still requiring to be met, namely, his responsibility for the appointment of Gurney and Ogle by whom the king had been murdered. He was committed to the custody of the steward of the household. In the next parliament the case was still postponed, but, on the petition of the magnates, Berkeley was released from his bail. The business dragged on for nearly seven years. Even when parliament pronounced him guiltless of the murder, it still referred to the king's judgment whether any culpability was attached to him for so horrible a deed happening in his castle and involving a victim entrusted to his charge. At last, on 16 March, 1337, Edward III declared his complete acquittal. Berkeley played his part in the Scotch and French Wars, sat in parliament, and handed on his estates and dignities to a long line of successors.

An attempt to fasten the guilt of Edward's murder on William Ogle was made somewhat later than the proceedings of the parliament which had already condemned Ogle. Through Ogle it was hoped to attack the memory of Roger Mortimer himself and his still active lieutenant and agent, William Shalford, who, in 1327, had been acting on his behalf as justice of North Wales. This remarkable effort has only recently become known and deserves, therefore, careful consideration from us. It was due to the energy of the numerous Welsh enemies of Mortimer and his agents. These partisans took advantage of the establishment, after the fall of Mortimer and his henchman, of a fresh administration in Wales under the new justice, Sir John Wysham. They took to this officer a remarkable complaint against Shalford's action in September, 1327. Howel ap Gruffydd, a Welsh gentleman of some position, who apparently held a quasi-official position as the king's prosecutor,¹ appeared before justice Wysham, and formally "appealed," that is accused, William Shalford of feloniously encompassing the death of Edward of Carnarvon, and challenged him to trial by battle to prove the accusation. His story was that Shalford procured Edward's death by warning Mortimer, who at once took the hint, that it was only by slaying the ex-king

¹ "Qi suyt pur nostre seignur le roi." See later in appendix.

that the danger of a successful plot to release and restore him could be obviated.

Wysham, an old partisan of Mortimer and Isabella,¹ seems to have been embarrassed by Howel's appeal and referred it to the king's chancery. Thence the case was sent by writ before the justices of what was later called the court of King's Bench, and 18 April, 1331, was appointed for its hearing. The appellant and the defender each found sureties for his appearance, and the fact that many of the leading magnates of Gwynedd, at their head the famous Sir Gruffydd Llwyd, acted as sureties, or "manuaptors," of Howel, shewed how strong was the local backing of the attack on Mortimer's agent. But nothing decisive came of the "appeal". An illness, contracted on his journey to the court, prevented Howel putting in his appearance on the appointed day, or during the short period of grace following. Though he duly presented himself at subsequent hearings some time later, it was finally decided that his claim had been lost through his defeasance.²

The motive for this judgment was not unlikely to have been that same policy of hushing up scandals that had already so strongly influenced the action of the young king in this matter. But it led to no concrete results. Ogle had already escaped, and as he seems soon after to have died abroad, nothing was to be gained by pressing the suit. After all, it was not only an attempt to bring a murderer to justice and to exact reparation from an oppressive governor. It was emphatically a quarrel between the Welsh of Gwynedd and the English dwellers in the garrison towns of North Wales, whom Shalford represented.³ Shalford himself seems soon to have been restored to favour, for we find him acting as keeper of Mortimer's forfeited lands.⁴ Thus once more the welfare of the young king on the throne was preferred to meticulous inquiry as to the circumstances of his father's death.

Of the three reputed murderers of Edward III, we now know how it fared with Ogle. Gurney and Maltravers, alike in their exile,

¹ He had been steward of the household in 1328 and 1329.

² *C.P.R.*, 1330-4, p. 208.

³ The two lists of "manuaptors," for Howel and Shalford respectively, see later in appendix, show this clearly. See also *C.P.R.*, 1330-4, pp. 61, 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 323. See also *C.C.R.*, 1330-3, pp. 345, 350, 460, 461.

had in the end curiously different fates. Gurney was the only one of the three upon whom Edward III took any trouble to lay hands. In 1331 he was arrested by the king of Castile at the instance of the English king, who sent a member of his household to receive the prisoner. However, long delays ensued and Gurney took advantage of them to effect his escape. Next year the vengeance of the English king ran him to earth at Naples, and this time he was safely delivered to a Yorkshire knight, sent by Edward to bring him home. The route taken was by way of Gascony, and Gurney reached Bayonne in safety. There he broke down in health and died. His keeper meticulously carried out his commission, for he embalmed the body and brought it by sea to England. There, perhaps, the punishment allotted to the living man may have been gratuitously inflicted on his corpse. This is a possible explanation of the story told by Murimuth and copied by Baker, that he was beheaded at sea.

Maltravers lived many years in Flanders, and soon proved himself so useful to Edward III that it was thought injudicious to make any serious attempt to run him to earth. His wife, who lived comfortably on her dower lands in England, was apparently allowed to visit him from time to time, at first under the pretext of a pilgrimage and later without any pretence in the matter.¹ Meanwhile Maltravers seems to have established himself in an influential position in Flanders, and finally did good work for England in cementing the Anglo-Flemish alliance of 1340. Accordingly in 1342 Agnes his wife was allowed to stay with him in Flanders for such time as she pleased, notwithstanding his sentence of banishment from England.² But the crumbling of the Anglo-Flemish alliance in 1345 made Maltravers' position in Flanders precarious, and when in that year Edward III appeared in the port of Sluys to hold his last interview with Artevelde, who went straight from it to his death, Maltravers of his own will submitted to the king and prayed that, as he had been condemned unheard, he might be allowed to stand his trial in parliament. The king declared that, being anxious for justice, and recognising that by Maltravers' loyal service to England in Flanders he had lost all his goods there, and could not abide there longer without great peril, he should receive a safe conduct to

¹ *C.C.R.*, 1330-3, p. 584 (24 July, 1332), license to Agnes Maltravers to cross from Dover going on pilgrimage by the king's license.

² *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, p. 378 (15 February, 1342).

stand his trial. In 1345, as a step towards the restitution of his estates, the king took them out of the jurisdiction of the exchequer and reserved them for the king's chamber.¹ In 1348 he sent Maltravers along with a leading merchant, as his envoy to the "three towns" of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres.² At last in 1351 Maltravers' restitution was completed. The king annulled his outlawry and restored him to the estate he possessed before the judgment passed against him, and paid a handsome acknowledgment to his great services to the crown and to his resistance of the large offers made to him by the king's adversaries to draw him from his allegiance. Thus the humbler brother-in-law of Berkeley obtained, after over twenty years, the pardon Thomas obtained after seven. He once more sat in parliament, though he was now too old for fighting, so that who would have him a combatant at Crecy and Poitiers confuse him with his son. He died at a good old age in 1364.

The tendency in 1330 and 1331 had been to make the humbler instruments the scapegoat of the real criminals; but though a policy of forget and forgive is doubtless a noble one, we cannot help feeling that the honour of Edward III does not shine the brighter by reason of his easy-going complaisance to his father's murderers. It was, I suspect, but another exemplification of the comfortable system of hushing up scandals, and it was reasonable enough that, so long as the old Queen Isabella was allowed to go free, it was unjust to inflict condign vengeance upon her agents. Like his grandfather Edward I, Edward III probably thought that the wisest course was to wash his dirty linen in all privacy. It was, in fact, another aspect of the policy of silence that had so long enveloped Edward II's fate in mystery. So late as in 1366, when John Froissart paid a visit to Berkeley, that restless seeker after news inquired about Edward of Carnarvon's fate as if it were still a moot question. "I asked," wrote he, "what had happened to that king. An ancient esquire told me that he died within a year of coming to Berkeley, for some one cut his life short. Thus died that king of England. Let us not speak longer of him but turn to the queen and her son." With this outpouring of worldly wisdom, we may leave the matter at rest.

Despite all contrary evidence, the tradition that Edward escaped

¹ *C.C.R.*, 1346-9, p. 89 (10 July, 1346).

² *Fœdera*, iii. 162.

from Berkeley took a long time to vanish, and a discovery of some forty years ago, confirming as it does that letter of John Walwayn, must not be passed over in silence. There is preserved at Montpellier, among the records of the ancient bishopric of Maguelonne,¹ a most remarkable letter written to Edward III by a Genoese priest, beneficed in England. In this the writer informs the king that he had heard in confession that Edward II was still alive and, with absolute contempt of the canon imposing secrecy on confessors, he felt it right to acquaint the king with the circumstances. He goes on to give an entirely accurate and circumstantial account of the misfortunes of the fallen monarch up to his imprisonment at Berkeley. Whether the rest of the story is equally precise is another matter. At Berkeley, the tale proceeds, a servant told Edward of Carnarvon that Thomas Gurney and Simon Barford had come to the castle to slay him, and offered to lend him his clothes that he might effect his escape, disguised as the servant. Edward accepted the proposal, slew the sleeping porter, stole his keys, and obtained his freedom. Gurney and his associate, fearful of the queen's indignation at the escape of her enemy, pretended that the body of the porter was that of her husband, and it was the porter's body which was buried at Gloucester and the porter's heart that was sent in a casket to the queen. The fugitive then found a refuge at Corfe until, after the failure of the earl of Kent, he found it prudent to leave the country. He first fled to Ireland, but afterwards made his way through England and traversed all France from Flanders to Languedoc. At Avignon he had an interview with John XXII who received him kindly. Then followed more wanderings and an ultimate settlement in various hermit cells in Italy, where, apparently, he was still residing at the time of the writing of the letter.

It is a remarkable document, so specious and detailed, and bearing none of those marks by which the gross mediæval forgery can generally be detected. Yet who can believe it true? Who shall decide how it arose? Was it simply a fairy tale? Was it the real confession of a madman? Was it a cunning effort of some French enemies to discredit the conqueror of Crecy? Or was it an intelligent attempt to exact hush money from a famous king whose beginnings

¹ It is printed, with comments, in Stubbs' *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, Introduction to vol. ii., pp. ciii-cviii.

had been based upon his father's murder and his mother's adultery? One thing only is clear and that is that the political suppression of the truth never pays in the long run and invariably piles up difficulties in the path of those who would evade their troubles by such easy means. Luckily, both for Edward III, and for those who did Edward II to death, the age was not over squeamish, and there is no reason for believing that they were ever a penny the worse from all the attempts to prove that the dead were alive.

It is clear that to the plain man the tomb at Gloucester was believed to contain all that was mortal of the unhappy Edward of Carnarvon. Feasting with Abbot Thoky in the *aula abbatis* on one of his visits to Gloucester, Edward II had noticed the row of royal effigies adorning the walls of the abbot's noble hall. He smilingly asked his host whether his portrait would not in due course be added to them. Thoky answered that he hoped the king would be ultimately placed in a more distinguished place than that which his predecessors occupied. Herein the Gloucester chronicler, who tells the story, claimed Thoky as a true prophet, for the burial place of the victim of Berkeley, on the north side of the high altar of the abbey choir, was soon distinguished by one of the rarest triumphs of fourteenth century craftsmanship, and was resorted to as to a place of pilgrimage by such a crowd of devotees that the church of St. Peter attained a higher state of prosperity and distinction than ever it had had before. No great church could feel content unless it had a saint of its own, sufficiently popular to attract the concourse of the faithful. If not a formally canonised saint, then a reputed saint or martyr would serve at a pinch. The English had acquired the habit of idealising any public character who died of violence as the personification of some principle which it revered. Thus St. Thomas of Canterbury, who really laid down his life to vindicate the supremacy of Canterbury over York, was, all over Europe, worshipped as a martyr for the liberties of holy church. The age of the Edwards preferred a saint who had some touch of politics in him, and the generation which wished to canonise the quarrelsome Archbishop Winchelsea and the disreputable Thomas of Lancaster, gave the informal honours of sanctity to the king who had atoned for the weakness of his life by the tragedy of his end.

It was for a time a matter of dispute, as in the case of Thomas of Lancaster, whether Edward was a saint or not. Many people said that

he died a martyr and did many miracles. But, a cautious chronicler warns us that imprisonment and an opprobrious death make no man a martyr if his holiness of life correspond not to his fame. But the crowd had it over the sceptics, who saw in the visits to the shrine the love of women to go gadding about rather than the impulse of holy zeal. But the doubters were soon silenced. Almost at once king Edward's tomb became a place of pious pilgrimage. Before 1337 the swarm of pilgrims was such that the town of Gloucester could hardly lodge the multitude that thronged to the martyr's shrine from all parts of England.

The material results of this flow of pilgrims was soon seen in the changes wrought in the fabric of the house of St. Peter's at Gloucester. At first their offerings enabled Abbot Wigmore (1329-37) to completely rebuild, from foundations to roof, the "aisle of St. Andrew," that is, the south transept of his church. This was but the first step in a long process. Before his death in 1337 Abbot Wigmore had made substantial progress towards the reconstruction of the eastern half of the abbey church which resulted in the transepts and choir, though retaining their ancient romanesque core, being faced with a casing of masonry erected in the fashion of building called "perpendicular". The mediæval architect was no archæologist, but the Gloucester work solved cheaply and effectively the problem how a Norman structure might, without the expense of rebuilding, be converted into the semblance of an up-to-date modern church. The problem was a general one, and there is no wonder that the solution begun in the south transept of Gloucester Abbey was imitated far and wide. Thus the "perpendicular" style of building was taken from its first home of Gloucester and was adapted and popularised by Edington and Wykeham in their grandiose operations at Winchester and elsewhere. It should, however, be clearly remembered that the needs resulting from the cult of Edward of Carnarvon, and the affluence which flowed from this, first started the new style. This fact alone would give Gloucester a place of its own in architectural history.¹

Among the pilgrims to Gloucester came Edward III, his son the Black Prince, his wife Philippa of Hainault, and his sister Queen Joan of Scotland. Their lavish offerings increased the luxury of the

¹ See for this R. Willis in *Archæological Journal*, xvii. 335-42 (1860).

equipment of the minster and found its finest expression in the famous tomb¹ with its delicate tabernacle work and its striking effigy of the beautiful but weak face of the murdered king. The "right goodly and sumptuous" cloisters, the "exceedingly fair" central tower,² the beginnings of the rebuilding of the western part of the nave, all testified that the succeeding generations of Gloucester monks still had the means and the taste to carry further the reconstruction of their church and cloister after the best fashions of the "perpendicular" period. But the cult of Edward of Carnarvon was too artificial to endure for long, and there is little evidence that it survived the fifteenth century. That this and so many other popular canonisations failed to establish themselves is one of the minor obligations we owe to the papacy, whose rigid method of inquiry into the claims of candidates for saintship did so much to uphold the gravity of mediæval worship amidst the flood of superstition and credulity that threatened to overwhelm it.

¹ For the tomb, see *Archæological Journal*, xvii. 297-319 (1860).

² I quote the words of Leland, *Itinerary*, ii. 61.

APPENDIX I

A WELSH CONSPIRACY TO RELEASE EDWARD II.

I AM indebted to Mr. Edward Owen, whose *flair* for finding out new points of mediæval Welsh history is well known, for the opportunity of studying the record of the appeal of Howel ap Gruffydd against William of Shalford¹ for compassing the death of Edward II. This is not quite a new discovery, for the late Mr. T. G. Williams has already published a short paper on the matter in the Cardiff *Nationalist*, Vol. III., No. 28, pp. 26-30 (July, 1909). Mr. Williams, however, only knew the story from the Floyd transcripts, now in the National Library of Wales, and his interesting comments are partially vitiated by his not being quite in a position to put the incident in its historical setting. Mr. Edward Owen, to whom I also owe my knowledge of Mr. Williams' article, found the record referred to in the *Coram Rege Rolls*, and made a transcript of it, which he has most kindly allowed me to use for my paper, and print here. I have "extended" to the best of my ability Mr. Owen's transcript, and have compared it with the original manuscript roll. There must, however, always have been some doubt as to the extension of proper names. In particular Welsh personal and place-names open up an abundant source of error, because they were often written out by scribes ignorant and incurious of Welsh. If this be the case sometimes with documents emanating from the chanceries at Carnarvon and Carmarthen, it must be still more the case with a record of the justices *coram rege*, whose clerks are not likely to have had either knowledge or interest in the matter. How much truth there was in Howel's story must remain an open question.

¹ William of Shalford, king's clerk, was a minor member of the bureaucracy who devoted a long career to the royal service in Wales. His activity extended from before 1301 to at least 1337, when he received a grant of lands because he had been employed under Edward I and Edward II in repressing sedition and putting down rebels in North Wales (*C.P.R.*, 1334-8, p. 399). He was constable of the castles, and therefore mayor of the towns, of Carnarvon and Criccieth, and lieutenant of Mortimer as justice of North Wales. Changing his allegiance with each change of government, he was royalist up to 1326, a partisan of Mortimer from 1326-30 and finally became in May, 1331, keeper of Mortimer's forfeited lands in Wales, and in high favour with such personal adherents of Edward III as William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury. In 1339 he, or a namesake of another generation but the same clan, was appointed baron and remembrancer of the exchequer of North Wales at Carnarvon (*ib.*, 1338-40, p. 322). Our text shows that he was a burgess of Carnarvon, in which town he naturally mainly resided.

But that there was some conspiracy in Gwyndod is proved by the wholesale arrests made about October, 1327, at Carnarvon of men like Gruffydd Llwyd and Howel himself, who were prominent in the proceedings of 1331.¹

Apart from the new side light thrown by the record on the circumstances preceding Edward of Carnarvon's death, the document suggests some important subjects of discussion in relation to general Welsh history. I cannot deal with these on this occasion, but I hope some one will be found who is willing to work them up. The most striking is the interesting problem of the jurisdiction of the English court in what was substantially a Welsh cause.² This point was apparently raised at some of the hearings, but the decision carefully evaded an opinion as to the main issue. Jurisdiction was claimed because what had happened in Berkeley happened in England, but no opinion was expressed either for or against the doctrine that suits from Carnarvon ought not to be brought *coram rege* by way of appeal. As "the Principality" was at the moment in the king's hands, and the justices *coram rege* were supposed to be the mere mouthpieces of the king's personal judgments, it is difficult to see how a decision adverse to their jurisdiction could be compatible with feudal or monarchical tradition. But the strongly expressed claim of Howel that, as a foreigner, he was not amenable to English courts, is worth noting, if only as an assertion of the nationalist point of view. This is the more remarkable because of Howel's connections with Gruffydd Llwyd and the Welsh official class, whose whole-hearted adherence to their English princes is one of the most remarkable features of early fourteenth century Welsh history. Moreover, as Mr. J. G. Edwards has pointed out to me, Howel is probably the same person as the Howel ap Gruffydd who represented Anglesea in the parliament of 1327 on one of the two occasions before Henry VIII when Welsh members were summoned.

RECORD OF THE APPEAL OF HOWEL AP GRUFFYDD AGAINST
WILLIAM OF SHALFORD.

[From *Coram Rege Rolls*, 5 Edw. III, Trinity Term, No. 285, *Placita corone*, M. 9 (towards the end).]³

ADHUC DE TERMINO SANCTE TRINITATIS.

WALLIA. Dominus rex mandavit justiciario suo Northwallie breue suum in hec verba—Edwardus Dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dominus

¹ *C.C.R.*, 1327-30, p. 182. They were released on bail on 26 October.

² A similar claim to exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary English courts was raised in 1310 on behalf of the "palatinate" of Chester. See Miss M. Tout's note on "Comitatus Palacii" in *English Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 418-19 (1920). Both in Cheshire and in the Principality these claims were made at a time when the two great franchises in question were in the king's hands.

³ In *Chancery Miscellanea*, Bundle 87, File 1, No. 21, is a fragment of the writ in this case. It has supplied some useful corrections of proper names. It should be noted that the proceedings *coram rege* were at Lincoln.

Aquitanie, justiciario suo Northwallie vel eius locum tenenti salutem. Cum Howelus ap Griffidd appellet coram vobis Willelmum de Shaldeford de quibusdam sedicionibus, confederacionibus et excessibus, tam contra dominum Edwardum quondam regem Anglie, patrem nostrum, quam contra nos factis, ac appellum illud alibi quam coram nobis terminari non possit, vobis mandamus firmiter iniungentes quod appellum predictum cum attachiamenis et omnibus adminiculis appellum illud tangentibus nobis sub sigillo vestro distincte et aperte sine dilacione mittatis, et hoc breue, ut ulterius in hac parte quod iustum fuerit fieri faciamus. Teste me ipso, apud Eltham, xxviii^o die Marcii, anno regni nostri quinto.¹

Pretextu cuius breuis predictus justiciarius misit coram domino rege in cancellaria sua appellum predictum in hec verba.

Howel ap Griffud, qe cy est, qe suyt pur nostre seignur le roi qore est, appele Willame de Shaldeforde, qe illeoges est, du consail et de compassement de la mort sire Edward, piere nostre seignur le roi qore est, qe Dieu garde, felonusement et traiterusement occis et murdretz. Et pur ceo du consail et compassement qe le lundy procheyn apres la feste de la Natiuite nostre Dame, lan du regne nostre seignur le roi Edward qore est, qe Dieu gard, premer,² a Rosfeyre en Anglesea,³ mesme celuy Willame ordeina et fist une lettre, et la maunda a sire Rogier de Mortymer a Bergeueny, en la quele lettre fust contenuz qe sire Rees ap Griffud⁴ et autres de sa coueigne assemblerent poer en Southgales et en Northgales, par assent dascuns des grantz de la terre Dengleterre, pur forciblement deliuerer le dit sire Edward, piere nostre dit seignur le roi, qe adunqes fust detenuz en le chastiel de Berceleye; et luy fist entendre par sa dite lettre qe si le dit sire Edward fust deliures en ascune manere, qe le dit sire Rogier et touz les seons morreient de male mort, ou serroient destrutz a remenaunt. Sur quoi le dit Willame, trayterusement come traytour, par la dite lettre conseilla le dit sire Rogier qil ordinast tiel remedie endroit des choses susdites qe le dit sire Rees ne nul autre Dengleterre ne de Gales aueroient matere de penser de sa deliuerance. Sur quey le dit sire Rogier monstra la dite

¹ 28 March, 1331.

² Monday, 14 September, 1327.

³ Rhosfair, Mr. J. G. Edwards tells me, was the chief vill in the Anglesea cwmwd of Menai, a residence of Llewelyn the Great, and the site of the later "English" borough of Newborough.

⁴ Rhys ap Gruffydd was a magnate of West Wales, king's yeoman under Edward II and often employed as arrayer of troops from South Wales, lieutenant of the justice of South Wales and keeper of Dynevor and other castles and lands in that district. He was faithful to Edward II to the end (*Foedera*, II, 647). Subsequently pardoned and knighted, he led the revolt of 1327 in South Wales. In February, 1328, he was again pardoned (*C.P.R.*, 1327-30, pp. 238, 242, 256). His offences included disobedience to royal orders, adhering to the Scots and departure from the realm. *C.P.R.*, 1321-24, p. 398, throws light upon his family connections. He stood to West Wales almost in the relation in which Gruffydd Llwyd stood to North Wales.

lettre a Willame Docleye,¹ et lui comaunda de porter la dite lettre a Berclaye a ceux qauoient le dit sire Edward en garde; et lui chargea qe les chargeast de part lui qils soient consaillaunt sur les pointz contenuz deinz la dite lettre et qils feisseit hastiue remedie pur greindre peril eschuer. Le quel Willame Docleye enprist la charge, et fist le comandement le dit sire Rogier. Sur quoi le dit Willame Docleye et les autres qauoient le dit sire Edward en gard trayterousement oscirent et murdrirrent le dite sire Edward, pier nostre seigneur le roi, en destruction du saunc real. Cel conseil et compassement fist le dit Willame de Shaldeforde, trayterousement come traitour, encountre sa ligeaunce, en destruction de real sanc nostre dit seigneur le roi, par le quel consaill et compassement le dit sire Edward, pier nostre dit seigneur le roi, fu trayterousment oscis et murdretz. Et si le dit Willame de Shaldeford le veot dedire, le dit Howel, come liges homme nostre dit seigneur le roi, est prest a prouer le, sur lui par son corps, come sur le traitour nostre dit seigneur le roi. Et a ceo faire le dit Howel ad done son gage en la mayn monsire Johan de Wysham, justice nostre seigneur le roi en Northgales, a Beaumaroyes, le viij^e jour de mars, et ad troue xij plegges de suyr cest appel, cest asauoir sire Griffud Th[oyd],² Gronou ap Tuder, et autres.

Misit eciam predictus iusticiarius cancellarie regis predicti manucap- tionem predicti Howelli in hec verba—Pateat uniuersis per presentes quod nos, Griffinus ap Rees, Gronou ap Tuder, loreward ap Griffid, Willyam ap Griffid, Daud ap Gwyn, Griffid ap Edeneued, Tuder ap Daud, leuan ap Edeneued, Lewelin ap Adam, Cadugan ap Rees, Adam Gough ap Adam, loreward ap Eignoun ap loreward, Tegwered ap leuan, loreward Gough ap Howel, Eignou ap Adam ap Mereduk, loreward ap Daud, leuan ap Keneuth,³ loreward ap Maddok Thloit, accepimus in ballium die confec- tionis presentium de domino Johanne de Wysham, iusticiario Northwallie, corpus Howelli ap Griffud ap loreward in castro de Kaernaruan incarcerati, videlicet unusquisque nostrum, corpus pro corpore, sub omni eo quod erga dominum regem forisfacere poterimus, ad habendum corpus suum coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium, xviii^o die Aprilis proxime futuro, ad prosequendum appellum suum versus Willelmum de Shaldeford de morte domini Edwardi regis Anglie, patris domini regis nunc, unde cum appellauit, et ad faciendum super premissis id quod dominus rex et consilium eius ordinauerint. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus.

¹ This person is generally called Ogle in modern books and sometimes in the sources. But I suspect that William of Ockley was his real name. This text explains for the first time why he was charged with Edward's murder.

² Gruffydd ap Rhys and Gruffydd Llwyd are, as Mr. J. G. Edwards has conclusively shown, one and the same person. Mr. Edwards points out to me that the fact that Gruffydd Llwyd was at large in 1331 tends towards confirming his conjecture as to the date of Gruffydd's second imprisonment. For this see *English Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 596-98 (1915).

³ "Keneuth" is the clear reading. "Cynfrig" is probably the name meant by the clerk.

Datum apud Kaernaruan, die Jovis proximo post diem dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum quinto.¹

Insuper misit idem justiciarius quandam aliam manucaptionem predicti Willelmi de Shaldeford in cancellaria predicta in hec verba—Pateat uniuersis par presentes quod nos, Hugo de Hamnton, senior, Rogerus de Acton, Johannes de Hamnton, Ricardus de Monte Gomeri, Philippus de Neuton, Robertus de Helpeston, Johannes de Baddesleie, Henricus le Taillour, Johannes de Harleye, Radulphus de Neuport, Henricus de Euerdon, et Willelmus Lagheles, burgenses ville de Kaernaruan, Henricus Somer, Willelmus Adynet, Nicholaus de Saredon, Robertus le Porter, Willelmus Sturmy, Petrus de Ouerton, Johannes de Morton, Johannes del Wode et Rogerus de Wolashale, burgenses ville de Conewey, Thomas de Peulesdon, burgensis ville de Bala, Johannes le Colier et Walterus filius Dauid, burgenses ville de Hardelagh, accepimus in ballium die confeccionis presencium, de domino Johanni de Wysham, justiciario North Wallie, corpus Willelmi de Shaldeford, burgensis ville de Kaernaruan, in castro de Kaernaruan, eodem die incarcerati, ad prosecucionem cuiusdam appelli per Howelum ap Griffith ap Ioreward versus ipsum Willelmum facti, videlicet unusquisque nostrum, corpus pro corpore, et sub omni eo quod erga dominum regem forisfacere poterimus, ad habendum corpus, eius coram domino rege apud Westminsterium, xviii^o die Aprilis proxime futuro, ad faciendum super premissis quod idem dominus rex et eius consilium ordinauerint. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigilla nostra opposuimus. Datum apud Caernaruan die Veneris, xxij^o die Martii, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum quinto.

Quod quidem appellum vna cum manucapcionibus predictis dominus rex misit a cancellaria sua justiciariis suis hic in hec verba—Edwardus, Dei gracia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie, dilectis et fidelibus suis, Galfrido le Scrope et sociis suis justiciariis ad placita coram nobis tenenda assignatis, salutem. Mittimus vobis sub pede sigilli nostri appellum quod Howelus ap Griffith fecit coram justiciario nostro Northwallie versus Willelmum de Shaldeford de quibusdam sedicionibus, confederacionibus et excessibus tam contra dominum Edwardum, quondam regem Anglie patrem nostrum, quam contra nos factis. Quod quidem appellum coram nobis in cancellaria nostra certis de causis venire fecimus, ut ulterius in hac parte fieri faciatis quod secundum legem et consuetudinem regni nostri fuerit facienda. Teste Johanne de Eltham, comite Cornubie, fratre nostro, custode regni nostri, apud Eltham, xviii^o die Aprilis anno regni nostri quinto.

Ad quem xviii^m diem Aprilis, scilicet anno regni domini regis nunc quinto, venit predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford per manucapcionem supradictam, et optulit se versus predictum Howel ap Griffith de appello suo. Et predictus Howell, eodem die et in crastino solempniter vocatus, non venit; set tercio die sequenti post predictum xviii^m diem venit. Et allocutus de eo quod non venit ad predictum xviii^m diem coram rege, sicut mandatum fuit, prosequendus appellum suum predictum, dicit quod ipse in veniendo per viam apud Wigorniam versus curiam, hic infirmabatur per duos dies quod nullo modo

¹ 28 March, 1331.

potuit equitare, nec ad diem predictum hic interesse. Et hoc verificare prout curia, etc. Et super hoc certis de causis datus est dies tam predicto Howello quam predicto Willelmo coram rege a die sancti Trinitatis in xv dies,¹ ubicumque, etc. Et predictus Howelus interim dimittitur per manucapcionem Griffith Ffloyt militis, Daid ap Howel, Grone ap Yerwath, Lewelyn ap Griffuth, Griffyn ap Daid, et Yerwarth ap Adam, omnes de Wallia, qui eum manuceperunt habendum coram domino rege ad prefatum terminum, videlicet corpus pro corpore, etc. Quod Willelmus de Shaldeford similiter dimittitur per manucapcionem Nicholai de Acton clerici, Johannis de Ouer-ton, Johannis Stutmere de comitatu Salopie, . . . Benet de comitatu Somersete, Dionisii de Wathe de comitatu Lincolnie et Johannis de Housom de comitatu Eboraci, qui eum manuceperunt coram domino rege ad prefatum terminum ubicunque, etc., videlicet corpora pro corpore, etc.

Ad quam quindenam sancte Trinitatis,¹ scilicet anno regni domini regis nunc quinto, venerunt tam predictus Howelus ap Griffith quam predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford [in] personis suis. Et predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford dicit quod predictus Howelus ap Griffith alias habuit diem, scilicet xviii^o die Aprilis proximo preterrito, ad prosequendum appellum suum predictum coram domino rege hic, etc. Ad quem diem idem Howel licet [et primo] et secundo die solempniter vocatus fuerit, non venit, appellum suum predictum prosecuturus, etc. Et ex quo appellatores quilibet parati esse debeant, etc., petit iudicium de non secta sua, etc. Et predictus Howel dicit quod ipse est alienigena natus in principatu Wallie extra regnum Anglie, et licet ipse paratus sit appellum suum prosequi ubi et quando, etc., de appellis tamen seu de aliis placitis emergentibus infra principatum predictum, habet deduci per legem et consuetudinem eiusdem principatus, non per legem Anglicanam, etc. Et super hoc veniunt Griffyn ap Rees, Rees ap Griffyn, Daid ap Howel, Seroun ap Yerewarth, Yereward Tue, Griffyn ap Kegnhy,² et alii pro se et comunitate tocius principatus predicti; et petunt quod de appello predicto quod infra principatum predictum emersit, cuius cognito infra eundem principatum habet deduci et non alibi, quod ipsi non ponantur in placitum in curia hic contra legem et consuetudinem principatus predicti, etc. Et super hoc quibusdam certis de causis datus est eis dies coram domino rege a die sancti Michaelis in tres septimanas,³ ubicumque, etc., eodem statu quo nunc, etc. Et predictus Howelus interim dimittitur per manucapcionem Griffini ap Rees, Rees ap Griffyn, Daid ap Howel, Seroun ap Herewarth, Yarward Tue, Griffyn ap Tuder, Daid ap Rees, Griffyn ap Deuoueyt, Euwan ap Griffith, Daid ap Kethin, Maddok ap Daid, et Tuder ap Daid, qui eum manuceperunt habendum coram domino rege ad prefatum diem, videlicet corpora pro corpore, etc. Et similiter predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford interim dimittitur per manucapcionem Howeli ap Maddok de Nanconewey, Johannis de Hamtone de comitatu de Caernaruan, Johannis de Housum de comitatu Eboraci, Johannis de Erewell⁴ de comitatu Angleseia, Johannis de Eccleshale de comitatu Staffordie,

¹ 10 June, 1331.

² or Kegnuy.

³ 20 (or 21) October, 1331.

⁴ The reading in *Chanc. Misc.* is "Eriswell".

Ricardi Bagh de Cruk,¹ Ricardi de Wymesbury de comitatu Salopie, et Johannis de Ouerton de eodem comitatu, qui eum manuceperunt habendum² coram domino rege ad prefatum terminum ubicumque, etc., videlicet corpora pro corpore, etc.

Ad quem diem veniunt tam predictus Howelus ap Griffith quam predictus Willelmus de Shaldeford per manucaptors predictos. Et inspecto recorde predicto, compertum est in eodem quod alias in curia hic, scilicet ad predictum decimum octauum diem Aprilis, predictus Howelus, primo et secundo die exactus, non venit appellum predictum prosecuturus ubi secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Anglie considerari deberet, quod idem Howelus esset non prosecutus, si appellum illud esset acceptabile secundum legem et consuetudinem regni predicti. Et similiter compertum est in eodem, quod predictus Howelus, appellatus predictum Willelmum de quibusdam contentis in appello, que fieri deberent infra principatum Wallie et de quibusdam que fieri deberent apud Berkele infra regnum Anglie, quod quidem appellum in curia regis hic secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Anglie ad finalem exitum deducendum sine die non potest in forma predicta, per quod dictum est eis quod eant inde sine die, etc.

¹ Probably, but not certainly, Criccieth.

² The MS. reading is "habendi".

APPENDIX II.

A POEM ATTRIBUTED TO EDWARD II.

THERE has long lurked at Longleat a manuscript, the property of the Marquis of Bath, which includes a French poem described as "De le roi Edward le fiz roi Edward le chanson qe il fist mesmes". It has been known to some extent by reason of a misleading Latin version in Fabyan's *Chronicle* (p. 185), and has been shortly described in *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Third Report, Ap., p. 180. It purports to be written by the king in his captivity, and describes his emotions and sufferings with some sincerity and feeling. Prof. Studer of Oxford tells me that he had transcribed this poem from the Longleat manuscript and proposes shortly to publish it. The manuscript is, Prof. Studer thinks, not later than 1350, so that its definite ascription of its authorship to the king has some measure of authority. The question whether Edward wrote the poem can only be settled, if ever, when we have the text before us. Certainly, if Edward II ever took to literature, he would have written in French, and his love of minstrels, play-actors, and music may conceivably have driven him in the leisure of his imprisonment into verse. On the other hand he seems to me to have been unlikely to write anything. It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that the poem is another part of the case for exciting sympathy with the dethroned king in his misfortunes and is likely, therefore, to be a conscious effort of his numerous and eager partisans to effect his release, reinstatement or canonisation, rather than an original outpouring of an illiterate sovereign. Meanwhile I should add that Prof. Studer, who, unlike myself, knows the poem at first hand, is impressed with the possibility of its having been composed by Edward of Carnarvon. In any case he will be doing a real service to scholarship by printing so interesting a document. I must express my obligation to him for having discussed the matter with me and for affording me the material on which this note is based.

RECENT TENDENCIES IN EUROPEAN POETRY.¹

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WHEN Matthew Arnold declared that every age receives its best interpretation in its poetry, he was making a remark hardly conceivable before the century in which it was made. Poetry in the nineteenth century was, on the whole, more charged with meaning, more rooted in the stuff of humanity and the heart of nature, less a mere province of *belles-lettres*, than ever before. Consciously or unconsciously it reflected the main currents in the mentality of European man, and the reflection was often most clear where it was least conscious. Two of these main currents are :—

1. The vast and steady enlargement of our knowledge of the compass, the history, the potencies of Man, Nature, the World.

2. The growth in our sense of the *worth* of every part of existence.

Certain aspects of these two processes are popularly known as “the advance of science,” and “the growth of democracy”. But how far “science” reaches beyond the laboratory and the philosopher’s study, and “democracy” beyond political freedom and the ballot-box, is precisely what poetry compels us to understand; and not least the poetry of the last sixty years with which we are to-day concerned.

How then does the history of poetry in Europe during these sixty years stand in relation to these underlying processes? On the surface, at least, it hardly resembles growth at all. In France above all—the literary focus of Europe, and its sensitive thermometer—the movement of poetry has been, on the surface, a succession of pronounced and even fanatical schools, each born in reaction from its precursor, and

¹ This lecture has appeared, in a completer form, in Mr. F. S. Marvin’s *Recent Developments in European Thought* (Clarendon Press, 1920).

succumbing to the triumph of its successor. Yet a deeper scrutiny will perceive that these warring artists were, in fact, groups of successive discoverers, who each added something to the resources and the scope of poetry, and also retained and silently adopted the discoveries of the past ; while the general line of advance is in the direction marked by the two main currents I have described. Nowhere else is the succession of phases so sharp and clear as in France. But since France does reflect more sensitively than any other country the movement of the mind of Europe, and since her own mind has, more than that of any other country, radiated ideas and fashions out over the rest of Europe, these phases are in fact traceable also, with all kinds of local and national variations, in Italy and Spain, Germany and England, and I propose to take this fact as the basis of our present very summary and diagrammatic view. The three phases of the sixty years are roughly divided by the years 1880 and 1900.

The first, most clearly seen in the French Parnassians, is in close, if unconscious, sympathy with the temper of science. Poetry, brought to the limit of expressive power, is used to express, with the utmost veracity, precision, and impersonal self-suppression, the beauty and the tragedy of the world. It sought Hellenic lucidity and Hellenic calm—in the example most familiar to us, the Stoic calm and “sad lucidity” of Matthew Arnold.

The second, best seen in the French Symbolists, was directly hostile to science. But they repelled its confident analysis of material reality in the name of a part of reality which it ignored or denied, an immaterial world which they mystically apprehended, which eluded direct description, frustrated rhetoric, and was only to be come at by the magical suggestion of colour, music, and symbol. It is most familiar to us in the “Celtic” verse of Mr. Yeats and “A. E.”.

The third, still about us, and too various and incomplete for final definition, is in closer sympathy with science, but, in great part, only because science has itself found accommodation between nature and spirit, a new ideality born of, and growing out of, the real. If the first found Beauty, the end of art, in the plastic repose of sculpture, and the second in the mysterious cadences of music, the poetry of the twentieth century finds its ideal in life, in the creative evolution of being, even in the mere things, the “prosaic” pariahs of previous poetry, on which our shaping wills are wreaked. We know it in

poets unlike one another but yet more unlike their predecessors, from D'Annunzio and Dehmel and Claudel to our Georgian experimenters in the poetry of paradox and adventure.

I. POETIC NATURALISM.

The third quarter of the nineteenth century opened, in western Europe, with a decided set-back for those who lived on dreams, and a corresponding complacency among those who throve on facts. The political and social revolution which swept the continent in 1848 and 1849, and found ominous echoes here, was everywhere, for the time, defeated. The discoveries of science in the third and fourth decades, resting on calculation and experiment, were investing it with the formidable prestige which it has never since lost ; and both metaphysics and theology reeled perceptibly under the blows delivered in its name. The world exhibition of 1851 seemed to announce an age of settled prosperity, peace, and progress.

In literature the counterpart of these phenomena was the revolt from Romanticism, a movement, in its origins, of poetic liberation and discovery, which had rejuvenated poetry in Germany and Italy, and yet more signally in England and in France, but was now petering out in emotional incoherence, deified impulse, and irresponsible caprice.

In poetry the French Parnassians created the most brilliant poetry that has, since Milton, been built upon erudition and impeccable art. Their leader, Leconte de Lisle, in the preface of his *Poèmes Antiques* (1853), scornfully dismissed Romanticism as a second-hand, incoherent, and hybrid art, compounded of German mysticism, reverie, and Byron's stormy egoism. Sully Prudhomme addressed a sterner criticism to the shade of Alfred de Musset—the Oscar Wilde of the later Romantics who had never known the stress of thought, and had filled his poetry with light, love and laughter and voluptuous despairs ; the new poets were to be no such gay triflers, but workers at a forge, beating the glowing metal into shape, and singing as they toiled. Carducci, too, derisively contrasts the “moonlight” of Romanticism—cold and infertile beams, proper for Gothic ruins and graveyards—with the benignant and fertilizing sunshine he sought to restore ; for him, too, the poet is no indolent caroller, and no gardener to grow fragrant flowers for ladies, but a forge-worker with muscles of steel. Among us, as usual, the divergence is less sharply marked ; but when Browning calls

Byron a "flat fish," and Arnold sees the poet of *Prometheus Unbound* appropriately pinnacled in the "intense inane," they are expressing a kindred repugnance to a poetry wanting in intellectual substance and in clear-cut form.

If we turn from the negations of the anti-romantic revolt to consider what it actually sought and achieved in poetry, we find that its positive ideals, too, without being derived from science, reflect the temper of a scientific time. Thus the supreme gift of all the greater poets of this group was a superb vision of beauty, and of beauty—*pace* Hogarth—there is no science. But their view of beauty was partly limited, partly fertilized and enriched, by the sources they discovered and the conditions they imposed, and both the discoveries and the limitations added something to the traditions and resources of poetry.

In the first place, they exploited the aesthetic values to be had by knowledge. They pursued erudition and built their poetry upon erudition, not in the didactic way of the Augustans, but as a mine of poetic material and suggestion. Far more truly than Wordsworth's this poetry could claim to be the impassioned expression which is in the face of science; for Wordsworth's knowledge is a mystic insight wholly estranged from erudition; his celandine, his White Doe, belong to no fauna or flora. When Leconte de Lisle, on the other hand, paints the albatross of the southern sea or the condor of the Andes, the eye of a passionate explorer and observer has gone to the making of their exotic sublimity. The strange regions of humanity, too, newly disclosed by comparative religion and mythology, he explores with cosmopolitan impartiality and imaginative penetration; carving, as in marble, the tragedy of Hjalmar's heart and Angentyr's sword, of Cain's doom, and Erinnyes never, like those of Aeschylus, appeased. The Romantics had loved to play with exotic suggestions; but the East of Hugo's *Orientalles* or Moore's *Lalla Rookh* is merely a veneer; the poet of *Qain* has heard the wild asses cry and seen the Syrian sun descend into the golden foam.

In the three commanding poets of our English mis-century, learning becomes no less evidently poetry's honoured and indispensable ally. Tennyson studies nature like a naturalist, not like a mystic, and finds felicities of phrase poised, as it were, upon delicate observation. Man, too, in Browning, loses the vague aureole of Shelleyan humanity, and becomes the Italian of the Renaissance or the Arab doctor or the Ger-

man musician, all alive but in their habits as they lived, and fashioned in a brain fed, like no other, on the Book of the histories of Souls. Matthew Arnold more distinctively than either, and both for better and for worse, was the scholar-poet ; among other things he was, with Heredia and Carducci, a master of the poetry of critical portraiture, which focusses in a few lines (*Sophocles, Rahel, Heine, Obermann Once More*) the meaning of a great career or of a complex age.

Further, in the elaboration of their vision of beauty from these enlarged sources, Leconte de Lisle and his followers demanded an impeccable artistry. "A great poet," he said, "and a flawless artist are convertible terms." The Parnassian precision rested on the postulate that, with sufficient resources of vocabulary and phrase, everything can be adequately expressed, the analogue of the contemporary scientific conviction that, with sufficient resources of experiment and calculation, everything can be exhaustively explained. The pursuit of an objective calm, the repudiation of missionary ardour, of personal emotion, of the *cri du coeur*, of individual originality, involved the surrender of some of the glories of spontaneous song, but opened the way, for consummate artists such as these, to a profusion of undiscovered beauty, and to a peculiar grandeur not to be attained by the egoist. Leconte's temperament leads him to subjects which are already instinct with tragedy, and thus in his hands assume this grandeur without effort. The power of sheer style to ennoble is better seen in Sully Prudhomme's *tours de force* of philosophic poetry—when he unfolds his ideas upon "Justice" or "Happiness," for instance, under the form of a debate where masterly resources of phrase and image are compelled to the service of a rigorous logic ; or in the brief cameo-like pieces on "Memory," "Habit," "Forms," and similar unpromising abstractions, most nearly paralleled in English by the quatrains of Mr. William Watson. But the cameo comparison is still more aptly applied to the marvellously-chiselled sonnets of Heredia—monuments of a moment, as sculpture habitually is, but reaching out, as the finest sculpture does, to invisible horizons, and to the before and after—the old wooden guardian-god recalling his former career as a scarlet figure-head laughing at the laughter or fury of the waves ; Antony seeing the flying ships of Actium mirrored in the traitorous azure of Cleopatra's eyes.

Finally, the Parnassian poetry, like most contemporary science, was in varying degrees detached from and hostile to religion, and

found some of its most vibrating notes in contemplating its empty universe. Leconte de Lisle offers the Stoic the last mournful joy of "a heart seven-times steeped in the divine nothingness,"¹ or calls him to "that city of silence, the sepulchre of the vanished gods, the human heart, seat of dreams, where eternally ferments and perishes the illusory universe".² Here, too, Leopardi had anticipated him.

The supreme figure, not only among those who share in the anti-romantic reaction but among all the European poets of his time, was one who had in the heyday of youth led the Romantic vanguard—Victor Hugo. Leconte de Lisle never ceased to own him his master, and Hugo's genius had since his exile, in 1851, entered upon a phase in which a poetry such as the Parnassian sought—objective, reticent, impersonal, technically consummate—was at least one of the strings of his many-chorded lyre. Three magnificent works—the very crown and flower of Hugo's production—belong to this decade, 1850-60—the *Châtiments*, *Gontemplations*, and *Légende des Siècles*. I said, advisedly, one string in his lyre. Objective reticence is certainly not the virtue of the terrible indictment of "Napoleon the Little". On the other hand, the greatest qualities of Parnassian poetry were exemplified in many splendid pieces of the other two works, together with a large benignity which their austere Stoicism rarely permits, and I shall take an illustration of the finest achievement of poetry in this whole first phase, the closing stanzas of his famous *Booz Endormi* in the *Légende*, whose beauty even translation cannot wholly disguise. Our decasyllable is substituted for the always exotic Alexandrine;³ otherwise the original metre is retained.

¹ *Midi*.

² *La Paix des Dieux*.

³ For this and the other verse-translations the writer is responsible.

While thus he slumbered, Ruth, a Moabite,
Lay at the feet of Boaz, her breast bare,
Waiting, she knew not when, she knew not where,
The sudden mystery of wakening light.

Boaz knew not that there a woman lay,
Nor Ruth what God desired of her could tell;
Fresh rose the perfume of the asphodel,
And tender breathed the dusk on Galgala.

Nuptial, august, and solemn was the night,
Angels no doubt were passing on the wing,

II. DREAM AND SYMBOL.

The rise of French symbolism towards the end of the "seventies" was a symptom of a changed temper of thought and feeling traceable in some degree throughout civilized Europe. Roughly, it marked the passing of the confident and rather superficial security of the "fifties" into a vague unrest, a kind of troubled awe. As if existence altogether was a bigger, more mysterious, and intractable thing than was assumed, not so easily to be captured in the formulas of triumphant science, or mirrored and analysed by the most consummate literary art.

Of this changed outlook the growth of Symbolism is the most significant literary expression. It was not confined to France, or to poetry. We know how the drama of Ibsen became charged with ulterior meanings as the fiery iconoclast passed into the poet of insoluble and ineluctable doubt. But by the French symbolists it was pursued as a creed, as a religion. If the dominant poetry of the third quarter of the century reflected the prestige of science, the dominant poetry of the fourth reflected the idealistic reactions against it, and Villiers de l'Île Adam, its founder, came forward proclaiming that "Science was bankrupt". And so it might well seem to him, the

For now and then there floated glimmering
As it might be an azure plume in flight.

The low breathing of Boaz mingled there
With the soft murmur of the mossy rills.
It was the month when earth is debonnaire;
The lilies were in flower upon the hills.

Night compassed Boaz' slumber and Ruth's dreams,
The sheep-bells vaguely tinkled far and near;
Infinite love breathed from the starry sphere;
'Twas the still hour when lions seek the streams.

Ur and Jerimedeth were all at rest;
The stars enamelled the blue vault of sky;
Amid those flowers of darkness in the west
The crescent shone; and with half open eye.

Ruth wondered, moveless, in her veils concealed,
What heavenly reaper, when the day was past
And harvest gathered in, had idly cast
That golden sickle on the starry field.

visionary mystic, inhabiting, as he did, a world of strange beauty and invisible mystery which science could not unlock. The symbolists had not all an explicit philosophy ; but they were all aware of potencies in the world or in themselves which language cannot articulately express, and which are yet more vitally real than the "facts" which we can grasp and handle, and the "respectable" people whom we can measure and reckon with. Sometimes these potencies are vaguely mysterious, as impalpable spirit speaking only by hints and tokens ; sometimes they are felt as the pulsations of an intoxicating beauty, breaking forth in every flower, but which can only be possessed, not described ; sometimes they are moods of the soul, beyond analysis, and yet full of wonder and beauty, visions half created, half perceived. Experiences like these might have been described, as far as description would go, by brilliant artificers like the Parnassians. Verlaine and Mallarmé did not discover, but they applied with new daring, the fact that an experience may be communicated by words which, instead of representing it, suggest it by their colour, their cadences, their rhythm, their verbal echoes and inchoate phrases. All the traditional artistry of French poetic speech was condemned as both inadequate and insincere. "Take eloquence and wring her neck ! Nothing but music and the nuance,—all the rest is 'Literature,' mere writing—futile verbosity !"; that was the famous watchword of Verlaine's creed.

The strength of symbolism lay in this demand for a complete sincerity of utterance. Its revolt against science was at the same time a vindication of truth, an effort to get nearer to reality both by shedding off the incrustations of habitual phrase and by calling into play the obscure affinities by which it can be magically evoked. In the subtleties of suggestion latent in sensations the symbolists were real discoverers. But the way had already been pointed in famous verses by Baudelaire :—

Earth is a Temple, from whose pillared mazes
Murmurs confused of living utterance rise ;
Therein Man thro' a forest of symbols paces,
That contemplate him with familiar eyes.

As prolonged echoes, wandering on and on,
At last in one far tenebrous depth unite,
Impalpable as darkness, and as light,
Scents, sounds, and colours meet in unison.

There Baudelaire had touched a chord that was to sound loud and long ; for what else than this thought of all the senses meeting in union inspired the music drama of Wagner ?—only one of his points of kinship, as we shall see, with symbolism.

In the earlier poetry of Maurice Maeterlinck, the inner life imposes a more jealous sway. The poet sits not before a transforming mirror, where the outer world is disguised, but in a closed chamber, where it is only dreamed of, and it fades into the incoherence and the irrelevance of a dream. But the chamber is of rare beauty, and in its hushed and perfumed twilight, dramas of the spirit are being silently and almost imperceptibly enacted, more tragic than the loud passion and violence of the stage. He has written an essay on Silence, silence that, like humility, holds for him a "treasure" beyond the reach of eloquence or of pride : for it is the dwelling of our true self, the spiritual core of us, "more profound and more boundless than the self of the passions or of pure reason". And so there is less matter for drama in "a captain who conquers in battle or a husband who avenges his honour than in an old man, seated in his arm-chair waiting patiently with his lamp beside him, giving unconscious ear to all the eternal laws that reign about his house, interpreting without comprehending, the silence of door and window, and the quivering voice of the light ; submitting with bent head to the presence of his soul and his destiny".

It is on this side that symbolism discloses its kinship with the Russian novel, with the mystic quietism of Tolstoy and the religion of self-sacrifice in Dostoevsky ; and its sharp antagonism to the Nietzschean gospel of dæmonic will and ruthless self-assertion, just then being preached in Germany. The two faiths were both alive and both responded to deep though diverse needs of the time ; but the immediate future, as we shall see, belonged to the second. They had their first resounding encounter when Nietzsche held up his once venerated master Wagner to scorn as the chief of "decadents" because he had turned from the superhuman heroism of Siegfried and the boundless passion of Tristram to glorify the mystic Catholicism of the Grail and the loveliness of the "pure fool" Parzifal.

Outside France symbolism found eager response among young poets, but rather as a literary than as an ethical doctrine. In Germany, Dehmel, the most powerful personality among her recent poets, began as a disciple of Verlaine ; in Italy, D'Annunzio wove esoteric symbols

into the texture of the more than Nietzschean supermanliness of his supermen and superwomen. More significant than these, however, was the symbolism of what we call the Celtic school of poets in Ireland. For here both their artistic impressionism and their mystic spirituality found a congenial soil.

For that, the French had only the Fauns of a literary neo-classicism. The passion for France was yet indeed to find a voice in poetry. But this was reserved for the more trumpet-tongued tones of the contemporary phase to which I now turn.

III. "CREATIVE EVOLUTION."

1. *Philosophic Analogies.*

Nothing is more symptomatic of the incipient twentieth century than the drawing together of currents of thoughts and action before remote or hostile. The Parnassians were an exclusive sect, the symbolists an eccentric and often disreputable coterie; Claudel, D'Annunzio, Rudyard Kipling, speak home to throngs of everyday readers, are even national idols, and our Georgians contrive to be bought and read without the least surrender of what is most poetic in their poetry. And the analogies between philosophic thinking and poetic creation become peculiarly striking. Merely to name Friedrich Nietzsche, Henri Bergson, and Benedetto Croce is to become vividly aware of these analogies and of the common bent from which they spring. All three—whether with brilliant rhetoric, or iron logic, or a blend of both—use their thinking power to deride the theorizing intelligence in comparison with the creative intuition which culminates in poetry. To define the scope and province of this intuition is the purport of Croce's epoch-making *Æsthetics*, the basis and starting-point of his illuminating work, in *Critica*, as a literary critic. Bergson is the dominant figure in a line of French thinkers possessed with the conviction that life, a perpetual streaming forth of a creative energy, cannot be caught in the mechanism of law, adapted to merely physical phenomena, which at best merely gives us generalizations and lets the all-important particulars—the individual living thing—slip through the meshes; whereas intuition—the eye fixed on the object—penetrates to the very heart of this individual living thing, and only drops out the skeleton framework of abstract laws. Philosophy, in these thinkers, was deeply imbued with

the analogies of artistic creation. "Beauty," said Ravaisson, "and especially beauty in the most divine and perfect form, contains the secret of the world". And Bergson's Creative Evolution embodied a conception of life and of the world profoundly congenial to the artistic and poetic temper of his time.

The idea that æsthetic experience gives a profounder clue in logical thought to the inner meaning of things was as old as Plato. It was one of the crowning thoughts of Kant; it deeply coloured the metaphysics of Schelling. And Nietzsche developed it with brilliant audacity when in his *Birth of Tragedy* (1872) he contrasted scornfully with the laboured and ineffectual constructions of the theoretic man, even of Socrates, the founder of philosophy, the radiant vision of the artist, the lucid clarity of Apollo. "His book gave the lie to a thousand years of orderly development," wrote the great Hellenist, Wilamowitz, Nietzsche's old schoolfellow, indignant at his rejection of the labours of scholastic reason. But it affirmed energetically the passion of his own time for immediate and first-hand experience.

And it did more. Beside and above Apollo, Nietzsche put Dionysus; beside vision and above it, rage. Of the union of these two Tragedy was born. And Nietzsche's glorification of this elemental creative force also responded to a wider movement in philosophy, here chiefly German. His Dionysiac rage is directly derived from that will in which Schopenhauer saw the master faculty of man and the hidden secret of the universe; and the beginning of Schopenhauer's fame, about 1850, coincides with a general rehabilitation of will as the dominant faculty in the soul and in the world, at the cost of the methodic orderly processes of understanding.

Nietzsche and Bergson thus, with all their obvious and immense divergences, concurred in this respect, important from our present point of view, that their influence tended to transfer authority from the philosophic reason to those "irrational" elements of mind which reach their highest intensity in the vision and "rage" of the poet.

2. *The New Freedom.*

No reader of the poetry of our time can mistake the kinship of its prevailing temper with that which lies at the root of these philosophies. Without trying to fit its infinite variety to any finite formula, we may yet venture to find it in, as Mr. McDowall has found in our Georgian

poetry in particular, a characteristic union of grip and detachment ; of intense and eager grasp upon actuality as it breaks upon us in the successive moments of the stream of time, and yet an inner independence of it, a refusal to be obsessed by its sanctions and authorities, a tacit assumption that everything, by whatever length of tradition consecrated, must come before the bar of this new century to be judged by its new mind. "Youth is knocking at the door," as it is said of Hilda in the symbolical *Master Builder*, and doubtless in every generation the philistines or Victorians in possession have had occasion to make that remark. The difference in our time is rather that instead of having to work slowly up to a final dominance against the inertia of an established literary household, it has spontaneously, like Hilda Wrangel, taken possession of the home, finding criticism boundlessly eulogistic, the public inexhaustibly responsive, and philosophy interpreting the universe, as we have seen, precisely in sympathy with its own naive intuitions. No wonder that youth at twenty is writing its autobiography or having its biography written, and that at twenty-five it makes a show of laying down the pen, like Max Beerbohm, with the gesture of one rising sated from the feast of life : "I shall write no more".

The fact that youth finds itself thus at home in the world explains the difference in temper between the new poets of freedom and the old. The wild or wistful cry of Shelley for an ideal state emancipated from pain and death is as remote from their poetry as his spiritual anarchy from their politics ; they can dream and see visions, in Scott's phrase, "like any one going," but their feet are on the solid ground of actuality and citizenship, and the actuality comes into and colours their poetry no less than their vision. When Mr. Drinkwater looks out of "his town window" he dreams of the crocus flaming gold in far-off Warwick woods ; but he does not repudiate the drab inglorious street nor the tramway ringing and moaning over the cobbles, and they come into his verse. And I find it significant of the whole temper of the new poetry to ordinary life no less than that of ordinary men and women to the new poetry, that he has won a singularly intimate relationship with a great industrial community. He has not fared like his carver in stone. But then the eagles of his carving, though capable of rising, like Shelley's, to the sun, are the Cromwells and Lincolns who themselves brought the eagle's valour and undimmed eye into the stress and turmoil of affairs.

No doubt a fiercer note of revolt may be heard at times in the poetry of contemporary France, and that precisely where devotion to some parts of the heritage of the past is most impassioned. The iconoclastic scorn of youth's idealism for the effeteness of the "old hunkers," as Whitman called them, has rarely rung out more sharply than in the closing stanzas of Claudel's great Palm Sunday ode. All the pomp and splendour of bishops and cardinals is idle while victory yet is in suspense ; that must be won by youth in arms :—

To-morrow the candles and the dais and the bishop with his clergy coped
and gold embossed,
But to-day the shout like thunder of an equal, unofficered host
Who, led and kindled by the flag alone,
With one sole spirit swollen, and on one sole thought intent,
Are become one cry like the crash of walls shattered and gates rent :
"Hosanna unto David's Son!"

Needless the haughty steeds marble sculptured, or triumphal arches, or
chariots and four,
Needless the flags and the caparisons, the moving pyramids and towers,
and cars that thunder and roar,
'Tis but an ass whereon sits Christ ;
For to make an end of the nightmare built by the pedants and the pharisees,
To get home to reality across the gulf of mendacities,
The first she-ass He saw sufficed!

Eternal youth is master, the hideous gang of old men is done with, we
Stand here like children, fanned by the breath of the things to be,
But Victory we will have to-day!
Afterwards the corn that like gold gives return, afterwards the gold that
like corn is faithful and will bear,
The fruit we have henceforth only to gather, the land we have henceforth
only to share,
But Victory we will have to-day!

In the same spirit Charles Péguy—like Claudel, be it noted, a student of Bergson at the Ecole Normale—found his ideal in the great story of the young girl of Domremy who saved France when all the pomp and wisdom of generals had broken down. And in our own poetry has not Mr. Bottomley re-written the Lear story, with the focus of power and interest transferred from the old king—left with not an inch of king in him—to a glorious young Artemis-Goneril ?

But among our English Georgians this tense iconoclastic note is rare. Their detachment from what they repudiate is not fanatical or

ascetic : it is conveyed less in invective than in paradox and irony ; their temper is not that which flies to the wilderness and dresses in camel hair, but of mariners putting out to the unknown and bidding a not unfriendly good-bye at the shore. The temper of adventure is deeply ingrained in the new romance as in the old ; the very word adventure is saturated with a sentiment very congenial to us both for better and worse ; it quickens the hero in us and flatters the devil-may-care.

In its simplest form the temper of adventure has given us the profusion of pleasant verses which we know as the poetry of "vagabondage" and "the open road". The point is too familiar to be dwelt on, and has been admirably illustrated and discussed by Mr. McDowall. George Borrow, prince of vagabonds, Stevenson, the "Ariel," with his "Vagabond-song" :—

All I seek the heaven above,
And the road below me,

and a few less vocal swallows, anticipated the more sustained flights and melodies of to-day, while Borrow's wonderful company of vagabond heroes and heroines is similarly premonitory of the alluring gipsies and circus-clowns of our Georgian poetry. Sometimes a traditional motive is creatively transformed ; as when Father Time, the solemn shadow with admonitory hour-glass, appears in Mr. Hodgson's poem as an old gipsy pitching his caravan "only a moment and off once again".

Elsewhere a deeper note is sounded. It is not for nothing that Jeanne d'Arc is the saint of French Catholic democracy, or that Péguy, her poet, calls the Incarnation the "sublime adventure of God's Son". That last adventure of the Dantesque Ulysses beyond the sunset thrills us to-day more than the Odyssean tale of his triumphant home-return, and D'Annunzio, greatly daring, takes it as the symbol of his own adventurous life. And Meredith, who so often profoundly voiced the spirit of the time in which only his ripe old age was passed, struck this note in his sublime verse on revolutionary France :—

Soaring France
That divinely shook the dead
From living man ; that stretched ahead
Her resolute forefinger straight
And marched toward the gloomy gate
Of Earth's Untried.

It is needless to dwell upon the affinity between this temper of adventure in poetry and the teaching of Bergson. That the link is not wholly fortuitous is shown by the interesting *Art Poétique* (1903) of his quondam pupil, Claudel, a little treatise pervaded by the idea of Creative-evolution.

It was natural in such a time to assume that any living art of poetry must itself be new, and, in fact, the years immediately before and after the turn of the century are crowded with announcements of "new" movements in art of every kind. Beside Claudel's *Art Poétique* we have in England the New Æstheticism of Grant Allen; in Germany the "new principle" in verse of Arno Holz. And here, again, the English innovators are distinguished by a good-humoured gaiety, if also by a slighter build of thought, from the French or Nietzschean "re-valuers".

Like their predecessors in the earlier Romantic school, the new adventurers have notoriously experimented with poetic form. France, the home of the most rigid and meticulous metrical tradition, had already led the way in substituting for the strictly measured verse the more loosely organized harmonies of rhythmical prose, bound together, and, indeed, made recognizable as verse, in any sense, solely by the rhyme. With the Symbolists' "free verse" was an attempt to capture finer modulations of music than the rigid frame of metre allowed. With their successors it had rather the value of a plastic medium in which every variety of matter and of mood could be faithfully expressed. But whether called verse or not, the vast, rushing modulations of rhythmic music in the great pieces of Claudel and others have a magnificence not to be denied. And the less explicitly poetic form permits matter which would jar on the poetic instinct if conveyed through a metrical form to be taken up as it were in this larger and looser stride.

In Germany, on the other hand, the rhythmic emancipation of Whitman was carried out, in the school of Arno Holz, with a revolutionary audacity beyond the example even of Claudel. Holz states with great clearness and trenchancy what he calls his "new principle of lyric"; one which "abandons all verbal music as an aim, and is borne solely by a rhythm made vital by the thought struggling through it to expression". Rhyme and strophe are given up, only rhythm remains.

Of our Georgian poetry, it must suffice to note that here, too, the

temper of adventure in form is rife. But it shows itself, characteristically, less in revolutionary innovation than in attempts to elicit new and strange effects from traditional measures by deploying to the uttermost, and in bold and extreme combinations, their traditional resources and variations, as in the blank verse of Mr. Abercrombie and Mr. Bottomley. This, and much beside in Georgian verse, has moods and moments of rare beauty. But, on the whole, verse-form is the region of poetic art in which Georgian poetry, as a whole, is least secure.

3. *The New Realism.*

We see, then, how deeply rooted this new freedom is in the passion for actuality; not the dream, but the waking and alert experience throbs and pulses in it. We have now to look more closely into this and other aspects of it. Realism is a hard-worked term, but it may be taken to imply that the overflowing vitality of which poetry is one expression fastens with peculiar eagerness upon the visible and tangible world about us and seeks to convey that zest in words. Our poets not only do not scorn the earth to lose themselves in the sky; they are positive friends of the matter-of-fact, and that not in spite of poetry, but for poetry's sake; and Pegasus flies more freely because "things" are "in the saddle" along with the poet.

That this matter-of-factness is loved by poets, for poetry's sake, marks it off once for all from the photographic or "plain" realism of Crabbe. But it is also clearly distinct from the no less poetic realism of Wordsworth. Wordsworth's mind is conservative and traditional; his inspiration is static; he glorifies the primrose on the river brink by seeing its transience in the light of something far more deeply interfused which does not change nor pass away. Romance, in a high sense, lies about his greatest poetry. But it is a romance rooted in memory, not in hope—the "glory of the grass and splendour of the flower" which he had seen in childhood, and imaginatively re-created in maturity; a romance which change, and especially the intrusion of industrial man, dispelled and destroyed. Whereas the romance of our new realism rests, in good part, precisely in the sense that the thing so vividly gripped is not, or need not be, permanent, may turn into something else, has only a tenancy, not a free-hold, in its conditions of space and time, a "toss-up" hold upon existence, as it were, full of the zest of adventurous insecurity. A pessimistic philosophy would

dissipate this romance, or strip it of all but the mournful poetry of doom. Mr. Chesterton glorifies the dust which may become a flower or a face, against the Reverend Peter Bell for whom dust is dust and no more, and Hamlet, who only remembers that it was once Cæsar. If our realism is buoyant, if it had at once the absorbed and the open mind, this is, in large part, in virtue of the temper which finds reality a perpetual creation. Every moment is precious and significant, for it comes with the burden and meaning of something that has never completely been before ; and goes by only to give place to another moment equally curious and new.

Moreover, in this incessantly created reality we are ourselves incessantly creative. That may seem to follow as a matter of course ; but it corresponds with the most radical of the distinctions between our realism and that of Wordsworth. When Mr. Wells tells us that his most comprehensive belief about the universe is that every part of it is ultimately important, he is not expressing a mystic pantheism which feels every part to be divine, but a generous pragmatism which holds that every part works. The idea of shaping and adapting will, of energy in industry, of mere routine practicality in office or household, is no longer tabooed, or shyly evaded ; not because of any theoretic exaltation of labour or consecration of the commonplace, but merely because to use things, to make them fulfil our purposes, to bring them into touch with our activities, itself throws a kind of halo over even very humble and homely members of the "divine democracy of things".

Rupert Brooke draws up a famous catalogue of the things of which he was a "great lover". He loved them, he says, simply as being. And no doubt, the simple sensations of colour, touch, or smell counted for much. But compare them with the things that Keats, a yet greater lover of sensations, loved. You feel in Brooke's list that he liked doing things as well as feasting his passive senses ; these "plates," "holes in the ground," "washen stones," the cold graveness of iron, and so forth. One detects in the list the Brooke who, as a boy, went about with a book of poems in one hand and a cricket-ball in the other, and whose left hand well knew what his right hand did. That takes us far from the dream of eternal beauty which a Greek urn or a nightingale's song brought to Keats, and the fatal word "forlorn," bringing back the light of common day, dispelled. The

old ethical and æsthetic canons are submerged in a passion for life which finds a good beyond good and evil, and a beauty born of ugliness more vital than beauty's self. "The worth of a drama is measured," said D'Annunzio, "by its fulness of life," and the formula explains, if it does not justify, those tropical gardens, rank with the gross blooms of "superhuman" eroticism and ferocity, to which he latterly gave that name. And we know how Maeterlinck has emerged from the mystic dreams and silences of his recluse chamber to unfold the dramatic pugnacities of birds and bees.

In the work of Verhaeren, the modern industrial city, with its spreading tentacles of devouring grime and squalor, its clanging factories, its teeming bazaars and warehouses, and all its thronging human population, is taken up triumphantly into poetry. Verhaeren is the poet of "tumultuous forces," whether they appear in the roar and clash of "that furnace we call existence," or in the heroic struggles of the Flemish nation for freedom. And he exhibits those surging forces in a style itself full of tumultuous power, Germanic rather than French in its violent and stormy splendour, and using the chartered licence of the French "free verse" itself with more emphasis than subtlety.

4. *The Cult of Force.*

In Verhaeren, indeed, we are conscious of passing into the presence of power more elemental and unrestrained than the civil refinement of our Georgians, at their wildest, allows us to suspect. The tragic and heroic history of his people, and their robust art, the art of Rembrandt, and of Teniers, vibrates in the Flemish poet. He has much of the temperament of Nietzsche, and if not evidently swayed by his ideas, or even aware of them, and with a generous faith in humanity which Nietzsche never knew, he thinks and imagines with a kindred joy in violence :

I love man and the world, and I adore the force
Which my force gives and takes from man and the universe.

And it is no considerable step from him to the poets who in this third phase of our period have unequivocally exulted in power and burnt incense or offered sacrifice before the altar of the strong man. The joy in creation which, we saw, gives its romance to so much of the realism of our time, now appears accentuated in the fiercer romance

of conflict and overthrow. Thanks largely to Nietzsche, this romance acquired the status of an authoritative philosophy—even, in his own country, that of an ethical orthodoxy.

In poetry, the contributory forces were still more subtly mingled, and the Nietzschean spirit, which blows where it listeth, often touched men wholly alien from Nietzsche in cast of genius and sometimes stoutly hostile to him. Several of the most illustrious were not Germans at all. Among the younger men who resist, while they betray, his spell is the most considerable lyric poet of the present generation in Germany. Richard Dehmel's vehement inspiration from the outset provoked comparison with Nietzsche, which he warmly resented.

He began, in fact, as a disciple of Verlaine, and we may detect in the unrestraint of his early erotics the example of the French poet's *fureur d'aimer*. But Dehmel's more strongly-built nature, and perhaps the downright vigour of the German language, broke through the tenuities of *la nuance*. It was not the subtle artistry of the Symbolists, but the ethical and intellectual force of the German character, which finally drew into a less anarchic channel the vehement energy of Dehmel. Nietzsche had imagined an ethic of superhuman will "beyond good and evil". The poet, replied Dehmel, had indeed to know the passion which transcends good and evil, but he had to know no less the good and evil themselves of the world in and by which common men live. And if he can cry with the egoism of lawless passion, in the *Erlösungen*, "I will fathom all pleasure to the deepest depths of thirst. . . . Resign not pleasure, it waters power,"—he can add, in the true spirit of Goethe and of the higher mind of Germany, "Yet since it also makes slack, turn it into the stuff of duty!"

If Nietzsche provoked into antagonism the sounder elements in Dehmel, he was largely responsible for destroying such sanity as the amazing genius of Gabriele D'Annunzio had ever possessed. He let loose all the Titan, and all consequently that was least Hellenic, in the fertile genius of the Italian; his wonderful instinct for beauty, his inexhaustible resources of style are employed in creating orgies of superhuman valour, lust, and cruelty like some of his later dramas, and hymns intoxicated with the passion for Power, like the splendid Ode in which the City of the Seven Hills is prophetically seen once

more the mistress of the world, loosing the knot of all the problems of humanity.

If D'Annunzio emulates Nietzsche, the two great militant poets of Catholic France would have scorned the comparison. Charles Péguy's brief career was shaped from his first entrance, poor and of peasant birth, at a Paris Lycee, to his heroic death in the field, September, 1914, by a daemonic force of character. His heroine, glorified in his first book, was Jeanne d'Arc, who attempted the impossible, and achieved it. In writing, his principle—shocking to French literary tradition—was to speak the brutal truth *brutalement*. As a poet he stood in the direct lineage of Corneille, whose *Polyeucte* he thought the greatest of the world's tragedies. As a man, he embodied with naive intensity the unsurpassed inborn heroism of the French race.

And if we look for corresponding phenomena at home, we find them surely in the masculine, militant, and, in the French sense, brutal poetry of W. E. Henley and Rudyard Kipling. If any modern poets have conceived life in terms of will, and penetrated their verse with that faith, it is the author of "I am the Captain of my Soul," the "Book of the Sword," and "London Voluntaries," friend and subject of the great kindred-minded sculptor Rodin, the poet over whose grave in St. Paul's George Wyndham found the right word when he said—marking him off from the great contemplative, listening poets of the past—"His music was not the still sad music of humanity; it was never still, rarely sad, always intrepid". And we know how Kipling, after sanctioning the mischievous superstition that "East and West can never meet," refuted it by producing his own "two strong men".

5. *The New Idealism.*

(1) *Nationality.*

We have now seen something of that power, at once of grip and of detachment with which the dominant poetry of this century faces what it thinks of as the adventure of experience, its plunge into the ever-moving and ever-changing stream of life. How then, it remains to ask, has it dealt with those ideal aspirations and beliefs which one may live intensely and ignore, which in one sense stand "above the battle," but for which men have lived and died?

What is the distinctive note of this new poetry of nationality? And for the moment I speak of the years before the War. May we not say that in it the ideal of country is saturated with that imaginative grip of reality in all its concrete energy and vivacity which I have called the new realism? The nation is no abstraction, whether it be called Britannia or Deutschland uber Alles. It is seen, and felt; seen in its cities as well as in its mountains, in the workers who have made it, as well as in the heroes who have defended it; in its roaring forges as well as in its idyllic woodlands and its tales of battles long ago; and all these not as separate strands in a woven pattern, but as waters of different origin and hue pouring along together in the same great stream.

Emile Verhaeren, six years before the invasion, had seen and felt his country, living body and living soul, with an intensity which made it seem unimaginable that she should be permanently subdued. He well called his book *Toute la Flandre*, for all Flanders is there. Old Flanders,—Artevelde and Charles Temeraire—whose soul was a forest of huge trees and dark thickets,

A wilderness of crossing ways below,
But eagles, over, soaring to the sun,—

Van Eyck and Rubens—"a thunder of colossal memories"; then the great cities, with their belfries and their foundries, and their warehouses and laboratories, their antique customs and modern ambitions; and the rivers, the homely familiar Lys, where the women wash the whitest of linen, and the mighty Scheldt, the Escaut, the "hero sombre, violent and magnificent," "savage and beautiful Escaut," whose companionship had moulded and made the poet, whose rhythms had begotten his music and his best ideas.

None of our English poets have rendered England in poetry with quite this supple and plastic power. Wordsworth wrote magnificently of England threatened with invasion, and magnificently of the Lake Country, Nature's beloved land. But the War sonnets and the lake and mountain poetry come from distinct strains in his genius, which our criticism may bring into relation, but our feeling insists on keeping apart. His Grasmere is a province of Nature—her favourite province—rather than of England; it is in the eye of Nature that the old Cumberland beggar lives and dies; England provides the obnoxious

workhouses to which these destitute vagrants were henceforth to be consigned. Is it not this that divides our modern local poetry from his? Mr. Belloc's Sussex is tenderly loved for itself; yet behind its great hills and its old-world harbours lies the half mystic presence of historic England. And in Edward Thomas's wonderful old Wiltshireman Lob, worthy, I think, to be named with the Cumberland Beggar,

An old man's face, by life and weather cut
And coloured,—rough, brown, sweet as any nut,—
A land face, sea-blue eyed,—

you read the whole lineage of old, sterling English yeoman and woodlanders from whom Lob springs.

Sometimes this feeling is given in a single, intense, concentrated touch. When Rupert Brooke tells us of

Some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England. There shall be
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,—

do we not feel that the solidarity of England with the English folk, and of the English folk with the English soil, is burnt into our imaginations in a new and distinctive way?

(2) *Democracy.*

The growth of democratic as of national feeling during the later century naturally produced a plentiful harvest of eloquent utterance in verse. With this, merely as such, I am not here concerned, even though it be as fine as the socialist songs of William Morris or Edward Carpenter. But the Catholic socialism of Charles Péguy—itself an original, and, for most of his contemporaries, a bewildering combination—struck at a no less original poetry, a poetry of solidarity. Péguy's socialism, like his Catholicism, was single-souled; he ignored that behind the one was a Party and behind the other a Church. It was his bitterest regret that a vast part of humanity was removed beyond the pale of fellowship by eternal damnation. It was his sublimest thought that the solidarity of man includes the damned. In his first vision of the Jeanne d'Arc mystery already referred to, he tells how Jesus crucified,

Saw not his Mother in tears at the Cross-foot
 Below him, saw not Magdalene nor John,
 But wept, dying, only for Judas' death.
 The Saviour loved this Judas, and tho' utterly
 He gave himself, he knew he could not save him.

It was the dogma of damnation which for long kept Péguy out of its fold, that barbarous mixture of life and death, he called it, which no man will accept who has won the spirit of collective humanity. But he revolted, not because he was tolerant of evil ; on the contrary, to damn sins was for him a weak and unsocial solution ; evil had not to be damned but to be fought down. Whether this vision of Christ weeping because he could not save Judas was unchristian, or more Christian than Christianity itself, we need not discuss here ; but I am sure that the spirit of Catholic democracy as transfigured in the mind of a great poet could not be more nobly rendered.

(3) *Catholicism.*

But Péguy's powerful personality set its own stamp upon whatever he believed, and though a close friend of Jaures, he was a Socialist who rejected almost all the ideas of the Socialist School. As little was his Catholicism to the mind of the Catholic authorities. And his Catholic poetry is sharply marked off from most of the poetry that burgeoned under the stimulus of the remarkable revival of Catholic ideas in twentieth century France. I say of Catholic ideas, for sceptical poets like Rémy de Gourmont, played delicately with the symbols of Catholic worship, made "Litanies" of roses, and offered prayers to Jeanne d'Arc, walking dreamily in the procession of "Women saints of Paradise," to "fill our hearts with anger". The Catholic adoration of Women-saints is one of the springs of modern poetry. At the close of the century of Wordsworth and Shelley, the tender Nature-worship of Francis of Assisi contributed not less to the recovered power of Catholic ideas in poetry, and this chiefly in the person of two poets in France and in England, both of whom played half-mystically with the symbolism of their names, Francis Thomson and Francis Jammes. The childlike naivete of St. Francis is more delicately reflected in Jammes, a Catholic W. H. Davies, who casts the idyllic light of Biblical Pastoral over modern farm life, and prays to "his friends, the Asses" to go with him to Paradise, "for there is no hell in the land of Bon Dieu".

But the most powerful creative imagination to-day in the service of Catholic ideas is certainly Paul Claudel. At the altar of some great French Church at noon, where the poet, not long after the first decisive check of the invaders on the Marne, finds himself, alone, before the shrine of Marie. Here, too, his devotion finds a speech not borrowed from the devout or from their poetry :—

It is noon. I see the Church is open. I must enter.
Mother of Jesus Christ, I do not come to pray.

I have nothing to offer, and nothing to ask.
I came only, Mother, to gaze to you.

To gaze at you, to weep for happiness, to know
That I am your son and that you are there.

Nothing at all but for a moment when all is still,
Noon ! to be with you, Marie, in this place where you are.

To say nothing, to gaze upon your face,
To let the heart sing in its own speech.

There the nationalist passion of Claudel animates his Catholic religion, yet does not break through its confines. But sometimes the strain of suffering and ruin is too intense for Christian submission, and he takes his God to task truculently for not doing his part in the contract ; we are his partner in running the world, and see, he is asleep ! There is a great alliance, willy-nilly, between us henceforth—there is bread that with no trembling hand
We have offered you, this wine that we have poured anew,
Our tears that you have gathered, our brothers that you share with us leaving the seed in the earth,
There is this living sacrifice of which we satisfy each day's demand,
This chalice we have drunk with you !

Yet the devout passion emerges again, with notes of piercing pathos :—

LE PRECIEUX SONG.

Lord, who hast promised us for one glass of water a boundless sea,
Who knows if thou art not thirsty too ?
And that this blood, which is all we have, will quench the thirst in Thee,
We know, for Thou hast told us so.
If, indeed, there is a spring in us, well, that is what is to be shown.
If this wine of ours is red,
If our blood has virtue, as Thou sayest, how can it be known
Otherwise than by being shed ?

Thus the great Catholic poet could sing under the pressure of the supreme national crisis of his country. Poetry at such times may become a great national instrument, a trumpet whence Milton or Wordsworth, Arnold or Whitman, blow soul-animating strains. The War of 1914 was for all the belligerent peoples far more than a stupendous military event. The psychical upheaval was most violent in the English-speaking peoples, where the military shock was least direct ; for here a nation of civilians embraced suddenly the new and amazing experience of battle. Here too, the imaginatively sensitive minds who interpret life through poetry, and most of all the youngest and freshest among them, themselves shared in the glories and the throes of the fight, as hardly one of the singers of our most stirring battle poetry had ever done before. How did this new and amazing experience react upon their poetry ? This, our final question, is perhaps the crucial one in considering the tendencies of recent European poetry.

In the first place, it enormously stimulated and quickened what was deepest and strongest in the energies and qualities which had been apparent in our latter-day poetry before. They had sought to clasp life, to live, not merely to contemplate, experience ; and here, indeed, was life, and death, and both to be embraced. Here was adventure, indeed, but one whose grimness made romance cheap, so that in this war poetry, for the first time in history, the romance and glamour of war, the pomp and circumstance of military convention, fall entirely away, and the bitterest scorn of these soldier-poets is bestowed, not on the enemy, but on those contemplators who disguised its realities with the camouflage of the pulpit and the editorial armchair. Turn, I will not say from Campbell or from Tennyson, but from Rudyard Kipling or Sir H. Newbolt to Siegfried Sassoon, and you feel that you have got away from a literary convention, whether conveyed in the manners of the barrack-room or of the public school, to something intolerably true, and which holds the poet in so fierce a grip that his song is a cry.

But if the War has brought our poets face to face with intense kinds of real experience, which they have fearlessly grasped and rendered, its grim obsession has not made them cynical, or clogged the wings of their faith and their hope. I will not ask how the war has affected the idealism of others, whether it has left the nationalism of our press or the religion of our pulpits purer or more gross than it found them. But of our poets, at least, that cannot be said. In Rupert

Brooks the inspirations of the call obliterated the last trace of dilettante youth's professions, and he encountered darkness like a bride, and greeted the unseen death not with "a cheer" as a peril to be faced, but as a great consummation, the supreme safety. How his poetry would have reacted to the actual experience of war we can only guess. But in others, his friends and comrades, the fierce immersion in the welter of ruin and pain and filth and horror and death brought only a more superb faith in the power of man's soul to rise above the hideous obsession of his own devilries, to retain the vision of beauty through the riot of foul things, of love through the tumult of hatreds, of life through the infinity of death. True this was not a new power : poetry to be poetry must always in some measure possess it. What was individual to the poets was that this power of mastering actually went along in them with the fierce and eager immersion in it ; the thrill of breathing the

Calm and serene air
Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
Which men call Earth,

with the thrill of seeing and painting in all its lurid colouring the volcanic chaos of this "stir and smoke" itself. Thus the same Siegfried Sassoon who renders with so much close analytic psychology the moods that cross and fluctuate in the dying hospital patient, or the haunted fugitive, as he flounders among mire and stumps, to feel at last the strangling clasp of death, can as little as the visionary Shelley overcome the insurgent sense that these dead are for us yet alive, made one with Nature.

He visits the deserted home of his dead friend :—

THE LAST MEETING.

Ah, but there was no need to call his name,
He was beside me now, as swift as light . . .
For now, he said, my spirit has more eyes
Than heaven has stars, and they are lit by love.
My body is the magic of the world,
And dark and sunset flame with my spilt blood.

Further, this war poetry, while reflecting military things with a veracity hardly known before, is yet rarely militant. We must not look for explicit pacifist or international ideas ; but as little do we find jingo patriotism or hymns of hate. The author of the German hymn of hate was a much better poet than anyone who tried an English

hymn in the same key, and the English poets who could have equalled its form were above its spirit. Edith Cavell's dying words "Patriotism is not enough" cannot perhaps be paralleled in their poems but they are continually suggested. They do not say, in the phrase of the old cavalier poet, We should love England less if we loved not something else more, or that something is wanting in our love for our country if we wrong humanity in its name. But the spirit which is embodied in these phrases breathes through them; heroism matters more to them than victory, and they know that death and sorrow and the love of kindred have no fatherland. They "stand above the battle" as well as share in it, and they share in it without ceasing to stand above it.

Finally, the poet himself glories in his act; he knows that he can beat into music even the crashing discords that fill his ears; he knows too that he has a music of his own which they cannot subdue or debase:

I keep such music in my brain
No din this side of death can quell;
Glory exalting over pain,
And beauty garlanded in hell.

To have found and kept and interwoven these two musics—a language of unflinching veracity and one of equally unflinching hope and faith—is the achievement of our war-poetry. May we not say that the possession of these two musics, of these two moods, springing as they do from the blended grip and idealism of English character, warrants hope for the future of English poetry? For it is rooted in the greatest and the most English of the ways of poetic experience which have gone to the making of our poetic literature—the way, ultimately, of Shakespeare and of Wordsworth. Beauty abounds in our later poets, but it is a beauty that flashes in broken lights, not the full-orbed radiance of a masterpiece. To enlarge the grasp of poetry over the field of reality, to larger range, is not at once to find consummate expression for what is apprehended. The flawless perfection of the Parnassians—of Heredia's sonnets—is nowhere approached in the less aristocratically exclusive poetry of to-day. But the future, in poetry also, is with the spirit which founds the aristocracy of noble art not upon exclusion, negations, and routine, but upon imaginative discovery and catholic openness of mind.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF PAPYROLOGY.¹

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THE conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. brought the country of the Pharaohs out of its comparative isolation into the main stream of European culture, which through Greece and Rome extends to our own day. Under the Ptolemies the most brilliant of the Hellenistic kingdoms, with Alexandria as the literary and scientific centre of the civilized world, under the Romans the richest and most important province of the Empire, under the earlier Byzantine Emperors foremost in the defence of Trinitarian Christianity and the foundation of Monasticism, Egypt had great influence on the history of the West for nearly a thousand years, until with the invasion of the Arabs in 640 the country was again isolated, not to return to the main stream until 1870, when once more, as the Khedive Ismail remarked at the opening of the Suez Canal, Egypt became part of Europe.

The Ptolemies made Greek the official language, and under the Romans, who conquered Egypt in 30 B.C., but employed Latin only in the highest official and in military circles, a knowledge of Greek became general, though ancient Egyptian continued to be spoken down to the third century, when in a Græcised form it became the Coptic language, which lasted till the sixteenth century. Hence the great majority of papyri from Egypt, written between 300 B.C. and the middle of the seventh century, are in Greek, and though there are many written in demotic and Coptic, and a few in Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, and Pehlevi, papyrology has come to mean practically the study of Greek papyri, including various substitutes for papyrus as writing-material, such as ostraca (bits of broken pottery), wooden or wax tablets, and after the second century vellum. Like epigraphy,

¹ A revised edition of a lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library, 10 December, 1919.

papyrology is an aid to the study of Greek and Roman antiquity in its various departments, not an independent branch of inquiry. From our point of view it is narrower than epigraphy, because the evidence is practically all derived from one country. Apart from Egypt the only place where papyri have been discovered by excavation is Herculaneum, where a library of works on Epicurean philosophy, which had been burnt by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, owes its partial survival to its calcined condition. But from another point of view papyrology is much wider than epigraphy, owing to the far greater range of the contents of papyri, and especially the presence of many Greek and some Latin literary pieces, which together form about one tenth of the whole amount. A good survey of the contribution of Greek papyri to classical literature through the recovery of lost works has been recently given by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1919, where in another article I have sketched the value of Greek papyri of extant authors for textual criticism.

The history of papyrus discoveries in Egypt dates from 1778 ; but it was not until a hundred years later that papyri began to reach Europe in considerable quantities through dealers in antiquities, and the systematic search for Greek papyri dates from 1895, when the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society) began excavations with that object in view. For some years Professor Hunt and I had the field to ourselves ; then our example was followed by the French, Germans, and Italians. Some papyri of the Ptolemaic period, and nearly all papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods come either from the rubbish-mounds of certain large towns in middle Egypt, especially Arsinoë, Hermopolis, and Oxyrhynchus, where Hunt and I made our chief finds, or else from houses in Fayûm villages, which, owing to defective irrigation, became stranded in the desert, and remained outside the area of cultivation until a few years ago. Ptolemaic papyri are chiefly found in mummy-cartonnage, where papyrus in the third and second centuries B.C. was frequently, and in the first century B.C. occasionally, used as a substitute for cloth, but the Fayûm papyri in the later Ptolemaic period were sometimes used also in the wrappings of crocodiles, the sacred animals of that district. In rare instances literary papyri, both classical and Christian, have been discovered in tombs, buried beside their owners.

In the competition among various nations during the last thirty

years for obtaining papyri, the lion's share of the prizes has fallen to Great Britain. The enterprise of Sir E. A. Wallis Budge secured for the British Museum many of the best-preserved new classical texts, including the treatise of Aristotle *On the Athenian Constitution*, the *Odes* of Bacchylides, and the *Mimes* of Herondas, all edited by Sir F. G. Kenyon. Some minor literary fragments in the British Museum remain for the present unpublished. Of non-literary documents from various sites five stately volumes have been produced by Sir F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell, the first three containing mainly Ptolemaic or Roman papyri, the last two Byzantine; and there is material for two more volumes, which are in preparation.

The Bodleian Library possesses in the *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which I edited in conjunction with the late Sir John Mahaffy in 1896, the longest and most important non-literary document of the early Ptolemaic period, and both the Bodleian and British Museums have a number of the best papyri from our excavations at Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere, which after publication are distributed among various museums and libraries, chiefly in England and America. The unpublished papyri in the Bodleian are of slight importance; but there is a very large collection of ostraca, recently presented by Dr. A. H. Sayce, which are being edited by a promising student of papyrology at Queen's College, J. G. Tait. A corpus of all the ostraca known up to 1900, over 1600 in number, was published in that year by U. Wilcken, and some have been published since by J. G. Milne and others; but the Bodleian has about 2500 new ones. A re-edition of the various lyric fragments on papyrus is being prepared for the *Oxford Classical Texts* series by a sub-librarian of the Bodleian, E. Lobel.

Much the largest collection of unpublished papyri in this or any other country is in the muniment room of Queen's College, Oxford, where are reposing about eighty packing-cases full of papyri from our excavations, as yet unrolled and unexamined. The Oxyrhynchus series, which includes the *Sayings of Jesus* and fragments of various uncanonical gospels, lost poems of Sappho, Alcæus, and Pindar, considerable portions of the *Ichneutæ* of Sophocles, and the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, the so-called *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, a historical work probably composed by Ephorus, dealing with events in 396-5 B.C., and a new Epitome of several of the lost books of

Livy, has now reached Part xiv., which appeared in April, 1920. This consists of non-literary documents, mainly of the third century, private letters, contracts and accounts predominating.

No. 1631, a contract for labour in a vineyard and lease of a fruit-farm in 280, gives an unusually elaborate list of operations, which are arranged mainly in chronological order from 28 September onwards, and includes a number of new technical terms requiring further elucidation from a professional vine-grower. It runs as follows: "To Aurelius Serenus son of Agathinus and Taposirias, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from the Aurelii Ctistus son of Rufus and Dionysia, and his son Ptolemy, whose mother is Tauris, both of Oxyrhynchus, and Pelloius son of Heracleüs and Tapontheus, from the village of Tanais. We voluntarily undertake to lease for one year more from 28 September of the present year all the vine-tending operations in the vineyard owned by you in the area of the village of Tanais and the adjoining reed-plantation, whatever be the extent of each, a half share being assigned to us, the party of Aur. Ctistus, and the remaining half to me, Pelloius; which operations are, concerning the vineyard, plucking of reeds, collection and transport of them, proper cutting of wood, making into bundles, pruning (?), transport of leaves and throwing them outside the mud walls, planting as many vine-stems as are necessary, digging, hoeing round the vines, and surrounding them with trenches, you, the landlord, being responsible for the arrangement of the reeds, and we for tendering you assistance in this, we being responsible for the remaining operations after those mentioned above, consisting of breaking up the ground, picking off shoots, keeping the vines well tended, disposition of them, removal (?) of shoots, needful thinnings of foliage; and concerning the reed-plantations, digging up both reed-plantations, watering, and continual weeding; and further we agree to superintend together with you in the vineyard and the reed-plantation the asses which bring earth, in order that the earth may be thrown in the proper places; and we will perform the testing of the jars employed for the wine, and will put these, when they have been filled with wine, in the open-air shed, and oil them, move them, and strain the wine from one jar into another, and watch over them as long as they are stored in the open-air shed, the pay for all the aforesaid operations being 4500 drachmæ of silver, 10 bushels of wheat, and 4 jars of wine at the vat, which payments we are to receive in

instalments according to the progress of the operations. And we likewise undertake to lease for one year the produce of the date-palms and all the fruit-trees which are in the old vineyard, for which we will pay as a special rent $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of fresh dates, $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of pressed dates, $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of walnut-dates, $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of black olives, 500 selected peaches, 15 citrons, 400 summer figs before the inundation, 500 winter figs, 4 white fat melons. Moreover we will, in consideration of the aforesaid wages, plough the adjoining fruit-garden on the south of the vineyard, and will do the irrigation, weeding, and all the other operations required from season to season, only the arrangement of reeds in it and the strewing of earth being done by you, the landlord, the rent being secured against all risks," etc.

The following letter (No. 1666) affords an interesting sidelight on Roman recruiting methods in the third century: "Pausanias to his brother Heraclides, greeting. I think that my brother Sarapammon has told you the reason why I went down to Alexandria, and I have previously written to you about little Pausanias becoming a soldier of a legion. Since however he no longer wished to join a legion but a squadron of cavalry, on learning this I was obliged to go down to him, although I did not want to. So after many entreaties from his mother and sister to transfer him to Coptos I went down to Alexandria, and employed many methods until he was transferred to the squadron at Coptos. I desired then to pay you a visit on the upward voyage, but we were limited by the furlough granted to the boy by the most illustrious praefect, and for this reason I was unable to visit you. If the gods will, I will therefore try to come to you for the feast of Amesysia. Please, brother, see to the deed of mortgage, that it is prepared in the customary way. I urge you, brother, to write to me about your safety, for I heard at Antinoöpolis that there had been plague in your neighbourhood. Do not neglect this, that I may rest more assured about you. Many salutations to my lady mother and my sister and our children, whom the evil eye shall not harm. Pausanias salutes you. I pray for the health of you and all your household."

The following letter, also of the third century (No. 1676), is the most sentimental that has yet appeared among published papyri: "Flavius Herculanus to the sweetest and most honoured Aplonarion, very many greetings. I rejoiced greatly on receiving your letter, which

was given me by the cutler ; I have not however received the one which you say you sent me by Plato, the dancer's son. But I was very much grieved that you did not come for my boy's birthday, both you and your husband, for you would have been able to have many days' enjoyment with him. But you doubtless had better things to do ; that was why you neglected us. I wish you to be happy always, as I wish it for myself ; but yet I am grieved that you are away from me. If you are not unhappy away from me, I rejoice for your happiness ; but still I am vexed at not seeing you. Do what suits you ; for when you wish to see us always, we shall receive you with the greatest pleasure. You will therefore do well to come to us in August, in order that we may really see you. Salute your mother and father and Callias. My son salutes you and his mother and Dionysius my fellow-worker, who serves me at the stable. Salute all your friends. I pray for your health." The letter is addressed on the back " Deliver to Aplonarion from her patron Herculanus. From Flavius Herculanus."

Hunt and I are now occupied with Parts xv. and xvi. Part xv., which is due to appear in 1921, will be devoted entirely to literary papyri, while Part xvi., destined for 1922, will consist of non-literary documents of the Byzantine period, which, so far as Oxyrhynchus is concerned, has hitherto been rather neglected by us. The lyric section in Part xv. includes some new fragments of Sappho, Alcæus, Pindar, and an author (Ibycus ?) who at the end of a mythological poem concerning the Trojan War grandiloquently compares the fame of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, to his own. All these are in a very imperfect condition, as are some elegiacs by Callimachus, which mention Berenice but seem to belong to the epinician poem to Sosibius. In better preservation are some hexameters describing Egyptian trees, and a series of epigrams of four lines each, the poems beginning with successive letters of the alphabet. The metre is a variation of the hexameter, with an iambus in the last foot. They were apparently meant to be sung to the accompaniment of the flute, like No. 15 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, a small fragment of the same or of a similar series. In one poem life is compared to a loan, which is repaid with reluctance ; another deprecates troubling oneself about ultimate problems instead of the purchase of perfume and garlands ; a third is a request to place the poet's flute on his tomb.

Among fragments of lost prose works are some of a historian of Alexander, describing the victory over the Persians at Issus in 333 B.C. The account is shorter than those of Diodorus and Arrian, but adds some new details : there is no obvious clue to the authorship. There are also parts of a series of lives of famous literary characters, Sappho, Simonides, Æsop, Thucydides, Lysias, Demosthenes, and Æschines, and some interesting glossaries of rare words with references to passages in lost works. Among extant works Sophocles is represented by some much broken fragments of the *Trachiniae*, of the third century, and Theocritus by part of *Idyl 22*, of the first century, this being the earliest papyrus of that poet. There are also two papyri of Plato (*Republic* and *Phaedo*), two of Isocrates (*Nicoctes* and *Demonicus*), and two of Demosthenes, one of which has portions of five speeches. A Latin juristic papyrus, giving a summary list of edicts in part of Book I of the Codex Justinianus, supplies some details which are missing in the MSS. In the theological section there are two very early fragments (third century) of St. John's Gospel, another fragment of that very popular work in Egypt, the *Shepherd* of Hermas, and one of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, which has not previously been represented in Egyptian finds. A special interest attaches to a leaf of a codex containing the Greek original of the *Apology* of Aristides. That work, which is one of the earliest Christian apologies, is known primarily from a Syriac version discovered at Mount Sinai by Dr. Rendel Harris ; but the Greek text in a somewhat modified form is incorporated in a much later Christian work, the story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. A short liturgical papyrus, of the nature of a choir-slip, written on the back of a third century document, and itself not later than 300, is remarkable not only on account of its early date, but from the presence of musical notation, which resembles, but is not identical with, that found in a somewhat earlier papyrus at Vienna in connexion with a few lines of Euripides' *Orestes*. This constitutes the oldest specimen of Church music. In all there are fifty literary pieces in Part xv., some of them (e.g. the Callimachus, epigrams, and choir-slip with musical notation) having been obtained by me last winter in Egypt together with other Oxyrhynchus papyri, which are now in the British Museum or America.

Part xvi. will consist of fifth to seventh century documents. In that

period the administration of Egypt, as of other parts of the Byzantine Empire, tended to pass out of the hands of a highly-centralized hierarchy of officials into those of the large landowners, who became semi-independent, thus leading up to the feudal system of the Middle Ages. At Oxyrhynchus the leading family was that of the Apions, one member of which attained the consulship in 539, and in 1897 we were fortunate enough to discover the remains of an archive consisting mainly of sixth century documents connected with that family. For two days the stream of papyri became such a torrent that there were hardly enough baskets in the village to carry away all the rolls. The choicest of these Apion papyri were retained by the Cairo Museum (the Egyptian Government is entitled to half the finds of an excavator, but since 1899 has allowed us to bring all our papyri to England and divide them after publication). One instalment of our Byzantine papyri at Cairo was edited in Part i. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, and in January last, while Professor Hunt was working upon the literary papyri for Part xv., I went to Cairo for two and a half months to prepare the remainder of the Oxyrhynchus texts there for publication with a number of contemporaneous papyri from the excavations of later seasons. In this volume H. I. Bell is collaborating with us, and is writing most of the commentary.

In 1905-6 we made our largest find of literary papyri, consisting of the debris of three libraries of classical works. The principal literary papyri in Parts v.-xv. belong to the first two of these finds, and with Part xv. the publication of them, apart from very small fragments, will be nearing completion. We hope, in 1921, to unroll and examine the third of these large finds of literary texts. Concerning its precise nature and importance we are still in the dark, for the papyri were found at a considerable depth, slightly damp, and not readily decipherable; but some interesting discoveries may be expected. There are also many literary pieces in the other unopened boxes from Oxyrhynchus, but Part xv. probably carries us more than half-way through the publication of the total finds of literary texts from that site. With regard to non-literary papyri, however, we are not yet nearly half-way through the publication, and, in fact, with the exception of the 1897 season's finds, have made comparatively little progress in unrolling them, so that the Oxyrhynchus series is likely to exceed thirty volumes.

While very few of the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* are earlier than A.D. 1, our finds of papyri in the Fayûm were to a large extent of the Ptolemaic period. The results of the first two seasons, which were not particularly successful, were issued in *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*. The third season, when we were excavating at Tebtunis for the University of California, was much the most productive. Two parts of the *Tebtunis Papyri*, containing those from crocodile-mummies (chief of which is a series of forty-six decrees of Ptolemy Euergetes II), and the town ruins respectively, have been published. With regard to Part iii., containing third and second century B.C. papyri from mummy-cartonnage, the long and difficult process of extricating the individual papyri was undertaken for the most part by J. G. Smyly, and the decipherment begun by him and continued by E. Lobel was nearly completed by myself in 1916-17. Professor M. Rostovtseff, who came to Oxford in 1918, has devoted much time to writing a commentary upon the most important of the 500 texts in this Part—a long letter from the dioecetes or finance-minister at Alexandria towards the end of the third century B.C. to a newly appointed official in charge of the revenues of the Fayûm, giving elaborate directions concerning his multifarious duties and affording a comprehensive picture of the working of the Ptolemaic administration of Egypt. Part iii., which on account of its size will be divided into two volumes, may be expected to appear in 1922-3.

The results of our fourth and fifth seasons' excavations in the Fayûm have hardly been examined. They consist mainly of a large quantity of Greek and demotic third and second century B.C. papyrus-cartonnage, and a collection of first century B.C. papyri (chiefly demotic, but with some Greek) from crocodile-mummies. Besides Oxyrhynchus and the Fayûm, we excavated at Hibeh, situated between the two, where we found much early Ptolemaic cartonnage, about half of which has not yet been opened. When we gave up excavating in 1907, our work was continued until the war by J. de M. Johnson, who excavated various Ptolemaic cemeteries between the Fayûm and Minia with rather bad luck, the papyrus-cartonnage having been mostly spoiled by damp; but in the town ruins of Antinoöpolis he found in 1914 a long papyrus containing several of the later idylls of Theocritus, which he is engaged in editing.

The best collection of Ptolemaic papyri from cartonnage which has

yet been published is the Petrie papyri, now mostly in Trinity College, Dublin, edited by the late Sir John Mahaffy, and more completely by J. G. Smyly. These were discovered in 1890 at Gurob in the Fayûm by Professor Flinders Petrie. In 1895 I excavated there for a couple of weeks, and found a few more bits of cartonnage, which Smyly has recently opened. He is now about to publish about thirty new texts in the *Cunningham Memoirs of the Royal Irish Academy*. They include a remarkable fragment of an Orphic ritual of the third century B.C., and by a curious chance a fair copy of the important, but very difficult juristic papyrus, P. Petrie, iii. 23 (*g*).

In the John Rylands Library at Manchester is a large collection of papyri, mostly bought by Hunt and me in Egypt, of which two volumes, comprising literary texts and documents prior to A.D. 284, have been published by Hunt, Johnson, and V. Martin. There are numerous papyri of the Byzantine period which remain to be edited. Recently the Manchester collection has been increased by some papyri acquired in Egypt partly by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1917, and partly by me in 1920. In the former group are a fragment of (apparently) an early uncanonical gospel, mentioning St. Andrew, and several third century B.C. papyri belonging to the Zeno find (cf. p. 154), while the latter group includes a number of literary fragments, about thirty Ptolemaic or Augustan papyri from the Fayûm, and several Latin papyri. Some pieces of a lost historical work dealing with events in 339 B.C. from a papyrus which is itself of the third century B.C. (Theopompus, *Φιλιππικά'*), are of considerable interest, but we have not yet had time to work at these newest texts.

Apart from London, Oxford, Manchester, and Dublin, most of the papyri in British public libraries or museums consist of published specimens from our excavations. A small collection of very fragmentary texts at Aberdeen is being edited by J. G. Tait. There are but few papyri in private ownership in this country. A collection of about 200 papyri, purchased by us in Egypt for the late Lord Amherst of Hackney, and published in two volumes, of which the first contains the unique Greek original of part of an interesting Jewish apocryphal work, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, was subsequently acquired for America by Mr. Pierpoint Morgan. A small group of twenty-one papyri recently acquired by Mr. E. P. Warren, among which is a gnostic magical text of some interest, will shortly be published by us.

Next in importance to the British collections of papyri come the German, which were obtained mainly by purchase, partly by excavations at Elephantine, which produced the earliest dated Greek papyrus, a marriage contract of 311 B.C., at Busiris in the Heracleopolite nome, where many valuable documents of the Augustan age, which had been written at Alexandria, were discovered in mummy-cartonnage, and at Hermopolis. The principal collection is at Berlin, where the authorities of the Museum have issued the *Persae* of Timotheus, a celebrated fourth century B.C. lyric poem on the Battle of Salamis, of which an incomplete copy was found buried in a tomb, and six parts of the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, including three very long and well preserved literary papyri, two of the nature of commentaries, the third an ethical treatise by Hierocles, a Stoic contemporary of Epictetus. The first three volumes of the *Berliner Griechische Urkunden* constitute the chief publication of Fayum papyri of the Roman period, while the fourth volume is mainly devoted to the Alexandrian papyri from Busiris. In 1919 the Berlin Museum began the publication of Vol. V with a most important Fayûm papyrus written about A.D. 150, which contains in abstract the official rules (*Gnomon*) laid down by Augustus, and modified in later reigns, for guiding one of the leading officials, the *Idios Logos*, in the performance of his duties. In over 100 regulations preserved almost entire the principal subjects dealt with are wills and inheritances, with especial reference to the claims of the Imperial Treasury, marriage, registration, and the position of priests. For the Roman administration of Egypt, and, above all, for the relation to each other of the different classes of the population, Roman and Alexandrian citizens, Greeks, Egyptians, freedmen, and slaves, this document is of primary importance. The text and translation alone (by W. Schubart) have so far been issued; but historical and juristic commentaries by Schubart and A. Sickel are in preparation.

There is also at Berlin a minor collection of papyri and ostraca edited in 1915 by P. M. Meyer, and there are important partly-edited collections at Leipzig (largely fourth century papyri; ed. L. Mitteis); Giessen (edd. E. Kornemann and P. M. Meyer), where is a copy of the celebrated decree of the Emperor Caracalla in 215 conferring Roman citizenship upon the provincials; Heidelberg (edd. A. Deissmann and G. A. Gerhard), which has a long papyrus of the Minor Prophets in the Septuagint; Halle (ed. Graeca Halensis), which possesses one

of the most important early Ptolemaic papyri, containing extracts from the laws of Alexandria ; Hamburg (ed. P. M. Meyer) ; Munich (edd. U. Wilcken and A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger) ; Strassburg (edd. F. Preisigke, who is now engaged with Part ii.) ; Freiburg, and Bremen. According to a recent official estimate¹ about half the total of Greek papyri in Germany has yet to be published ; but from an article by U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad.*, 1918), publishing a number of literary fragments, including one of Tyrtæus, it appears that not much more is to be expected in the way of new classical texts.

The Austrian collection at Vienna was the first very large collection of papyri to be made in Europe ; but unfortunately the Archduke Rainer, who obtained it, made no adequate provision for its publication, and the editing of the Greek texts has been confined to a single scholar, C. Wessely, who, in spite of great industry, has hardly been able to cope with the mass of both Greek and Coptic material. One volume of a Corpus, containing chiefly contracts of the Roman period, appeared in 1895 ; since then only certain classes of the Greek papyri, those dealing with municipal affairs at Hermopolis and topography and Byzantine tax-receipts, have been published in full. The Austrian collection is poor in literary texts, except Biblical fragments, and has no Ptolemaic papyri. A quantity of Ptolemaic papyrus-cartonnage, discovered in 1908 at Gamhûd (in the Heracleopolite nome) by a young Polish archæologist, T. Smolenski, who died shortly afterwards, went to Budapest, but has not since been heard of.

In France the Louvre has not in recent years taken part in the competition for Greek papyri, though a papyrus of the first century B.C. containing the oration of Hyperides *Against Athenogenes* was published by E. Revillout in 1892. A volume, consisting chiefly of late Ptolemaic contracts from Acoris, which were obtained by T. Reinach, was issued by him in 1903. The headquarters of French papyrology has hitherto been at Lille, where is a large collection of early Ptolemaic papyri from the Fayûm, discovered in 1900-3 by P. Jouguet, who has been assisted by J. Lesquier and P. Collart in the publication of them. This collection, which has fortunately not been injured by the war, is likely to be removed soon to Paris, Jouguet

¹ W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*.

having been transferred to the Sorbonne. Another volume of the publication is in progress.

Italy, which has the credit of having started Graeco-Egyptian papyrology with Amadeo Peyron, and has in G. Lumbroso the *doyen* of papyrologists, who, fifty years after the issue of his well-known *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, is engaged in a comprehensive dictionary of everything bearing upon ancient Alexandria, continues to show an active interest in the subject. At Naples the difficult process of unrolling and deciphering the burnt papyri from Herculaneum has been resumed with much success. At Florence the two leading Italian Hellenists, D. Comparetti and G. Vitelli, have obtained and edited a large collection of documents, including a group of about 250 papyri concerning a certain Heroninus, manager of a large estate in the Fayûm in the middle of the third century. A society called the *Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri* was formed in 1909, which, partly from excavations at Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis, partly by purchases, is issuing under the direction of Vitelli a series of which the sixth volume is in the press. Parts i.-iii. contain many literary fragments, while Parts iv. and v. are mainly devoted to the Florentine section of a large find of third century B.C. papyri made about 1912 by natives in a Fayûm village (Philadelphia). These all concern a certain Zeno, a subordinate of the chief finance minister, and, unlike papyri obtained from mummy-cartonnage, are mostly in good condition. Many of them are official letters, and add much to our knowledge of the Ptolemaic administration in Palestine and Asia Minor as well as in Egypt. At Milan there has been founded recently a school of papyrology, directed by A. Calderini, which has issued three volumes of *Studi* (1917-20) but has not yet had much opportunity of editing new texts. A noteworthy feature of both the Florentine and the Milanese schools is the considerable share in editing and commenting upon the papyri which has been taken by ladies. It is to be hoped that the excellent example set by Medea Norsa and Teresa Lodi will be followed by some of the ladies in this country.

Switzerland has one good collection of papyri at Geneva, of which a volume of documents and several valuable literary fragments have been edited by J. Nicole. His place has now been taken by V. Martin, who is preparing another volume. A small collection at Bâle, edited

by E. Rabel in 1917, is unimportant. Holland has only a few Ptolemaic and magical papyri which were edited long ago. There are very few papyri in Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, but more in Russia, which are largely Ptolemaic and nearly all inedited.

America possesses a small collection of papyri at Chicago, edited by E. J. Goodspeed, and at Detroit a number of Biblical MSS. on vellum, which were found in Upper Egypt in 1906, the most important being an early MS. of the Gospels, which has a curious interpolation near the end of St. Mark's Gospel. Shortly before the war Mr. Pierpoint Morgan obtained a collection of over 100 Coptic MSS., which were found in the ruins of an old monastic library at Hamûli in the Fayûm. These are temporarily at the Vatican, being repaired under the direction of Père Hyvernat, who will edit them. A few accessions to this find were brought to Rome in 1920 by Professor F. W. Kelsey, of Michigan University, besides a complete and early papyrus codex of the Minor Prophets. Professor Kelsey, while in Egypt last winter, also obtained a collection of about 400 well-preserved documents from the Fayûm and Oxyrhynchus, together with a long treatise concerning omens (second century) and several hundred lines of a Homeric papyrus (*Iliad*, xviii.). These texts have been divided between the Universities of Michigan (which obtains the larger part) and Wisconsin.

Lastly, while the Alexandrian Museum possesses few papyri of importance, at the Cairo Museum is a very valuable collection of Greek papyri, consisting of (1) two of the chief literary finds, five plays of Menander and part of the Gospel of Peter, an early rival of the canonical gospels, (2) the Oxyrhynchus documents mentioned on p. 149, (3) a large and particularly important group of Byzantine documents from Aphrodito in Upper Egypt, edited by J. Maspero, whose death in the war was an irreparable loss to papyrology, (4) some miscellaneous texts, mostly published by various scholars, (5) the largest section of the Zeno find (cf. p. 154), now being edited by C. C. Edgar in the *Annales du service des antiquités*. An accession to the last-named section, including a papyrus of special importance for the Macedonian Calendar, was made through my agency in 1920.

To sum up, about sixty volumes of papyri or ostraca, with nearly 10,000 texts, have been published, representing probably less than

half of the whole material which has been recovered. The minor publications of non-literary texts have been usefully collected in F. Preisigke's *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. A classification of all Greek and Latin papyri and ostraca published up to 1920, arranged according to subject, date, and provenance, has been compiled by me, and may appear in 1921.

With regard to the palæography of Greek papyri, Sir Frederic Kenyon in 1900 published a book which is still the standard authority, although for the dating of uncials much new evidence is now available, and cursive writing is treated rather briefly. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson has valuable chapters dealing with papyri in the second edition of his *Greek and Roman Palæography* (1912), but has not space for many details. The subject will, I hope, some day be treated fully by Hunt. I have begun a comprehensive work on the geography of Græco-Roman Egypt, for which the papyri provide an immense mass of evidence; but this will take some years to finish. While the new material has been so largely provided by Englishmen, the utilization of it through the composition of books showing the bearing of papyri upon the various branches of history, law, and philology has hitherto been left almost entirely to foreign scholars, principally German or French. The best introduction to papyrology, paying especial attention to literary papyri, is W. Schubart's *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*, which appeared in 1918 and is very accurate and clearly arranged. Sir John Mahaffy's *Empire of the Ptolemies* (1897) is not very systematic, and Bouché Leclercq's *Histoire des Lagides*, completed in 1907, of which the first two volumes are mainly devoted to dynastic and foreign history, the last two to the internal condition of the country, is the best general history of the Ptolemaic period. But for the administration of Ptolemaic Egypt the principal authority is U. Wilcken's *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, accompanied by 500 selected texts, and covering the whole period from Alexander to the eighth century. This work of the leading German papyrologist, issued in 1912, has laid a firm historical foundation for future researches connected with Græco-Roman Egypt. A brilliant sketch of the Ptolemaic regime in the light of the most recent discoveries is given by M. Rostovtseff in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* (1920), pp. 161-178. Of the Roman and Byzantine periods in Egypt there is no satisfactory general account. J. G. Milne's

History of Egypt under Roman Rule (1899) is rather slight and out of date. The leading authority is again Wilcken's *Grundzüge*, which gives the main outlines. For the Byzantine period there is, besides Wilcken's book, a good account of the administration by M. Gelzer, and an excellent sketch of the same subject by H. I. Bell in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* (1918). There is a great opening for books dealing with the five main subdivisions of the period from Augustus to Heraclius. There is (1) the period from Augustus to Nero, with the transition from the Ptolemaic system taken over by the conquerors to the developed Roman system. It would be especially interesting to examine in detail how far the Romans altered the Ptolemaic regime, how far they were themselves influenced by it, since the conquest of Egypt with its highly-organised and centralised administration coincided with the establishment of the principate. (2) There is the period from Vespasian to Severus, with the Empire at the height of its prosperity. (3) A new epoch begins with the reforms of Severus, who introduced the Greek system of the city-state into Alexandria and the principal towns, and with the bestowal of Roman citizenship by Caracalla upon the provincials. (4) There is the end of the third century and the fourth, with the reorganisation of Egypt under Diocletian and Constantine, and the general adoption of Christianity leading up to (5) Egypt from the fifth to the seventh centuries as a Byzantine province, with a quite new outlook, system of government, and culture, having by this time lost many of its peculiarities and becoming assimilated to the other parts of the Eastern Empire. Here the gap is likely to be soon filled by the publication of a posthumous work by J. Maspero on Byzantine Egypt which is being edited by Mr. Fortescue.

On the economic side there are two very good books, M. Rostovtseff's *Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (1910), which deals largely with Græco-Roman Egypt, and Vol. i. of U. Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka* (1900), which is primarily concerned with taxation, and remains the chief authority on that subject. H. Maspero's *Les finances de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (1900) and A. Steiner's *Der Fiskus der Ptolemäer* (1902) are unsatisfactory, and most questions concerning finance and taxation in Græco-Roman Egypt, for which there is now a vast quantity of new evidence available, soon to be increased by the publication of the Bodleian ostraca (cf. p. 144),

urgently require to be rehandled. In Leipzig before the war statistics of prices found in the papyri were being collected, and it is to be hoped that this valuable piece of work may be soon completed.

To the French are due the principal works on military affairs in Græco-Roman Egypt. The Ptolemaic army in Egypt (1910), and now the Roman (1919), are the subjects of elaborate and most accurate books by J. Lesquier, while the Byzantine army has been well treated by J. Maspero (1912). A Frenchman has also produced the chief work on municipal organisation, P. Jouguet's *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (1909), which, though somewhat lacking in clearness, is very useful. Both this and a recent German work, F. Oertel's *Die Liturgie im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1919, but composed before 1914), which partly covers the same ground, have been supplemented by two publications which appeared during the war, P. Rylands, ii., and P. Oxyrhynchus, xii., containing important minutes of the proceedings of a council of officials at the end of the second century and of a local senate in the third.

There are some good studies of particular officials, especially by G. Plaumann, the ablest of the younger German papyrologists, who was killed in the last days of the war, on the Idios Logos, and that by V. Martin on the Epistrategi, the chief administrators of the three main subdivisions of Roman Egypt, who, as is shown by a Tebtunis papyrus, were of Ptolemaic origin. But there is great need of similar studies dealing, e.g., with the dioecetes, who was the head of the Ptolemaic finance administration but of less consequence in Roman times, with the præfect, who was the head of the whole province in Roman times, and with the strategus, who under both the Ptolemies and the Romans was the chief local official.

The system of credit and banking was highly developed in Græco-Roman Egypt, which was conspicuously modern in this respect. A comprehensive treatise on this subject, *Das Girwesen im griechischen Ägypten* (1910), has been composed by F. Preisigke, but is not very satisfactory, and some rather fundamental questions are still in dispute. Agriculture, for which the extant evidence is particularly comprehensive, and the various industries, also require a series of special studies.

With regard to religion, the organization of the Græco-Egyptian priesthood was dealt with in detail by W. Otto in 1902-5, but much

new information is now available, especially from the *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos* (cf. p. 152). Pagan beliefs, especially the cults of Sarapis and Isis and that curious mixture of Greek, Egyptian, Persian, Jewish, and Christian religions illustrated by the magical papyri, have not yet been adequately handled. A corpus of the magical papyri was projected in Germany by K. Preisendanz before the war, and a Czech scholar, Dr. Hopfner, is engaged upon the difficult task of elucidating them. The interesting litany of Isis published in P. Oxyrhynchus, xi. is the subject of a forthcoming work by a young Dutch scholar. On the Christian side the chief work is A. Deissmann's illuminating *Licht vom Osten* (2nd ed., 1910), which has been translated into English (*Light from the Ancient East*).

The juristic side of papyrology, which is rather technical, and of which the importance and interest have hitherto remained unappreciated in this country, is too large a subject to be discussed here. The standard general work on it is L. Mitteis's *Grundzüge* (1912), with 382 selected texts, a companion to Wilcken's work mentioned on p. 156, but much more abstruse. A new selection of ninety-three of the chief juristic texts, with a commentary, has just been issued by P. M. Meyer (1920). There are many books or monographs on particular points by L. Mitteis, O. Gradenwitz, L. Wenger, P. M. Meyer, J. Partsch, and other German or Austrian jurists, and some by Italian and French, but almost the only English jurist who has displayed any interest in the subject is the new Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, F. de Zulueta, who has published a useful essay on *Patronage in the Later Empire*.

To turn from History and Law to Philology, a good grammar of the Ptolemaic papyri by A. Mayser was issued in 1906, and one of the Herculaneum papyri by W. Crönert in 1903. On the fertile subject of the relation of papyri to the Septuagint and New Testament, besides the standard works of A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* (1902 : translated as *Bible Studies*) and *Licht vom Osten* (cf. p. 159), good work is being done by British scholars, especially the *Grammar of the New Testament* begun by J. H. Moulton, who fell a victim to German submarine warfare, and now being continued by W. Howard, and the *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri*, begun by Moulton and G. Milligan and continued by the latter scholar alone, which has reached nearly halfway through the alphabet. In the forthcoming revised edition of Liddell and Scott's

Lexicon, which is under the direction of H. Stuart Jones, Ptolemaic papyri are being looked after by E. Lobel and P. Jouguet with his pupils, Roman papyri by V. Martin, Byzantine by H. I. Bell. The corresponding German lexicon of Passow was being re-edited by a papyrologist, W. Crönert, but in 1914 had only reached *av*, and the editor, who was taken prisoner early in the war, has not yet recovered all his materials. F. Preisigke in 1915 issued a vocabulary of technical terms in papyri concerning the administration, which is useful so far as it goes. The same indefatigable researcher has also planned dictionaries, not only of personal names, of which there is a great variety, but of all Greek papyri. In the meantime Heft iii. of his *Berichtigungen*, a collection of all the corrections which have been made upon the original editions of papyri, is about to be issued.

The chief periodical relating to papyri, the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, edited by U. Wilcken, has just resumed publication, while the French have revived the *Revue Égyptologique*, which, under the editorship of A. Moret and P. Jouguet, is now partly devoted to papyrology; the Italians have started a similar periodical, *Ægyptus*, edited by A. Calderini; and of C. Wessely's *Studien zur Palæographie und Papyruskunde*, Heft xix. has recently appeared. The lack of an English papyrological journal is more conspicuous than ever.

Having endeavoured to sketch what papyrologists in different countries have achieved during the last generation and are now doing, I conclude with some practical remarks about the future of papyrology in this country. Fortune has been kind to British workers in this field, who have secured the best part of the material in respect of both quantity and quality; but the small band of British papyrologists has been thinned recently by the death of Sir John Mahaffy in the fullness of years, the absorption of Sir Frederic Kenyon in his duties as Principal Librarian of the British Museum, and the loss of J. de M. Johnson, who has joined the staff of the Clarendon Press and has little time for papyrology. The primary business of Hunt and myself is, of course, the publication of the mass of papyri at Oxford, which has been called "the Mecca of papyrologists". We should, of course, be glad of the assistance of younger researchers to help us and some day to succeed us. In particular it would be a great advantage if we could get the whole of the unexamined portion of our collection unrolled or extricated from cartonnage, and find out what is there, thus rendering it all avail-

able for study and for publication in more definite groups of cognate papyri than is possible at present. It is very unsatisfactory that we are still quite ignorant of the nature of so many of our unpublished finds, especially those of the Ptolemaic period, and the larger documents of the Roman and early Byzantine periods from Oxyrhynchus. Under present conditions we can only deal with comparatively small sections at a time, and these not necessarily the most important.

Secondly, the contrast between the predominance of this country in the discovery and editing of papyrus texts, and the small part taken by it in the utilization of the material for historical and juristic purposes is hardly creditable. In the list of the chief editions of papyri at the end of Schubart's *Einführung* (cf. p. 156), there are fifteen British entries, including the two largest series, compared to forty-five of all other nationalities ; but in Schubart's list of books dealing with papyri only two out of fifty entries are British. It is to be hoped that this lack of enterprise, for which editors occupied with new texts can hardly be blamed, will not continue much longer. Papyrology, a creation of the last forty years, has been able to avail itself of the high state of organization already attained by Roman epigraphy, and is well systematized. There are plenty of bibliographies ; editions of texts are elaborately indexed, and, in most cases, provided with notes and translations, while there are excellent introductions to the subject and selections. Several of the more important topics which require discussion or further inquiries have been indicated ; but there is also a great opening for less ambitious studies, e.g. combining the information derived from groups of papyri concerning particular persons, localities, or items. The lead which has been given by Oxford and Dublin ought to be followed by other Universities.

Lastly, there is the question of further search for papyri in Egypt. My visit last winter led me to the conclusion that the present time is more propitious for buying papyri found by native diggers for nitrous earth than for digging at one's own expense. America, owing to the favourable exchange, seems to be the only country which is just now in a position to face the heavy outlay for excavations in search of papyri in a town site. The Egypt Exploration Society is fully occupied for the coming winter with its excavations at El Amarna, which are about to commence, and promise results of exceptional interest for Egyptologists. But that Society has by no means abandoned the idea of

resuming excavations on a Græco-Roman site, and, if a successor to us and Johnson is forthcoming in the near future, I shall be happy to assist him in starting work in Egypt. The next few years will probably see the disappearance of the rapidly dwindling rubbish-mounds or house-ruins at the various town-sites in middle Egypt which have yielded papyri ; but it will be some time before the chances of obtaining papyrus-cartonnage are diminished up to the point of excluding the need of further research in Ptolemaic tombs, and tombs of any date within the Græco-Roman period will continue to present the possibility of discovering complete literary rolls, either classical or theological.

CELSUS AND ARISTIDES.

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THE discovery of a fragment of the "Apology of Aristides" among the Oxyrhyncus Papyri is a fact of some importance in the Patristic literature. It is the first *bona fide* piece of Greek evidence for the text of this famous Christian document. It will be remembered that the "Apology" is known to us, apart from the preservation of a single fragment in Armenian, by two phenomenal discoveries; first, that of the Syriac text by myself in the Monastery of Mt. Sinai in 1889; second, Dr. Armitage Robinson's discovery that the lost Greek text had been incorporated, with some modifications, in the famous Christian romance known as the "History of Barlaam and Joasaph," which was supposed to have been written by St. John of Damascus in the monastery of St. Saba, near the Dead Sea. Thus two great convents united to give us back the missing "Apology," one finding us a Syriac translation, the other a Greek incorporation or adaptation. It is natural, then, that the discovery of this precious fragment from the sands of Egypt should re-open a number of questions, which could not be settled at the time of the first publication. Of these the principal points for further discussion and debate are two in number. The one relates to the question of priority and preference, where the Greek and Syriac differ; the other to a non-textual question, but one of no less importance, the enquiry whether the "Apology" was referred to by Celsus in his attack on Christianity in the second century, to which Origen replied with such skill and in such detail in the following century. We may, with advantage, review the situation from these two points of view.

Let us begin with the question of Celsus and Aristides, and so we can proceed to discuss the involved question of the comparative value of the Greek and Syriac texts.

The Celsus and Aristides problem arose out of a series of observations made by myself as to the coincidences which could be traced between the polemic of Celsus and the statements made by Aristides. The parallels were not exhaustively treated, but were sufficient to show a connection of ideas and language expressing those ideas, which would either prove Celsus dependent on Aristides, as I supposed, or both of them to be dependent upon a third document. It was at this point that the difficulty arose, for it was maintained by Dr. Armitage Robinson in his exposition of the Greek text which he had so brilliantly recovered, that the coincidences between Celsus and Aristides were due to a common employment of the lost "Preaching of Peter". Accordingly, he collected from the fragments of the Preaching a series of agreements on five principal points *plus* six supplementary possibilities of dependence, as follows :—

(1) That the Preaching called the Deity *παντοκράτωρ*.

(2) That it stated that "God created the heaven and earth and all that is therein."

(3) That all things were made "for the sake of man" and placed in subjection to him.

(4) That it contained a reference to the folly of guarding the Deity, as in the case of carefully watched statues of gold, silver, etc.

(5) That it maintained that God has no need of sacrifices.

To these five points he added more hesitatingly the following six :—

(6) That God must give the power to speak rightly of Himself.

(7) That it contained a reference to the superstitions of the Jews with regard to circumcision and clean and unclean meats.

(8) That Christians maintain and sustain the world.

(9) That they have God's commandments fixed in their hearts.

(10) It also had a reasoned condemnation of the worship of the elements, such as fire and water,

(11) And a statement that God was to be worshipped by benevolence.

From these parallels it was concluded that "most of the coincidences (between Celsus and Aristides) which had been pointed out would be accounted for by the supposition that it was not our 'Apology,' but the 'Preaching of Peter,' which, like 'Jason and Papiscus,' and other apocryphal writings, supplied the materials of his attack."

As we shall examine the question presently, *de novo* and *ab initio*, we do not at this point discuss the parallels in detail. Dr. Robinson was evidently not quite satisfied with his result ; for, at the risk of repetition, he made a fresh collection of the supposed loans [from Aristides in the pages of Celsus, enumerating eight passages which contained striking coincidences of thought or language. He then made an observation (the value of which he did not sufficiently estimate) that Celsus was, sometimes, as it would seem, retorting upon Christians language which had been employed by themselves (the *tu quoque* argument) as, for instance, when he says that Jesus in His Passion, had *no help* from His Father, nor was enabled to *help Himself*. This would be a very natural reply to the language of Aristides about the gods who could not help others nor help themselves, and it would be decisive as to the dependence of Celsus or Aristides, or [almost decisive. We will examine the point more closely presently. Dr. Robinson seems to have been so much impressed with these suggested Celsian retorts that he finally concluded that it "is not easy to say whether it was the 'Preaching of Peter' or the 'Apology of Aristides' which lay before Celsus, but we can hardly doubt that it must have been one or the other." So he left the matter in suspense, as was not unnatural thirty years ago, and in dealing with a newly found document ; let us see whether, on reviewing the evidence to-day, we can come to a more definite conclusion.

We begin, then, by reading the arguments of Celsus, as represented in Origen, side by side with the arguments of Aristides in order to see whether one of them is replying to the other. We should easily satisfy ourselves that Celsus is replying to something or somebody, to some written statement or some living people ; and if we put ourselves as far as possible, in Celsus' position, and, so to speak, identify ourselves with him, we can reconstruct his adversary by a study of the blows that are being aimed at him. If it is a book that is being demolished, the critic will have been reading the book with an annotating and underscoring pencil ; he will point out by his annotation, too, what his antagonist, or the person whom he has elected to antagonise, has emphasised or underlined in his own speech or treatise. He will concentrate his attention on those points which are vital and must be replied to, or those which are vulnerable and must be held up to ridicule. Let us try for awhile to acquire a Celsus-consciousness.

We find we are writing a book in which, after a brief introduction on illicit assemblies, which is really addressed to the Government (*non licet vos esse*), and so is an evidence that the appeal which we are trying to counter was itself an appeal to the Government, that is, to the Emperor, we begin by pointing out that Christianity is a religion of barbarians. The reason why we introduce this abrupt form of attack is that the Apologist whose scalp we are after, has been using the term "barbarian" in his address, and has either made the Greek world into a world of barbarian ideas, or has put the Greeks next door to barbarians. The natural answer to this is the *tu quoque* which Dr. Robinson detected; what do you mean by barbarians, dear sir? Are you not in your religion an off-shoot of Judaism and are not the Jews barbarians? So we have by our retort reconstructed the world of four religions, to wit the Greeks (ourselves and Celsus) the barbarians whom you quote and to whom both of you, Jews and Christians, belong, and your twain selves.

Βάρβαρόν φησιν ἄνωθεν τὸ δόγμα, δηλονότι τὸν
Ἰουδαϊσμόν οὐ Χριστιανισμόν ἤρτηται.

—"c. Celsum," i. 2.

Here then we have the suggestion of a world of four religions. Now it will be remembered that the Syriac Aristides divides mankind into four races, the *Barbarians*, the Greeks, the Jews, and the Christians, while the Greek of Barlaam and Joasaph has three only, viz., idol worshippers, Jews and Christians: and the first class three subdivisions, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Egyptians. Upon this Dr. Robinson remarks that "the fourfold division of the Syriac and Armenian versions . . . comes under grave suspicion; and the more we examine it the less primitive it appears. For to the Greek mind the Jews were themselves barbarians. . . . Moreover, there seems to be no parallel to this fourfold classification of races in early Christian literature." Precisely: the Jews were themselves barbarians: that is what Celsus is trying to say; and it requires the Syriac Aristides for an antecedent.

Returning to our Celsus, we find that the next point is that, so far as Christianity is a philosophy it is common with other philosophies: it has nothing new about it. We are attacking someone in a philosopher's garb. He appears to have a wallet labelled "novelties" but it is stuffed with matters borrowed from other schools. If he poses

as a philosopher, and prates of philosophy, let him produce something fresh, if he wishes to make a fresh religion.

It need hardly be said that this attempt to discount the philosophy of an opponent was extremely natural, if the opponent or opposed person had begun by saying, "I am a philosopher from Athens," and had produced a string of Stoic sentences about the Divine Nature and the Cosmos. Evidently Celsus has read the prologue and the first chapter. He annotates it, "no novelty"; as he goes on he finds that manufactured gods are said not to be gods; he puts on the margin the words "*nihil novi: confer Heraclitum, θεοὶ ἄψυχοι*". He will do this the more emphatically if the claim for novelty should be found in the volume to which he is replying. Well, we actually find in the "Apology of Aristides" the statement made to the Emperor that,

Truly this is a new people, and there is something divine mingled with it. Take now their writings and read.

We notice that this assertion of novelty and appeal for attention is in the Syriac text, and not in the Greek.

Celsus, then, disposes rapidly enough of the philosophy of the man whom he is criticising, as if it were enough to say, "one more philosopher! What of that?" but as he runs his eye over the section on the Divine Nature, and catches sight of the statement that God "made all things for the sake of man," he cannot refrain from an attack on this ridiculous Stoic doctrine, and as it is clearly one of the special beliefs of Aristides, it must be reserved for a special refutation.

It is interesting to observe how careful Celsus is to confute the emphatic and repeated statements of his adversary: and since Aristides has the trick of saying things several times over, like a counsel addressing a jury, Celsus feels bound to take him on his repetitions.

Most of his references to the making of the world for the sake of man are given by Origen in his fourth book, to the effect that the world was no more made for man than for brute beasts, or for plants or shrubs, ants and bees, lions and dolphins. He laughs zoologically and botanically, he will even set the sun, moon, and stars laughing at the pigmy pride of man. The world is not anthropocentric for Celsus, any more than it is melittocentric or even heliocentric.¹ On the

¹ "c. Celsum," iv. 74, 75, 99.

surface of the argument the Epicurean wins easily, but surface arguments are in two dimensions, the true philosopher has to work in three.

The next step in the evolution of the attack of Celsus is a rapid lunge at the Jews, in order to detach them from the Christians, with whom he had previously coupled them, followed by a decision to take the Christians first and the Jews later. We know, says Celsus, that

The Jews worship angels and are devoted to sorcery of which Moses was their teacher (*ἧς ὁ Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς γέγονεν ἐξηγήτης*).

“but we will show presently that they are deceived and have stumbled through ignorance” :

*ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ διδάξειν ἐξῆς, πῶς καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι
ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἐσφάλησαν ἐξαπατώμενοι.*

—“c. Celsum,” i. 26.

In making these statements we may observe two things : first that the reply of Celsus does what the “Apology” itself suggests ; it refers to the Jews and postpones them ; next, the language of Celsus anticipates the statement of Aristides that the “Jews have gone astray from accurate knowledge . . . their service is to angels and not to God.” In both respects Celsus runs parallel to the Syriac version, which differs from the Greek, both in the order of the material and in its content.

According to the same Syriac version, we have the defence of the Christian faith introduced by a brief study of origins :—

The Barbarians reckon the head of their religion from . . . and the Greeks from. . . .

The Jews reckon the head of their race from Abraham, who begat Isaac, from whom was born Jacob, etc.

The Christians reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ. Now it is clear that this repeated expression stands for an original Greek *γενεαλογούνται*.

We can see this as regards the Jews, if we turn to the fifth book against Celsus :

He (Celsus) did not wish to appear ignorant of a fact not easily to be neglected. For it is clear that the Jews reckon their racial origin from the three patriarchs, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob (*ὅτι καὶ γενεαλογούνται Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πατέρων, τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ*).¹

¹ “c. Celsum,” v. 33, and compare v. 35, “the genealogy which he deemed the Jews to have so shamelessly arrogated in boasting of Abraham and his descendants”: “those names from which the Jews derive their genealogies.”

The Greek text preserves the same statement for the Christians in the form

οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοὶ γενεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

If, however, this fragment had been missing from the Greek text, we could have divined it from the statement of Celsus, who, after postponing the study of Judaism, first of all makes his discourse concerning our Saviour, inasmuch as he was our leader, so far as we are Christians by race : (*πρῶτον ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὡς γινομένου ἡγεμόνος τῇ καθὸ Χριστιανοὶ ἔσμεν γενέσει ἡμῶν*).¹

It is clear that these successive statements of genealogy belong where the Syriac "Apology" has placed them, and not at the end of the Oration : Celsus will speak first of what comes first in the book, the origin of the Christians and their beliefs ; and these are his actual words : "In quite recent times he became the leader of this teaching, being regarded by the Christians as the Son of God" : (*αὐτὸν πρὸ πάνυ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης καθηγήσασθαι, νομισθέντα ὑπὸ Χριστιανῶν υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ*).²

Clearly Celsus is following Aristides very carefully at this point, not only as regards the order of the argument, but as to its content ; for here we are at the centre of the Christian confession. The Syriac says,—

The Christians reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ, who is named the Son of God most High, and the Greek says,—

Who is confessed to be the Son of God most High.

The Greek "confessed" is later theological language than the Syriac ; *νομισθέντα* was not strong enough but the Syriac appears to have misread a Greek *νομίζεται* as *ὀνομάζεται*.

And now Celsus scrutinises every word, and rains down his blows heavily on his opponent : first of all, "it is said that God came down from heaven" ; (the Greek indulges in expansions, as that He came down by the Holy Spirit, and that it was for us men and our salvation, as the early Creeds say).

Now this his Epicurean philosophy would not allow : he breaks out with—

¹ "c. Celsum," i. 21.

² *Ibid.*

O Jews and Christians, no God or Son of God has ever descended nor ever may descend :

and it was natural that Origen should, in his fifth book, convict him of impiety in the first case, as denying either the descent from Heaven or the actual divinity, of Apollo and Æsculapius, or as forsaking the camouflage of his own Epicurean doctrine, which he had hitherto judiciously practised. See how the fellow, says Origen, in his zeal to make wreckage of us, though he never admitted throughout his work that he was an Epicurean, is now caught sneaking off to Epicurus.¹ Is he going to accept the doctrine of Providence which we Christians affirm with the Stoics? He had better take another turn at the Christian Scriptures, and learn accurately the care of God for man.

The same contradiction of Celsus to the doctrine of a descending God is in the opening of Origen's fourth book, where Celsus is reported as saying, that certain Christians and the Jews maintain, some that *God has descended*, others that *God or the Son of God will descend* to a certain land, but this does not require a serious refutation. Celsus has a further fling at the idea that the coming of God could be foretold. Anyone could fulfil such prophecies, "some fanatically, and others making collections, say that the Son of God is come from above." To which Origen replies that we have no trace of such self-divinising in the Jewish records.

We notice that the language of Celsus about the descent of God, or the Son of God is suggested by the Syriac "Aristides," which tells us that Jesus Christ is the *Son of God* and that it is said that *God* comes down from heaven; the point is missed in the Greek. Celsus did not miss the variation in the language. By this time we are in the heart of the Creed; when we come to the statement of the Virgin Birth, we find the Greek text varying from the Syriac, chiefly by the addition of later theological language. The Syriac says that "God came down from heaven and from a Hebrew Virgin took and clad himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God." The Greek says, "He was born of a holy Virgin, ἀσπύρωσ καὶ ἀφθόρωσ and took flesh and appeared to men."² Here there is

¹ "c. Celsum," v. 1.

² That the term "Hebrew Virgin" is genuine Aristides, and has been replaced by "Holy Virgin" in the Greek, appears from a fragment of a lost work of Aristides preserved in the Armenian. It runs as follows: "He

only a trace of the Syriac form, but that the latter is correct will appear by turning to another passage in Barlaam and Joasaph (i. 3) where it is said that Christ ὄφθη καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ . . . παρθένον ᾤκήσε δι' ἡμᾶς where the *dwelling* of Christ in the Virgin is clearly taken from the Syriac.

The next sentence in the Syriac is mistranslated in the *editio princeps*. It should run thus :

This is learned from the Gospel, which, they say, has been preached a short time ago.

Celsus is directed to the Virgin Birth and the Gospel, and he accepts the challenge vigorously : he had already picked up the admission that it was " a short time ago " (πρὸ πάνυ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης) and now he hits out hard with the story of the illicit connection between the Virgin and the soldier Panther, employing a second camouflage for his own personal opinions, by the introduction of a Jew who is now the protagonist, an Epicurean converted for the nonce. The battle is a long one and we do not follow it in detail ; all that we are concerned with is the proof that everything of importance in the Syriac is taken over by Celsus, and every vital statement has an arrow sticking in it.

Returning to the Syriac text we notice that the punctuation has got wrong. It should read :—

In order that a certain *οἰκονομία* might be fulfilled, he was pierced by the Jews, etc.

The allusion to the *οἰκονομία* will be found reflected on Barlaam and Joasaph (c. 61), as follows :—

" Do you ask me how we came to hear the words of the incarnate God ? Know that it was through the holy Gospels that we learnt all about the Divine-human *οἰκονομία*." The dependence of this passage on the " Apology " is clear, and it is one more illustration of the extent to which the Barlaam and Joasaph story is saturated with Aristides. The Greek now becomes interesting : it connects the completion of the economy with the crucifixion, but without any reference to the Jews : καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν, διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐγεύσατο, ἐκουσία βουλῆ, κατ'

united to Himself the flesh from a *Hebrew Virgin* the Holy Mary". If this is Aristides it suggests to us that the " Hebrew Virgin " should belong to the primitive draft of the " Apology ".

οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην. But this completion of the economy¹ will also be found in Barlaam and Joasaph in the opening chapter as follows :—

καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τελέσας οἰκονομίαν.
—“ B. and J.,” 4.

Celsus continues his examination of the Christian Creed. He accepts the statement that our Lord “was crucified by the Jews,” but says that it was on account of his crimes, and makes his camouflaged representative say the same. “We punished him” says the Jew : Celsus says a second time that he paid the penalty among the Jews for his offences. “We both found him guilty and condemned him as deserving death” says the Jew.²

So there need be no hesitation in believing that Celsus had before him a statement that Jesus suffered at the hands of the Jews, even though there is nothing to that effect in the Greek text as edited by Robinson.

The next point that Celsus has to face is the question whether gods, of whom images are made, can be trusted to take care of themselves ; and if not, how they can take care of their worshippers ? As this is a special theme with Aristides, on which he enlarges and which he repeats over and over, we will look somewhat more closely at the section in which it first appears, which is headed in Syriac as the Folly of the Barbarians, but in Greek as the Aberrations of the Chaldeans. We have already explained that Chaldean is secondary and Barbarian primary in the tradition of Aristides. The section which we are engaged on has a special interest, since both the Greek and the Syriac make Aristides quote the first chapter of Romans :

¹ The expression *τελεῖν οἰκονομίαν* becomes almost classical. Here is a very curious early case in the “Life of Abercius,” which runs parallel to Aristides :—

*Τίνος ἔνεκεν διὰ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου προήγαγεν
Μαριάς ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον
ἀπέστειλεν, εἰ μὴ τινα χάριν καὶ οἰκονομίαν ἐξετέλει ;*

It is a translation or transference from the “Acts of Peter” (c. 7, p. 53):—

“Cujus rei causa deus filium suum misit in saeculo aut cujus rei per virginem Mariam protulit, si non aliquam gratiam aut *procuracionem proficeret.*”

² “c. Celsum,” ii. 4, 5, 10.

“ they began to serve created things rather than the Creator,”¹ and the Greek text has made its mark on one or two other places in Barlaam and Joasaph, showing once more how saturated the monk of St. Saba is with his favourite book. For example we have—

ἐγκλείσαντες ἐν ναοῖς προσεκύνησαν, λατρεύοντες
τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τῷ Κτίσαντι.

—“ B. and J.,” vii. 48.

μορφώματα ἀνετυπώσαντο καὶ τούτους θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν.

—*Ibid.*, vii. 49.

τηροῦντες αὐτὰ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ, τοῦ μὴ ὑπὸ κλεπτῶν
συληθῆναι, . . . καὶ τὸ μὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαρκοῦνται
καὶ βοηθεῖν, πῶς ἄλλοις γένοιτο φύλακες καὶ σωτῆρες ;

—*Ibid.*, x. 81.

As we have said, Aristides harps on this theme again and again. How can Asclepius be a god when he was unable to help himself, when struck by lightning, or Dionysus, who could not save himself from being slain be able to help others? Or Herakles, whose end was sad, and bad, and mad, be able to respond to an appeal for help? Or Aphrodite be a goddess when she could not help Adonis, or Adonis be a god when he could not help himself? Or Rhea when she could not help Attis? Or Koré who was carried off to Hades? Or Isis be a goddess and unable to help Osiris her lord? And speaking generally how can gods who cannot help themselves be of any use? They are too weak for their own salvation. It seems that the humour of the discussion is not all on one side. Aristides is really laughing, and some will say laughing too loud and long. How shall we refute him?

Obviously the *tu quoque* argument is the simplest. Say the same things of the other man's god. Ask him if God saved Jesus, or if Jesus was able to save Himself. That will dispose very neatly of Aphrodite and Adonis, or Isis and Osiris, and the rest. Accordingly Celsus reproaches the Saviour because of His sufferings, says that He received no assistance from His Father, nor was in a position to help Himself: ὡς μὴ βοηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ μὴ δυνηθέντι ἑαυτῷ

¹ There is a suspicion also of a quotation from Ephesians by Aristides: for in the 17th chapter he tells the Emperor that there are things recorded in pagan literature which it is not proper to speak of, but they are not only said but actually done; the language is very like Eph. v. 12, “It is a shame even to speak of the disgraceful things done by them in secret”.

βοηθῆσαι.¹ How curiously the history of unbelief repeats itself : Celsus is standing with the priests at the Cross and saying the same thing as they—‘ Himself He cannot save ! ’”

But let us come to more detail of divine disgrace. You have talked, sir philosopher, in mirth of gods who are bound, as Kronos was or Ares, or taken captive or who ran away, as Dionysus did, but tell us plainly whether Jesus was not taken prisoner. Did he not run away hither and thither, with his disciples ? Why had he to be carried as a babe into Egypt for safety ? A god ought not to be afraid of death.²

In this way Celsus counters, or thinks to counter, the mirth of Aristides. If the latter makes merriment over gods that have to get their living, as Hephaestus in his smithy, or Apollo taking fees for his oracular advice, we of the Celsus party must point out that Jesus and his disciples went about collecting their daily food in a shameful and importunate manner. Are these friars so very different from the gods whom they denounce ?³

It is clear, then, that Aristides’ “ Apology ” is the background of Celsus’ “ True Word ” ; the one is necessary to the understanding of the other.⁴

Moreover we have shown, not only that Celsus is following the argument of Aristides point by point, but that he is following it in a text that agrees closely with the Syriac MS. It is surely hardly necessary to pursue the matter further. Whatever may be the ultimate meaning of the coincidences with the “ Preaching of Peter ” or the “ Epistle to Diognetus ” they can only serve as illustrations, they cannot be treated as sources. The attempt so to treat them may be discarded.

We have also learnt another important lesson, viz. : that the text of Aristides is much more widely diffused through the story of Barlaam and Joasaph than the first editions supposed. The “ Apology ” is not

¹ “ c. Celsum,” i. 54.

² *Ibid.*, i. 65, 66.

³ φησὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αἰσχροῶς καὶ γλίσχωρος τὰς τροφὰς συλλέγοντα περιεληλυθέναι.

—*Ibid.*, i. 66.

⁴ It is curious to note that Aristides is really expanding an argument of Heraclitus : *εἰ θεοὶ εἰσιν ἵνα τι θρηνέετε αὐτούς ; εἰ δὲ θρηνέετε αὐτούς, μηκέτι τούτους ἡγάεσθε θεούς.* See Buresch, “ Klaros,” p. 118. Neumann, “ Heraklites ” : Hermes, xv. 60.

merely borrowed *en bloc*, its use can be traced from the very first page of the story. It was in the mind of John of Damascus when he began to write. Its outcrop is everywhere. Stray words and phrases are constantly occurring which betray their origin.

Another thing which we shall need to bear in mind, when we do further work in the text, is that the Syriac has almost everywhere the right of way. Dr. Robinson presented an ingenious argument from the case of a parallel Syriac Apology, "The Hypomnemata of Ambrosius," of which portions are contained in Ps. Justin's "Address to the Greeks." It was possible to show that the Syriac was frequently an abbreviation or a misunderstanding of the Greek. Dr. Robinson inferred that all Syriac translators may be expected to show similar translator's lapses: no doubt there will be some errors of reading and translation in all versions, but as far as we can judge our Syriac Aristides will not require very much of an apology for his "Apology."

A SUMMARY OF RECENT CRITICISM OF "THE ODES OF SOLOMON."

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THE present trend of opinion among scholars concerning the character of the *Odes of Solomon* seems so far to follow the usual course adopted by them in 1910-1916, that is, each one is still endeavouring to look at them from the angle of vision which is best adapted to his own way of thinking. So Dr. M. Gaster finds that the Odes are thoroughly Jewish in origin, emanating from some Israelitish mystics of the first or second century of the Christian era. He says in effect: "With the elimination of a few passages, the whole collection has a typical Jewish aspect, and is unquestionably of Jewish origin. It is thus an important contribution to ancient Jewish Hymnology. . . . The *Psalms of Solomon* now form part of the collection in which the Odes are also included, and it is an idle attempt to separate one from the other."¹ That the Odes, however, are thoroughly Christian (or at the most Judæo-Christian) in character may now be considered as established, in spite of the isolated opinion of a few dissentient critics.

The best review that has appeared of the edition of the Odes recently published under the auspices of the John Rylands Library is undoubtedly that of the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.² Dr. Bernard is a man who is to be reckoned with in any rôle he assumes in discussions, be it that of a protagonist or an antagonist. Whether one agrees with his views or not, one is bound to say that they always strike a note of originality, especially in the domain of Patristics and Liturgiology. So with regard to the puzzling vv. 8-9 of Ode XIX :—

¹ *The Jewish Guardian*, for September, 1920, p. 6.

² In *Theology*, 1920, pp. 288-98, and in *Church Quarterly Review*, 1920, pp. 163-67.

And she travailed and brought forth a son without incurring pain
 For it did not happen without purpose ;
 And she had not required a midwife
 For He (God) delivered her

Bernard refers us to a very appropriate saying of Origen and to its ultimate source, which is Isa. lxvi. 7, " Before she travailed, she brought forth ; before her pain came she was delivered of a man child ". The value of this prophetic sentence would have increased tenfold had Isaiah written it in English, because it might also have served to throw some light on v. 10 of the Ode, " And she brought forth, as a man, by (God's) will ". Unfortunately the words appearing in English as " man child " are a free translation of the Hebrew ZKR, meaning simply *male*. However that may be, Bernard's reference is certainly valuable. In his review Bernard has expressed in a rather strong language disapproval of some of our own views on the matter. With a few of the theories adopted by him we venture to disagree, and the reasons for our disagreement will be very succinctly exposed in the following lines for his consideration.

On ff. 288-89 Bernard quotes one of the rubrics of the morning office in the Syriac *Testamentum Domini* to the following effect : " Let them sing psalms, and four hymns of praise ; one by Moses, and of Solomon and of the other prophets," and adds that in this rubric a distinction is drawn between *psalms* and *hymns of praise* of Moses, and of Solomon and the prophets—i.e. between the Canonical psalter and the *ḡḡāi* of the Eastern Church, and concludes " It seems to me fairly certain that we have here a trace of the use of the Odes in public worship in the Syrian Church ". That the Odes were probably in use in the West Syrian Church we have demonstrated by a more direct evidence in our own book (p. 132), but we question Bernard's " fairly certain " opinion that the above quotation can lead us to the same conclusion.

The words used in the rites and breviaries of the Syrian Church to express psalms are *mazmōra* (very common), *tishbohta*,¹ and *Zmirta*,² and in case a distinction is drawn between psalms of David and any other psalms, the word *mazmōra* is retained exclusively for the psalter, and the word *tishbohta* (hymn of praise) is used for any

¹ See Wright's *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Syr. MSS.*, I, pp. 116, 119, etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132, etc.

other hymn ; now every psalter of the Syrian Church contains the 150 psalms of David, and from 1 to 12 *hymns of praise* among which is always one by Moses (Exod. xv. 1-21, and Deut. xxxii. 1-43), and very often one by Isaiah (xxvi. 9-19, and xliii. 10-13).¹ In the public libraries of East and West we have Syriac psalters written about a century before the date of the translation of the Syriac *Testamentum* and none of them ascribes any of the twelve *hymns of praise* that it contains to Solomon.

Further, the word used to express Odes in both the Syriac manuscripts of the Odes and Psalms of Solomon is *Zmirta*, which is never used in the terminology of the Syrian Church to express "hymn of praise" in the contrast established with the Davidic psalms. The word used in the *Testamentum Domini* to render "hymn of praise" is *tishbohta* and not *Zmirta*, and this word cannot refer to any Odes of Solomon. It is, therefore, technically improbable that the *hymns of praise* spoken of in the Syriac *Testamentum* should refer to our Odes of Solomon.

What is, then, the precise meaning of the words "and of Solomon" used in the *Testamentum*? Cooper and Maclean² have conjectured that they refer to the "Song of Songs". In favour of their opinion we may state that the book of the Salomonic "Song of Songs" is appended sometimes to the four Gospels for use in Church services,³ but against their view may be urged the fact that, to our knowledge, no extant Syriac psalter couples any pericope of the Salomonic canticles with the hymns of praise spoken of in the preceding lines. In our edition of the Odes we followed Mgr. I. E. Rahmani,⁴ the editor of the *Testamentum*, who believes that the words "and of Solomon" refer to Psalm 71, which is generally ascribed to Solomon, even in Hebrew. In carefully examining the Syriac text of the *Testamentum*⁵ I became convinced that one may say more in refutation of Bernard's interpretation, but the matter is really a digression from our present subject. A point, however, that Bernard will bear in mind is that the *Testamentum* is speaking here of "Laudatio

¹ See Wright's *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Syr. MSS.*, I, pp. 119-21, etc.

² *The Testament of Our Lord*, 1902, p. 180.

³ See Wright and Cook, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts* (of Cambridge), I, p. 5.

⁴ *Testamentum Domini Nostri*, 1899, p. 208.

⁵ P. 54 (Rahm. edit.).

Aurorae" and not of "Praecepta et canones circa ordinem baptizandum".

If there was any strong probability that the rubric found in the *Testamentum* referred to our Odes, we should gladly have availed ourselves of it to corroborate some of the views that we have expressed on liturgical points dealing with the history and interpretation of the Salomonic Odes, but the technical reasons given above militated against such a probability, and, much to our regret, we were obliged to abandon the theory now repeated by Bernard.

On p. 295 Bernard objects to our using the Romanized Syrian offices instead of Denzinger's *Ritus Orientalium* in our search for illustrations to the Odes. This, we beg to say, is a great inadvertence on the part of the Provost of Trinity College. We were speaking in our book (p. 132) of the *Breviaries* and not of the *Rites* of the Syrian Church, and surely Bernard is aware of the immense difference existing between the two. So far as the Oriental rites are concerned we read them all in their original texts, and Bernard may find traces of our reading in some pages of our book, but for special reasons of our own we preferred to read them in their original languages rather than in the translation recommended by Bernard. It will interest him to learn that from 1902-1910 I edited all the Oriental rites of one of the most important branches of the Syrian Church; surely, then, Bernard will be prepared to give me the credit of some knowledge of the Oriental rites. As to the *Breviaries* of the Syrian Churches, they are so insufficiently known in Europe that we venture to state that no Western scholar has ever attempted to read them in their totality. We had right, therefore, to expect a word of appreciation from Dr. Bernard for having perused such cumbrous but highly instructive books in order to find possible parallels illustrating the Salomonic Odes.

On p. 295 Bernard is finding fault with us for having translated the v. 3 of Ode XXXVI as follows: (The Spirit) "brought me forth before the face of the Lord; and although a Son of man, I was named the Luminary, the Son of God". Bernard prefers a translation to the effect: "I was named the illuminated one" in order to refer the sentence to the new birth of the baptized (*illuminati*). We would have been very glad to adopt Bernard's translation if the Syriac text had allowed such an interpretation; but unhappily it did

not, and so we must reject his saying: "I submit that this is a case where the old translation, which places the Ode in the mouth of the *illuminatus*, must stand". As a rule Bernard may take it for granted that, unless there are explicit indications to the contrary, the translation which we have adopted for a given verse is the only probable one that may safely be adopted without doing violence to the text.

It is not merely the translation which Bernard prefers that is at fault. His interpretation is, on his own showing, improbable. For if the Odes are not to be taxed with unorthodoxy (and he challenges us for actually doing so) (p. 295) what are we to say of an interpreter who makes a baptized Christian speak of himself in a single breath as

- (a) Son of Man,
- (b) The Luminary,
- (c) Son of God,

all of which we have shown to be proper terms for Jesus Christ to use of himself?

And again, with regard to the orthodoxy of the Odes, which Dr. Bernard wishes to safeguard (a point on which we do not take a dogmatic position), what are we to say of the orthodoxy of a baptized Christian who is made, on Bernard's theory, to declare that the *Lord possessed me from the beginning* (p. 292), that is, "I (the speaker) am the Divine Sophia"? All this certainly points to pre-Nicene theology, but did any early Christian, baptized or not, ever say such a thing?

One word more in this connection: Bernard challenges our translation of the words which we render:—

I was the most glorified among the glorious ones
And the greatest among the great ones.

For the translation we will abide by the judgment of competent Syriac scholars (and if I know any Syriac at all I can assert that the translation adopted by Bernard is improbable); for the interpretation, Bernard tells us that it relates to the spiritual rebirth of "notable Christians," i.e. of a "notable Christian," who recites the Ode in the singular, and is so convinced of his own "notability" that he equates himself with the greatness of the Most High.

We come now to the more important question of the character of the Odes and of the approximate date of their composition. Ber-

nard still clings to his old opinion that the forty-two Odes are baptismal in character, or written with an eye fixed on the sacrament of baptism, and asks us again to reconsider the simple theory that the Odes are hymns of the Catholic Church having special reference to the hopes and rejoicings of the catechumens or the newly baptized. This theory has, he adds, "the advantage of interpreting all the Odes in the same way".¹

In our edition we have conceded the possibility of some baptismal references in the Odes, but found ourselves unable to subscribe to Bernard's opinion that they were baptismal on any extended scale. We examined the whole theory *de novo*, and endeavoured to state both sides of the case without prejudice. A controversialist might imagine that we were giving our case away, and even Bernard has misunderstood our attempt at impartiality. Few scholars will deny that Ode XXIV contains allusions to baptism, and we fully agree that the dove which flew over the head of our Lord the Messiah, and the terror which overtook the abysses and all the creeping things, do refer to our Lord's presence in the waters of the Jordan. We agree also that Ode VI, which has the verse, "and they lived by the water an eternal life" is probably veneered at the close with a baptismal reference, but we cannot accept that the mysterious letter and wheel of Ode XXIII have anything to do with aspersion immersion or affusion, nor can we believe that the cosmographical Ode XVI has many things in common with the catechumens or the newly baptized. It is precisely the discontinuity of thought in the Odes that impedes us from holding that they are all directed to a single and undivided aim, and in our judgment it would be as difficult to assign a single aim to the forty-two Odes as it would be arduous to refer the first 42 Canonical psalms to a single object. The task is hopeless and would overburden the shoulders even of a Bernard. We are proud to say that we shall be the first champions of Bernard's baptismal theory if, in a contingent future, he shows himself able to interpret "all the Odes in the same way," whatever that way may be. In the meantime, we shall wait and see.

A final word must be said about the date of the composition of the Odes. It is admitted on all hands that the Odes, because of their

¹ *Church Quarterly*, p. 167.

being quoted in the *Pistis Sophia*, cannot be later than A.D. 210, and, because of their exclusively Christian colouring, cannot be ascribed to a date preceding A.D. 70 ; but to fix on a precise date within these two limits is strictly speaking impossible. If we exclude the two temple-verses of Odes IV and VI (if taken literally), the Odes are devotional hymns devoid of any historical landmarks, and the question of their date depends almost entirely on internal evidence. By a long process of investigation we came to ascribe them to a period not remote from the borders of the first century. To arrive at this conclusion we were at some pains not to omit any essential factors : we tried the argument of the style, we explored the evidence of the Biblical semi-quotations, we adduced the new factor of the Targums, and we examined in detail the somewhat archaic savour of many of the Odists' beliefs. Bernard in his review has neglected all these factors (with the exception of some words that he writes on Wisdom—Christology), and has assigned to the Odes the somewhat narrow limits of 150-170. He has not given us a shred of evidence why he thinks so. On our part we did not feel justified to be dogmatic in our conclusions, and we did not even discard the possibility that Bardaisan might have had something to do with the Odes. Would it be asking too much to beg the Provost of Trinity College always to set forth the reasons for his patronization of one opinion rather than another ?

Having set aside all the internal factors that we investigated for the fixing of an approximate date to the composition of the Odes, Bernard took for the line of his offensive the ground of the external evidence that we adduced, and this seemed to him to be totally inadequate for he writes "I hold that the attempt to place them on the borders of the first century has failed" (p. 297). In this juncture we wish to draw attention to the fact that the texts of the Fathers on which we drew for our conclusions in connection with the Odes are considered by us as illustrations to the thought of the Odist, and not necessarily as direct quotations, except one or two passages of Ephrem, which seem to be more in the domain of direct quotations. Had we believed them to be direct quotations we would have printed them in the first volume, alongside of the passages of Lactantius and *Pistis Sophia*. In our researches we did not want to leave any stone unturned in connection with the time, the approximate date, and the country of the Odist. We thought that if many uncommon ideas of

the Odes could be paralleled in the writings of a Father of the second century living, say, in Edessa or in Antioch, there would be in these two localities a somewhat firm ground on which the Odist might have walked, if not physically at least morally and intellectually. We cannot here repeat and bring under review all the evidence that is found in the last edition of the Odes, but there are two passages from Bardaisan which need some explanation, because, in our judgment, Bernard has not attached to them the importance that they deserve. The first is the queer belief attributed by Ephrem to Manichaeans and to Bardaisan (whom he calls teacher of Mani) to the effect that the sun and the moon "receive from each other".

The passages are worded in the following terms : Ode XVI, 17, "Their reception (sun and night) one from the other". Bardaisan : "They (sun and moon) receive one from the other".

In the original Syriac the above words are in every respect identical. Now the idea that the sun and the moon or the sun and the night receive from each other is not very common, and I have not come across anything like it in books written in any language, either Oriental or Occidental, that I have perused, not even in the domain of folk-lore. The existence, therefore, of such an idea in two distinct works referring to astronomical beliefs of the second century of our era is certainly remarkable, and I think we were fully justified in calling attention to it. Bernard, however, would have nothing of it because, as he says, "it is quite untrustworthy to build on so slight a verbal parallel" (p. 290). With the kind of evidence that Bernard requires we are not here concerned, but when he writes that we cannot get the above meaning without altering the text of the Odes, we will reply that this meaning is precisely the one we can get without altering the text of the Odes.

The second passage quoted in illustration of the belief of Bardaisan in relation to the Odes bears on v. 8 of Ode XXV :—

And I was covered with the covering of the Spirit,
And I removed¹ from me the raiments of skins.

It is obvious that Bernard would immediately think of the coats of skin of Gen. iii. 21, which some Fathers interpreted mystically as referring to *νέκρωσις* or liability to death which the human nature

¹ Or, thou hast removed.

incurred at the Fall, and which the baptized were supposed to lay aside at baptism. It is possible that Gen. iii. 21, might be the ultimate source of the Odist's inspiration ; we say nothing either for or against this view, except that in the mind of the writer or the translator of the Odes there was no indebtedness to any known version of the Bible (certainly not the Peshitta), where the word for *coats* is utterly different from that used in the Odes for *raiment*. Let us now examine the question with reference to some other passages of the Odes.

Ode XXI, 3, has :—

And I put off darkness
And clothed myself with light.

Ode XXIII, 12 has :—

And they who have put me on (the perfect virgin)
Shall not be injured.

The idea, therefore, of putting on light and a virgin is in harmony with the Odist's way of thinking, however strange we may consider the notion of putting on a virgin to be. Gen. iii. 21 is obviously of no avail here. To square v. 8 of Ode XXV with the above and with some other passages of the Odes we appealed to other quarters. In the doctrine of Bardaisan, as exposed by Ephrem, we found many allusions to the putting on of "raiment of skin," side by side with putting on of light and putting off of darkness, both reinforced by putting on and off of a virgin. The identity of ideas and even of phraseology between the Odist and Bardaisan was so striking that we deemed it more than useful to refer to the latter's theory on the subject of raiment of skin. Why Bernard takes objection to our reference to Bardaisan is a mystery to me ; still more inexplicable is to me his reproach in this connection that we did not quote anything to show that Bardaisan or the Manichaeans made use of the phrase "coats of skin" from Gen. iii. 21, which to him is the real point at issue (p. 296). Does he mean to say that as long as Bardaisan is not explicitly naming Gen. iii. 21 as the source of his doctrine concerning the raiment of skin, the virgin-light, the putting on and off of light and darkness, and of the virgin, his testimony is of no value in the matter ?

The above are some specimens of Bernard's recent investigations in the field of the Odes. I think that if he had started to study the subject afresh, not in the light of his ancient views on the matter, but independently, and if he had made use of the new translation, and

especially of the concordance placed at the end of our second volume, he would have been convinced that everything in the Odes does not refer to baptism. His ancient comparative apparatus of the Odes and Ephrem's baptismal hymns seems also to me to be in some places overfledged and arbitrary, and it will certainly so appear to all those who have learned Ephrem's baptismal hymns by heart from their school days. If Bernard has the courage to waive the absolutely inadmissible claim that *everything* in the Odes refers to baptism, and if he limits it to its right dimensions, viz. that the Odes contain *some* baptismal allusions, we will be able to meet him half-way, and then a great step towards the right understanding of the Odes will have been made. Will Bernard have that courage?

In a future number of the BULLETIN we propose to continue our discussion of the current criticism of the Odes by other scholars.

HAND-LIST OF ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION
OF LATIN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RY-
LANDS LIBRARY, 1908-1920.

BY ROBERT FAWTIER, AGRÉGÉ D'HISTOIRE, ANCIEN MEMBRE
DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE DE ROME, ASSISTANT KEEPER OF
MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE manuscripts dealt with in the present hand-list to the number of 149, represent the additions to the Latin section of the Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library which have been acquired since 1908.

More elaborate descriptions of the items included are in active preparation, and will furnish the subject matter of the third volume of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts* . . . of which the first two volumes, compiled by Dr. M. R. James, will be published shortly. It is feared, however, that some time must elapse before the third volume can be placed in the hands of the printer, in consequence of the constantly increasing cost of printing, and for that reason it has been thought desirable, in the meantime, to issue in the present form some brief description of the contents of the various volumes, for the information of scholars who may be interested in this department of research.

Although many of these MSS. have been acquired through the medium of the trade and other agencies, it has been possible to ascribe a great part of them to the following sources :—

(a) The library of Sir Thomas Phillipps : Nos. 188 [Ph. 445], 189 [Ph. 1245], 194 [Ph. 765], 200 [Ph. 599], 213 [Ph. 13567], 214 [Ph. 3874 and 13556], 215 [Ph. 8139], 219 [Ph. 6478], 220-221 [Ph. 8135], 222 [Ph. 6478], 223 [Ph. 21708], 227 [Ph. 15734 and 16909], 228 [Ph. 25136], 229 [Ph. 31957], 242 [Ph. 1317], 243 [Ph. 20098], 249 [Ph. 26076], 250 [Ph. 25387], 253 [Ph. 29791], 255 [Ph. 9617].

(b) The library of Mr. George Dunn, of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead, Bucks : Nos. 190, 193, 199, 203, 204, 206, 211, 216, 217.

(c) The Library of Lord Vernon : Nos. 198, 209.

(d) The royal account-books contained in Nos. 230-241 were acquired from Major Heneage, Coker Court, near Yeovil, Somerset. Evidently they came into the possession of the Heneage family through either Thomas Heneage, a vice-chamberlain of Queen Elizabeth's household and a treasurer of the Queen's chamber, or his brother, Michael Heneage, both having been at the same time Keepers of the Records in the Tower of London.

(e) The group which we designate as the *Squire MSS.* (Nos. 224, 252, 258-332) was found in the vault of a solicitor's office in Lincoln's Inn. The fact that they fall into three series of 22, 28, and 26 MSS. respectively, and that amidst many transcripts of records preserved at the time in the Tower and other repositories we find such early manuscripts as Nos. 224 and 252, seems to indicate that we have here a collection, and very likely a complete one, made by some antiquary.

The covers of seven MSS. (No. 289, 290, 291, 294, 316, 317, 322) bear the coat of arms of the Squire family, two of these add to the coat of arms the initials S.S., various other MSS. of the collection contain sundry notes concerning Scipio Squire, his house in Long Acre, his wife Elizabeth, etc. We are justified therefore in ascribing if not the whole, at least the original nucleus of this collection to Scipio Squire, a vice-chamberlain of the Treasury of the Exchequer in the time of Kings James I and Charles I, who seems to have acquired some fame as a genealogist,¹ but whose name will be remembered chiefly as that of the man through whom William Dugdale obtained access to the Domesday Book and to other records such as the Fines and the Plea-Rolls.

Scipio Squire is not well known. The *Dictionary of National Biography* does not record his name, and the little information we have been able to collect does not throw great light on his life. May we hope that the hint we are able to give will induce some scholar to

¹ He is quoted in a note on the Doddridges in *Miscellanea Genealogic et Heraldica*, ed. W. B. Bannerman, 4th series, vol. v. London, 1914, 8vo p. 263.

look into the records of the Exchequer and give us some account of his public career.

He was born in 1579,¹ very likely in Devon at King's Nympton, the son of Edmund Squire of King's Nympton, third son of George Squire of Leyhall (co. Staffs.), and Martha, second daughter of Mark Slader of Bath (co. Devon).² When eighteen years old he left his family home, and with the blessing of both his parents started for London. He entered New Inn and was a student there for four years. In 1603 he was introduced to Sir John Doddridge, one of his countrymen, and when this lawyer, whose lectures he had perhaps attended at New Inn, was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench in 1612, young Squire became his Marshal. In November, 1620, he

¹ Lat. MS. 306, fo. 2.

7 December 1597. Memorandum that the 7th of December 1597 being Thursday and in the 18th yeare of mine age I took my leave with my father and mother's blessing and came that night to Exeter whence I departed on Saterdaie the nynte of December and came to London on Fridaie the 15th of the same December and was entertained in Essex House the 18th of December followeng a°. 1597 being Mondaie and remayned there untill the 25th of November 1598 being Satterdaie. And so remained of myself till Fridaie the 16th of January 1598 [n.s. 1599] when I came to Neu Inne where I remained foure yeares and from thence, in the first yeare of King James, I was presented to Mr. Justice Doddridge with whom I remayned his marshall till he died which was in September 1628. Notwystanding I came to serve the King James about November 1620. He suffred me to enjoy the marshallship in a most free waie.

² Lat. MS. 313, fo. 140. Pedigree of the Slader family.

Mark Slader of Bath in comitatu Devonense + Katherine, daughter of Alexander Wood of Ashrudge in Nathtawton.

Edmund Le Squyer + Martha, 2nd daughter and coheire of Kings Nympton in Devon, 3rd son of Georg Squyer of Leyhall in comitatu Staffordiae Esq.

Scipio Le Squyer, + Francis, 3rd daughter of Sir Hugh eldest son, Vice-chamberlen of the Exchequer. Brawne of Newington Butis in comitatu Surreyae, Knight, and of Alescote in comitatu Gloucestriae, sister of Sir Richard Brawne.

John Squyer, eldest son, died etatis unius anni et amplius, died young.

George Squyer, 2nd son etatis 3 anni 1623, of the Inner Temple, etatis 21, an:o 1641.

Francis Squyer and Bethsheba 1st daughter 2nd daughter

entered the King's service, very likely in the Exchequer office, but retained the Marshalship of Mr. Justice Doddridge till the latter's death in 1628.¹ In 1631 we find him called before the Commissioners for Buildings in connection with a house he was erecting to dwell in in Long Acre "on the north side over against Covent Garden".² In April, 1632, the house was built and Scipio Squire moved in, at least, this was the time at which he moved his books and put them on the shelves of his new study, writing at the same time a catalogue of them, which is preserved in one of our MSS.³ The catalogue shows us that Scipio Squire was a very broad-minded man of many interests. On the shelves of his study the poets were neighbours of the philosophers and of the old chronicles as well as of divines and mathematicians. Some of the Shakespeare quartos were there, of which one (not in the catalogue) has survived, the *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, which was for some time in the Huth Library, and which bears on the title-page the name of Scipio Squire and the date, 3 May, 1609.⁴

Some time before this removal Squire had suffered a loss in the person of his wife Francis, daughter of Sir Hugh Brawne of Newington

¹ See page 188, note 1.

² *State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1631-1633.*

P. 44. Information of Edward Corbett, respecting a large building of bricks begun to be erected in Long Acre, on the north side over against Covent Garden by Scipio Squire of St. Martin's-in-the-field, upon a new foundation contrary to the proclamation (14 May, 1631).

P. 58. Certificate delivered to the Commissioners for Buildings to be presented to the Council, describing certain new buildings now in process of erection, one in Long Acre by Scipio Squire, the other . . . (25 May, 1631).

P. 75. Sir Henry Spiller, Lawrence Whitaker, and Inigo Jones, Justices of Peace for Middlesex to the Council. The building of Mr. Scipio Squire newly erected in Long Acre, he states to be built for himself to dwell in. It is built of bricks and contains 24 feet by 32, there being a piece of ground inclosed with a brick wall and planted with fruit trees containing an acre adjoining, whereby the same is made a fit habitation for a person of quality. Squire denies that it is built on a new foundation (13 June, 1631).

State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1633-1634.

P. 434. Notes by Sec. Windebank of proceedings before the Commissioners for Buildings. . . . Mr. Squire submits (27 Jan., 1634).

³ Lat. MS. 319, fol. 103-110. "A kalender of my bookes taken the 4th of Aprill, 1632, when I sett them up in my study in Longacre."

⁴ *The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the Printed Books, Manuscripts.* . . . London, 1880, 8vo, t. iv., p. 1339.

Butts (co. Surrey) and Alescott (co. Gloucester), whose books he catalogued in a separate part.¹ Of this marriage he had issues: John, who died when a little more than a year old, George, who entered the Inner Temple, and two daughters Francis and Bethsheba.² Scipio Squire married again, for we know that in August, 1656, he bought for his wife Elizabeth "a diamond knot, 60 diamonds" for £38, and some other jewels.³ That he could spend such a large sum for jewels would suffice to show that he was wealthy, even if we did not know that Sir Hugh Pollard owed to him in 1650 the sum of £2000.⁴

His name appears twice in what is published of William Dugdale's correspondence: once in 1650 in a letter of Dugdale to William Vernonn,⁵ another in 1653 in a letter of Sir Symon Archer to Dugdale.⁶ The latter, in his autobiography, has recorded the kindness showed to him by Scipio Squire, to whom he had been introduced by

¹ Lat. MS. 319, fol. 103b, col. 1. "Books that my dead wife left."

² See page 188, note 2.

³ Latin MS. 306, fol. 2. "25^o Feb., 1557. A copy of Mr. Locs' note directed to my wife."

Aug. 12, 1656. Sold to Mrs. Squire a diamond knot, 60 diamonds for 38^l, to be paid within 3 months.

Feb. 28, 1656. Added more to the penlock with the rosse 6^l.

Aug. 12, 1656. Rd. XII^l. in payment of XX^l. Eliz. Squire.

Oct. 6, 1656. Rd. part of this bill VI^l. More No. 10th 56.

⁴ *State Papers, Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, etc.*, 1643-1660. Part. II., p. 128 f.

Sir Hugh Pollard, Bart., King's Nympton, Devon.

Claimants on the Estate:—

28 Aug., 1650. Scipio le Squire begs to compound for debts of £2000, owing him by Sir H. Pollard, who has long "borne him in hand" that he would compound for his delinquency and pay petitioner his debt.

The Pollard and the Squire families were related. Cf. *The Visitation of the County of Devon in the year 1564*, ed. F. T. Colby. Exeter, 1881. 8vo, pp. 190-191.

⁵ *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. W. Hamper. London, 1827, 4to.

P. 237 (Letter LV), June 22, 1650. . . . "I perceive that you imagine your cotype of Domesday not perfect, but if you did know as much as I, you would not impute the faulte to Mr. Squyer, for I carefully examined it with him. . . ."

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 273 (Letter LXXXI), Nov. 28, 1653. . . . "You may doe well to respit the searching of Catisby's writings untill the vacation, and then if Mr. Squyer will not be reasonable, I will endeavour to have a cople out of Mr. Greene's indenture."

Mr. Roper, in giving him access to the records preserved in the Treasury of the Exchequer and of which, we may presume, Scipio Squire was the keeper.¹ We do not know when he became a vice-chamberlain of the Exchequer. The fact that in 1656 we find a Justice of Peace of the City of Westminster acting in two weddings in the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden (the church of an inhabitant of Long Acre), bearing the name of Scipio le Squire allows us to invest our antiquary with this new dignity.² This is the last information we can find concerning him. That a letter addressed to a Mr. Scipio le Squire at his house in Long Acre in June, 1682, is to be found in one of our MSS.³ can scarcely lead us to believe that our Scipio Squire was still living. We prefer to advance the theory that of his second marriage he had a son named after him.

It is difficult to state in this collection how much is Scipio Squire's and how much is derived from some other source. Some manuscripts like No. 330 are matters of serious difficulty. We shall endeavour to deal with them in the fuller catalogue; all we have attempted to do for the present is to throw some light on the original owner of a rather large section of the new accessions.

The manuscripts have been classified according to their contents. For each manuscript we have given the title, when there is one, found in the manuscript itself. When no title is given, we have assigned one to indicate their content as briefly as possible. The number [R . . .] is the accession number, the second number is the Latin MSS. number. When a further number is given in brackets [], it is the number that was assigned to the manuscript before any attempt at classification was made. These particulars have been included in case scholars who have had access to the collection already may have quoted them by their old number.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 12. "So likewise was he [W. Dugdale] introduced by the sayd Mr. Roper into the acquaintance of Mr. Scipio Squyer, then one of the vice-chamberlains of the Exchequer, through whose kindness, and favour he had accesse to that venerable Record called Domesday Booke, as also to the Fines, Plea-rolls, and sundry other records remaying in the Treasury there."

² *The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London. II. Marriages, 1653-1837*, ed. W. H. Hunt. London, 1907, 8vo. (Harleian Society, vol. xxx.), pp. 37-38.

³ Inserted in Latin MS. 319.

HOLY SCRIPTURE AND COMMENTARIES.

- [R. 45317] 184. *Biblia sacra*.
Vell. 550 ll. 117.5 × 78 mm. xivth cent. France.
- [R. 32826] 185. *Thomas Wallensis. In Isaiam liber commentarius*.
Vell. 8 ll. 203 × 139 mm. xivth cent. England.

LITURGY.

- [R. 33761] 186 [190]. *Missale Eboracense—Missale Lincolnense*.
Vell. 168 ll. 291 × 199 mm. xii-xivth cent. England.
- [R. 48224] 187. *Pontificale Romanum parvum*.
Vell. 34 ll. 155 × 108 mm. xvth cent. France.
- [R. 45191] 188. (Phillipps. 445.) *Breviarium Praemonstratense*.
Vell. 276 ll. 118 × 84 mm. xvth cent. Germany.
- [R. 45189] 189. (Phillipps. 1249.) *Collectaneum Cisterciense*.
Vell. 123 ll. 239 × 170 mm. xivth cent. France or Switzerland.
- [R. 40338] 190. *Liturgica Cisterciensia*.
*Regulae generales divinum celebrandi officium.—Collectaneum.—Forma
Baptizandi.—Directorium*.
Pap. 130 ll. 143 × 95 mm. 1652. Germany.
- [R. 32526] 191. *Horae (Sarum)*.
Vell. 133 ll. 183 × 128 mm. xvth cent. England.
Flemish school miniatures.
- [R. 45316] 192. *Beda. De tabernaculis et vasis et vestibus sacerdotis*.
Vell. 94 ll. 186 × 128 mm. xiiith cent. England.
- [R. 33826] 193. *Libellus de computo ecclesiastico*.
Inc. Cum inter cetera scolaris disciplinae studia. . . .
Imperfect at the end and bound in disorder.
Vell. 59 ll. 171 × 122 mm. xiiith cent. France (?).

THEOLOGY AND ASCETICS.

- [R. 26214] 194 [247]. (Phillipps. 765.) *Isidori opera et S. Bernardi
vita*.
A letter of Isidorus to Bp. Masona.—Isidorus. *De Summo Bono*.—
Isidorus. *Synonima*.
A collection of theological quotations.
S. Bernardi Clarevallensis vita (prima).
Vell. 143 ll. 350 × 225 mm. xivth cent. France (Abbaye de Royaumont).
- [R. 48220] 195. [S. Anselmus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus.] *Humilis
et vera confessio et devota meditatio et oratio penitentis psalmum
quingagesimum exponendo*.
[Wrongly ascribed to Hugh of St. Victor by the MS.]
Vell. 22 ll. 213 × 148 mm. xvth cent. France.
- [R. 36437] 196. *Walter Daniel. Centum sententiae et sermones*.
Vell. 45 ll. 252 × 156 mm. xii-xiiith cent. England (Abbey of Rievaulx).

- [R. 35253] 197. Petrus de Tarentasia. Super libros III et IV Sententiarum.
Vell. 285 ll. 242 × 166 mm. xivth cent. France (Amiens ?).
- [R. 44706] 198. Laurentius Opimus. Super Sententias.
Vell. and pap. 171 ll. 288 × 217 mm. xivth cent. Italy.
- [R. 38270] 199. Donatus Devotionis cum quatuor conjugationibus de regula bene viventiam.
Inc. Prol. Sine intercessione orate. Evangelica clamat historia. . . .
Text. Partes orationis quot sunt? Octo. Quae? Devotio. . . .
des. . . . A saeculo placuerunt et in saecula saeculorum laudabunt cui debetur omnis laus, etc. Explicit Donatus devotionis cum quatuor conjugationibus de regula bene vivere volentium compilatus a quodam claustrali, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo.
Vell. 131 ll. 242 × 162 mm. xvth cent. England (?).
- [R. 42406] 200. (Phillipps, 599.) Hubertinus de Casali. Arbor crucifixae vitae Jesu.
Pap. 455 ll. 288 × 199 mm. xvth cent. Low Countries.
- [R. 39882] 201. Miscellanea.
(fol. 5b) Contenta in ista volumina :
In primo septem petitiones orationis dominicae secundum Johannem Waldeby ;
Tractatus super 12 articulos fidei secundum eundem Johannem Waldeby ;
Quinque omiliae super quinque verba salutationis angelicae secundum fratrem Johannem ordinis heremitarum beati Augustini [John Waldeby] ;
Liber exemplorum magistri Jacobi de Vitriaco ;
Tractatus de vitiis et virtutibus qui dicitur scrutator viciorum et de remedio contra peccata mortalia [Robert Grosseteste] ;
Tractatus de 10 mandatis.
The MS. also contains some fragments in English (a prophecy, a medical receipt) and a short quotation of Henry de Costesey's *De utilitate psalmorum davidicorum*.
Pap. and vell. 250 ll. 212 × 145 mm. xivth cent. England.
- [R. 44790] 202. Miscellanea Franciscana.
Franciscus de Platea. Tractatus usurarum.—S. Bonaventura. Meditatio de quatuor exerciis mentalibus.—Pius et devotum exercitium divinitus edoctum de centum doloribus Christi et Virginis.—Versus de Passione Christi.—Decem precepta decalogi secundum dominum Franciscum Mayronem, O.M.—Tractatus usurarum editus per . . . Johannem de Prato, O.M.—Tractatus domini Bartoli de duobus fratribus.—Additiones factae ad idem per dominum Baldum de Perusio, de hiis quae expendit filius circa patrimonium patris.
Vell. 171 ll. 123 × 88 mm. xvth cent. Italy,

[R. 33818/1] 203. *Miscellanea.*

Alcuinus. *De virtutibus et vitiis.*—*De XII lapidibus pretiosis qui ponuntur in fundamento celestis Jerusalem.* *Inc.* Jaspis primus ponitur . . . *des* . . . Christum filium Dei et Sanctum Stephanum.—Crisostomus. *De naturis bestiarum.*—Fragments of Hugh of St. Victor's *Miscellanea.*—Liber beati Cypriani de duodecim abusioibus.—Filia Magistri.—Breviloquium bonae fortunae (St. Bonaventure).

Vell. 319 ll. 170 × 124 mm. xii-xvth cent. N. France. (Abbaye de Cambroun). xvth cent. French binding.

[R. 33818/2] 204. *Miscellanea.*

Sermones (Geoffroy Babion, Hildebert de Lavardin, Hugh of St. Victor).—Liber Sponsa.—Honoré d'Autun. *Speculum Ecclesiae.*—Magister Hugo. *De Trinitate.*—Sermones (Garnier de Rochefort)—Glosae hebraicae-latinae.—S. Salonii. *Expositio mystica in Salomonis parabola.*—A dialogue between Nature and Providence. *Inc.* Congeries in-formis . . . *des* . . . et sulphuris recognovit.—An imperfect (at the beginning) treatise on Moon, Man, and the World. *des* . . . transformabilis ex usis substantialibus.

Vell. 266 ll. 170 × 117 mm. xiii-xvth cent. N. France. (Abbaye de Cambroun). xvth cent. French binding.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

[R. 32957] 205. *Miscellanea.*

Part of a treatise on Cosmogony.—A fragment of Isidorus of Sevilla's *Etymologiae*—*De purgatorio S. Patricii.*—The legend of Adam's penance.—An explanation of the Origin of Tithes.—Summary and abstracts from Isidorus *Questiones in Genesim.*—The legend of Gerbert taken from William of Malmesbury.—Petrus Alphonsus. *Disciplina clericalis.*—Accounts of Peter de Conneville, a cannon of Salisbury for the years 1303-1310.

Vell. 64 ll. 176 × 134 mm. xiii cent. England.

[R. 33827] 206. Alexander de Villa Dei. *Doctrinale.*

Vell. 46 ll. 279 × 200 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

[R. 48219] 207. Ebrardus [of Bethune]. *Graecismus.*

Pap. 65 ll. 217 × 142 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

[R. 44247] 208. Appollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica translata per V. Rothmarum.*

Pap. 126 ll. 236 × 165 mm. xviii cent. Germany.

[R. 44707] 209. Nonius Marcellus. *De compendiosa doctrina.*

Vell. 136 ll. 287 × 213 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

[R. 33991] 210. Petrus Riga. *Aurora.*

Vell. 174 ll. 153 × 84 mm. xvth cent. France.

[R. 33825] 211. *Miscellanea.*

.Oratio Ysocratis quomodo rex se habebit penes subditos, ex graeco in latino traducta (by Leonardo Giustiniani of Venice).—Plutarchus. *De liberis educandis* (translated by Guarino of Verona).—St. Basil. *ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥΣ* (latin translation by Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo).

Vell. 42 ll. 215 × 145 mm. 1445. Theodoric the son of Nicholas Werken de Abbenbroek. Oxford (?) xvth cent. binding (covers only).

[R. 26223] 212 [251]. (Phillipps. 8099.) *Catalogus librorum totius provinciae.*

A collection of catalogues of franciscan libraries in Austria in 1647.

Pap. 229 ll. 191 × 151 mm. 1647. Austria.

HISTORY.

[R. 26226] 213 [254]. (Phillipps. 13567.) *Martinus Polonus. Chronicon.*

Vell. 79 ll. 229 × 168 mm. xivth cent. France.

[R. 26227] 214 [255]. (Phillipps. 3874. 13556.) *Itinerarium Imperatoris Alemaniae, Regis Franciae et Ricardi Regis Angliae.*

Vell. 160 ll. 178 × 112 mm. xiii-xivth cent. England.

[R. 26231] 215 [259]. (Phillipps. 8139.) *Annales Wigemorenses—Chronicon Angliae (Latin Brut).*

Vell. 70 ll. 259 × 184 mm. 1382-1437. England.

[R. 33822]. 216. *Galfridus Monumentensis. Historia regum Britanniae.*

Vell. 75 ll. 217 × 142 mm. xiii cent. England.

[R. 33824] 217. *Ranulphus Higden. Polychronicon.*

Vell. 210 ll. 263 × 203 mm. circa et ante 1431, "scriptum per fratrem Stephanum Lawles, suppriorum hujus monasterii (Chester)". England.

[R. 33823] 218. *Ranulphus Higden. Polychronicon.*

Vell. 122 ll. 299 × 200 mm. xvth cent. England.

[R. 26225] 219 [253] (Phillipps. 6478.) *Chronicon Monasterii de Melsa (Meaux, Yorks).*

Pap. 177 ll. 288 × 217 mm. 1368-1396. England.

[R. 26212] 220-221 [244-245]. (Phillipps. 8135.) *Chartularium Monasterii S. Mariae Eboracensis (St. Mary, York).*

Vell. 417 ll. 300 × 229 mm. xiv-xvth cent. England.

[R. 33810] 222. (Phillipps. 21710.) *Chartularium Prioratus de Bredon (co. Leicester).*

Vell. 77 ll. 300 × 225 mm. xiii-xvth cent. England.

[R. 26230] 223 [258]. (Phillipps. 21708.) *Chartularium Monasterii Beatae Mariae de Sartis in Wardon (co. Bedford).*

Vell. 110 ll. 223 × 168 mm. xiii-xvth cent. England.

- [R. 38978] 224. (Squire. Ser. III. vol. 10.) *Chartularium Abbatiae S. Mariae de Fontibus* (Fountains Abbey, Yorks).
(The fifth volume of the Fountain Abbey's *Chartulary* of which two are preserved in the British Museum. Cotton. Tib. C. XII and Add. 37770.)
Vell. 420 ll. 310 × 221 mm. xvth cent. England. xvth cent. binding (English).
- [R. 32959] 225. *Chartularium de Tockwith* (Yorks).
A collection of transcripts concerning the cell of Skewkirke in the township of Tockwith and the chapel of All Souls, a dependance of St. Oswald Priory, Nostell.
Pap. 32 ll. 312 × 210 mm. xvth cent. England.
- [R. 32547] 226. *Willelmus Bateman, Norwicensis Episcopus. Injunctiones ad clericos.*
Vell. 10 ll. 143 × 205 mm. 1347. England.
- [R. 26224] 227 [252]. (Phillipps. 15734-16909). *Miscellanea.*
Anonymous treatise or speech and an answer to it on the divorce of King Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon.—Letters patent of King Henry VIII reconstituting the late monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury.—Grant by King Henry VIII to the dean and chapter of Canterbury of lands, rents and pensions. May 23, 1541.—A collection of charters (1426, 1427, 1454) being a book of forms.
Pap. 69 ll. 312 × 215 mm. xvth cent. England.
- [R. 26213] 228 [246]. (Phillipps. 25136.) *Miscellanea.*
John of Kirkby's Inquest for the Honour of Richmond (Yorks).—Poetical fragments and goliardic verses.—Extracts of patristic literature.—Itineraries to Palestine.—A commentary of the prophecy ascribed to John of Bridlington.—A form-book of accountancy.—A treatise of pharmacopea (in English).
Vell. and Pap. 142 ll. 215 × 140 mm. xvth cent. England.
- [R. 26220] 229. (Phillipps. 31957.) *Wardrobe Book of Edward I.*
Wilhelmo de Meltone et Thomae de Querle, clericis, pro denariis per ipsos solutis de denariis receptis in Garderoba anno presenti vicesimo septimo diversis hominibus subscriptis, pro denariis debitis eisdem in eadem Garderoba, de compoto ejusdem Garderobae reddito ad Scaccarium de annis regni regis E. XXIV^{to}, XXV^{to}, XXVI^{to}. De quibus denariis sic solutis nulla fit mentio in libro de debitis Garderobae de eodem compoto nec etiam de eisdem sic debitis pro eo quod ante predictum compotum clausum ad Scaccarium, iidem denarii subtrahebantur penes eosdem quibus debebantur, et tamen in libris Garderobae cotidianis de tempore predicto fit mentio de eisdem denariis sic solutis et subtractis suis locis videlicet. . . .
Vell. 8 ll. 327 × 219 mm. 1298. England.
- [R. 47998] 230. *Recepta Garderobae regis Edwardi de anno regni sui vicesimo secundo : XXII : Recepta. Anno XXII^{do}.*
Vell. 6 ll. 324 × 198 mm. 1293-1294.

- [R. 47999] 231. Liber contrarotulatoris de recepta Garderobae de anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici XXVIII^o tempore domini Johannis de Droken[ford] custodis ejusdem.
Vell. 8 ll. 317 × 207 mm. 1299-1300.
- [R. 48000] 232. Fragment of an account book of the Household of King Edward I concerning advances of money and payments of wages to various persons, probably in the 30th year of his reign.
Vell. 12 ll. 326 × 214 mm. 1302 (?).
- [R. 48001] 233. A fragment of account book of the royal household concerning the expenses of William Cope buyer for the Great Kitchen in the 10th year of the reign (of Edward III ?).
Vell. 2 ll. 386 × 272 mm. xvth cent.
- [R. 48002] 234. Computus Thomae de Tettebur, clerici magnae Garderobae reginae Philippae [Philippa of Hainault, Queen of Edward III] de anno quarto.
Vell. 35 ll. 339 × 250 mm. 1330-1331.
- [R. 48003] 235. Liber necessariorum domini Johannis de Amewell, contrarotulatoris hospicii dominae reginae Philippae [Philippa of Hainault] de anno quinto.
Vell. 56 ll. 339 × 236 mm. 1331-1332.
- [R. 48004] 236. Computus Willelmi de Fferiby, cofferarii dominae Philippae [Philippa of Hainault] reginae Angliae, onerati in capite de omnibus receptis et expensis dicti hospicii pro domino Johanne Coke, thesaurario prefatae reginae, ac etiam de omnibus jocalibus, vessellamentis et omnibus aliis proficiis ad dictum hospicium quovismodo pertinentibus, a primo die Aprilis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum Angliae tricesimo primo usque primum diem Aprilis anno XXXII^o, per unum annum integrum, per contrarotulamentum domini Roberti de Greyk, contrarotulatoris ejusdem.
Vell. 12 ll. 328 × 249 mm. 1357-1358.
- [R. 48005] 237. Part of an account-book of the household of Queen Philippa of Hainault for the 31st year of Edward III, giving the following items: Nomina creditorum panetrieae.—Nomina creditorum cervisiae.—Nomina creditorum coquinae.—Nomina creditorum pulletrieae.—Nomina creditorum scutilliriae.—Nomina creditorum salseriae.—Nomina creditorum aulae et camerae.—Nomina creditorum marescalsciae.
Vell. 36 ll. 321 × 247 mm. 1357-1358.
- [R. 48006] 238. Account Book of the household (in form of a diary) of Queen Joan of Navarre (widow of King Henry IV) at Leeds Castle (Kent), from Sunday, the 17th of March, 1420, to Friday, the 7th of March, 1421.
Vell. 28 ll. 370 × 263 mm. 1420-1421.

- [R. 48007] 239. *Necessaries for the Queene Consort [Katharine of Aragon, Queen of Henry VIII] and the Princess, her daughter [Princess Mary] delivered out of the Wardrobe anno XI and XII of H. VIII.*
Two account books or parts of them bound under the same cover, the first being the accounts of Elys Hylton, the second of Richard Justice.
Pap. 20 ll. (Fol. 1-6) 310 × 216 mm. (Fol. 7-20) 347 × 245 mm. 1520.
- [R. 48008] 240. *Account Book of the receipts and expenses of the officers of the King in Calais, Guines, Arde [Ardres], Merk [Marck], Oye, Oudrewyk [Audruicq] and Bradenard [Bredenarde] for the 45th and 46th years of King Edward III.*
Vell. 14 ll. 350 × 246 mm. 1371-1372.
- [R. 48009] 241. *Compotus Hugonis Conwey, militis, thesaurarii villae et marchiae Calisiae, computus a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis nunc Henrici VII^{mi} XX^{lo} usque festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno ejusdem regis XXII^o, per unum annum integrum ut infra.*
Hunc librum continentem XXXIII folia, quarum XXIX sunt scriptae et III non sunt scriptae, liberavit Hugo Conway, miles thesaurarius villae Calisiae, Johanni Clerk et Roberto Cliff, auditoribus domini Regis, in previgilia Pentecostis, accidente XXI^{mo} die Maii Anno XXII^o regis Henrici VII^{mi} et in presentia Roberti Southwell militis, et prestitit sacramentum.
Vell. 33 ll. 483 × 333 mm. 1506.
- [R. 45953] 242. (Phillipps. 1317.) *Compotus Thesauri domini Regis parisius, de termino Nativitatis Domini anno MCCCIII^{xx} III^{lo}, videlicet a prima die Julii CCCIII^{xx} III^{lo} usque ad ultimam diem Decembris post inclusive, per thesaurarios Philippum de Sancto Petro, Reginaldum de Capella, Nicolaum de Mauregart et Nicolaum de Fontenayo, clericum Thesauri Robertum de Acheriis, ac campsozem ibi Petrum de Suesione.*
Vell. 47 ll. 310 × 264 mm. 1384. France.
- [R. 23214] 243. (Phillipps. 20098.) *Fines and Sheriff's precipes.*
A collection of 183 original precipes on vellum relating to various counties, for the greatest part from Henry VI to Elizabeth, sewn on paper leaves.
Pap. 32 ll. 335 × 204 mm.
- [R. 38460. 4/4] 244. *Hibernia. Conatia et Ultonia provinciae. Officium Clerici Pellium.*
Liber omnium reddituum, revencionum, wardorum, compositionum, casualitatum et pro licentia vendendae allae cumque subsidio, receptorum in scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex provinciis predictis per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festum Paschae anno Domini 1622, regni Regis Jacobi XX^{ti}.
Pap. 54 ll. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.

- [R. 38460 4/1] 245. Hibernia. Conatia et Ultonia provinciae.
 Officium clerici Pellium.
 Liber omnium reddituum, revencionum, wardorum, compositionum, casualitatum et auxiliorum receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex provinciis predictis per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festam sancti Michaelis Archangeli in annis videlicet Domini 1622 et Regni Regis Jacobi XX^{ti}.
 Pap. 116 ll. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.
- [R. 38460 4/2] 246. Hibernia. Lagenia et Momonia provinciae.
 Officium clerici Pellium.
 Liber omnium reddituum, revencionum, wardorum, compositionum, casualitatum et pro licentia vendendae allae, receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex provinciis predictis per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festum Paschae anno Domini 1622, regni regis Jacobi XX^{ti}.
 Pap. 101 ll. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.
- [R. 38460 4/3] 247. Hibernia. Lagenia et Momonia provincie.
 Officium clerici Pellium.
 Liber omnium reddituum, revencionum, wardorum, compositionum, casualitatum et auxiliorum receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festam sancti Michaelis Archangeli in annis videlicet Domini 1622 et regni Regis Jacobi XX^{ti}.
 Pap. 116 ll. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.
- [R. 28513] 248. Statuta Ecclesiae S. Pauli Londinensis.
 A modern transcript of MS. W.D. 20 of St. Paul's Cathedral Library, London.
 Pap. 225 ll. 332 × 203 mm. 1870. England.
- [R. 45389] 249. (Phillipps. 26076.) Saviliana.
 A book of transcripts chiefly concerning the manor of Methley (Yorks), seat of the Savile Family.
 Vell. 94 ll. 285 × 163 mm. xvith cent. England.
- [R. 45390] 250. (Phillipps. 25387.) Saviliana.
 A collection of transcripts concerning the Savile Family amongst which a biographical notice on Sir John Savile, Baron of the Exchequer.
 Vll. and pap. 102 ll. 371 × 274 mm. xvi-xvith cent. England. xvith cent. binding (English).
- [R. 32959] 251. Yorkshire deeds.
 A collection of transcripts concerning the lands of the Wilstrop Family.
 Pap. 121 ll. 312 × 210 mm. xvth-xvith cent. England.
- [R. 38961] 252. (Squire. Ser. III, vol. 11.) Statuta vetera et nova.
 Vell. 281 ll. 250 × 161 mm. xvth cent. England.
- [R. 26219] 253 [249]. (Phillipps. 29791.) Statuta Angliae.
 Vell. 51 ll. 247 × 169 mm. xiii-xivth cent. England.
- [R. 33893] 254. Statuta Angliae.
 Vell. 71 ll. 114 × 83 mm. xvth cent. England.

- [R. 45949] 255. (Phillipps. 9617.) Statuta et registrum Brevium Edwardi I.
Vell. and pap. 240 ll. 220 × 138 mm. xivth cent. England.
- [R. 37270] 256. Statuta Angliae.
Vell. 200 ll. 153 × 105 mm. xiv-xvth cent. England.
- [R. 32958] 257. Placita parlamentaria et Coronae Edwardi I.
Vell. 65 ll. 334 × 248 mm. xivth cent. England.

SQUIRE MSS.

- [R. 38903] 258. (Ser. I. vol. 1.) Buckinghamshire. Placita de quo warranto, de juris et assisis et Coronae. Anno 14. Edw. I.
Pap. 94 ll. 370 × 230 mm.
- [R. 38904] 259. (Ser. I. vol. 2.) Devonshire and Cornwall. Close Rolls. 1 John-35 H. III.
Pap. 390 ll. 348 × 220 mm.
- [R. 38905] 260. (Ser. I. vol. 3.) Devonshire and Cornwall. Fines rolls. 1 R. I-23 E. IV.
Pap. 128 ll. 352 × 215 mm.
- [R. 38906] 261. (Ser. I. vol. 4.) Devonshire. Inquisitiones post mortem et ad quod damnum. 2 R. II-10 H. V.
Pap. 184 ll. 346 × 234 mm.
- [R. 38907] 262. (Ser. I. vol. 5.) Devonshire. Inquisitiones post mortem et ad quod damnum. 1 H. VI-3. R. III.
Pap. 219 ll. 331 × 210 mm.
- [R. 38908] 263. (Ser. I. vol. 6.) Devonshire. Calendar of records. 12 H. III-2 R. III.
Pap. 97 ll. 304 × 200.
- [R. 38909] 264. (Ser. I. vol. 7.) Soca de Edulfesnane, in comitatu Essexensi, nuper dicta soca sancti Pauli, London, modo honorabilis viri Thome domini Darcy, domini Darcy de Chiche in comitatu predicta.
Supervisio Thorpe, Kyrkeby et Walton infra socam predictam inchoata et peracta per diligentem visum et perambulationem Johannis Madison, supervisoris ibidem per mandatum prefati honorabilis Thome domini Darcy, modo domini maneriorum et socae predictae, et per sacramentum tenentium maneriorum predictorum ad hoc ordinatorum et juratorum quorum nomina postea recensentur, hinc et ibidem existentium, et cum prefato supervisore quotidie per vices simul circumambulantium, incepta quinta die Augusti, anno regni dominae Elizabethae, Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae reginae, fidei defensoris, etc., tricesimo nono, annoque Domini 1597.
Pap. 524 ll. 307 × 206 mm.
- [R. 38910] 265. (Ser. I. vol. 8.) Gloucestershire. Inquisitiones post mortem et Eschaeta. 1 E. II-20 E. II.
Pap. 98 ll. 332 × 210 mm.

- [R. 38911] 266. (Ser. I. vol. 9.) Dutchy of Lancaster.
A collection of transcripts concerning the Duchy.
Pap. 121 ll. 309 × 196 mm.
- [R. 38912] 267. (Ser. I. vol. 10.) London.
A collection of transcripts of grants of lands in London by Henry VIII
1535-1540.
Pap. 286 ll. 294 × 180 mm.
- [R. 38913] 268. (Ser. I. vol. 11.) Statutes of the Savoy Hospital,
London. 1523.
Pap. 40 ll. 208 × 159 mm.
- [R. 38914] 269. (Ser. I. vol. 12.) Northamptonshire. Estreats.
31 H. III-35 E. I.
Pap. 258 ll. 306 × 200 mm.
- [R. 38915] 270. (Ser. I. vol. 13.) Northamptonshire. Eschaeta.
1 E. I-17 E. III.
Pap. 302 ll. 306 × 200 mm.
- [R. 38916] 271. (Ser. I. vol. 14.) De Forestis.
Readinge and declaration of the Authorities, liberties and offices of a
foreste made upon a certeine statute called carta de Foresta by
one Triherne (in English).
Pap. 76 ll. 304 × 203 mm.
- [R. 38917] 272. (Ser. I. vol. 15.) Oxfordshire. Inquisition (1279).
Hundreds of Ewelme, Bolenden, Wootton.
Pap. 343 ll. 310 × 200 mm.
- [R. 38918] 273. (Ser. I. vol. 16.) Oxfordshire. Inquisition (1279).
Hundreds of Poghedelowe, Bampton, Langtree, Lewknor, Chadling-
ton, Oxford "extra porta boreale".
Pap. 375 ll. 310 × 200 mm.
- [R. 38919] 274. (Ser. I. vol. 17.) Oswestry. Rentals and surveys of
the town of Oswestry.
Pap. 410 ll. 277 × 196 mm.
- [R. 38920] 275. (Ser. I. vol. 18.) Miscellanea.
Perambulationes Forestarum. 29 E. I.—Carta Monachorum de Monte
Acuto.
Pap. 225 ll. 305 × 203 mm.
- [R. 38921] 276. (Ser. I. vol. 19.) Staffordshire. Eschaeta. 1 E. III-
13 R. III.
Pap. 337 ll. 306 × 200 mm.
- [R. 38922] 277. (Ser. I. vol. 20.) Staffordshire. Visitation of Robert
Clover. 1583.
Pap. 66 ll. 340 × 222 mm.
- [R. 38923] 278. (Ser. I. vol. 21.) Surrey and Essex. Abstracts of
Grants. 27-37 H. VIII.
Pap. 277 ll. 291 × 194 mm

- [R. 38924] (Ser. I. vol. 22.) See *Records*.
- [R. 38925] 279. (Ser. II. vol. 1.) Charta antiqua tempore Johannis et Henrici III.
Charter rolls Joh.-H. III.—Inventory of some presses in a Record Office (Tower?).—Charter rolls 5 E. I.—Charter rolls 1-4 H. IV.
Pap. 487 ll. 305 × 194 mm.
- [R. 38926] 280. (Ser. II. vol. 2.) Charters. 21-35 E. I.
Pap. 363 ll. 306 × 200 mm.
- [R. 38927] 281. (Ser. II. vol. 3.) Close rolls. 14 Joh.-37 H. III.
Pap. 406 ll. 306 × 200 mm.
- [R. 38928] 282. (Ser. II. vol. 4.) Close rolls. 1-5 H. III.
Pap. 392 ll. 290 × 175 mm.
- [R. 38929] 283. (Ser. II. vol. 5.) Close rolls. 19-24 H. III.
Pap. 372 ll. 298 × 192 mm.
- [R. 38930] 284. (Ser. II. vol. 6.) Close rolls. 24-33 H. III.
Pap. 510 ll. 300 × 198 mm.
- [R. 38931] 285. (Ser. II. vol. 7.) Fines rolls. 1-12 H. III.
Pap. 345 ll. 294 × 184 mm.
- [R. 38932] 286. (Ser. II. vol. 8.) Fines rolls. 13-20 H. III.
Pap. 342 ll. 299 × 188 mm.
- [R. 38933] 287. (Ser. II. vol. 9.) Dorsetshire, Suffolk, Berkshire, Northamptonshire. Eschaeta. H. III-R. II.
Pap. 591 ll. 311 × 208 mm.
- [R. 38934] 288. (Ser. II. vol. 10.) Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Leicestershire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Worcestershire. Eschaeta. H. III-R. III.
Pap. 374 ll. 311 × 209 mm.
- [R. 38935] 289. (Ser. II. vol. 11.) Abstracts of patents. 3 Joh.-20 E. II.
Pap. 202 ll. 340 × 210 mm.
- [R. 38936] 290. (Ser. II. vol. 12.) Abstracts of patents. 1 E. III-51 E. III.
Pap. 196 ll. 347 × 219 mm.
- [R. 38937] 291. (Ser. II. vol. 13.) Placita ad parlamentum 18-30 E. I.—Abstracts of patents 1 R. II-38 H. VI.
Pap. 278 ll. 357 × 219 mm.
- [R. 38938] 292. (Ser. II. vol. 14.) Patent rolls. 32 H. VIII.
Pap. 427 ll. 305 × 201 mm.
- [R. 38939] 293. (Ser. II. vol. 15.) Patent rolls. 29, 30, 32, 34 H. VIII.
Pap. 545 ll. 308 × 192 mm.

- [R. 38940] 294. (Ser. II. vol. 16.) *Placita coram Rege, coram concilio Regis et de Banco.* 3-56 H. III.
Pap. 158 ll. 350 × 224 mm.
- [R. 38941] 295. (Ser. II. vol. 17.) *Placita parlamentaria.* 18-23 E. I.
Pap. 118 ll. 368 × 235 mm.
- [R. 38942] 296. (Ser. II. vol. 18.) *Placita parlamentaria.* 18-35 E. I.
Pap. 390 ll. 302 × 195 mm.
- [R. 38943] 297. (Ser. II. vol. 19.) *Miscellanea.*
Ex rotulo ordinationum 5 E. II.—Ex rotulo parlamenti 8 E. II.—
Placita parlamentaria 8 E. II.—Memoranda de parlamento
9 E. II.—Processus Hugonis de Courtney. 8 E. I.—De parla-
mento regis, 9 E. I.
Pap. 272 ll. 308 × 205 mm.
- [R. 38944] 298. (Ser. II. vol. 20.) *Rotuli parlamenti.* 1-5 R. II.
Pap. 345 ll. 284 × 185 mm.
- [R. 38945] 299. (Ser. II. vol. 21.) *Rotuli parlamenti.* 14-21 R. II.
Pap. 273 ll. 290 × 184 mm.
- [R. 38946] 300. (Ser. II. vol. 22.) *Law precedents being placita.*
E. I-R. II.
Pap. 303 ll. 308 × 204 mm.
- [R. 38947] 301. (Ser. II. vol. 23.) *Rotuli parlamenti.* 5 H. V.-
6 H. VI.
Pap. 467 ll. 305 × 196 mm.
- [R. 38948] 302. (Ser. II. vol. 24.) *Abstracts from patent rolls and the
red book of Exchequer.* 3 H. III-17 R. II.
Pap. 136 ll. 317 × 212 mm.
(Ser. II. vol. 25.) *Missing, perhaps to identify with MS. 314 or
315.*
- [R. 38949] 303. (Ser. II. vol. 26.) *Placita coram Rege,* 1-14 E. I.
Pap. 213 ll. 310 × 203 mm
- [R. 38950] 304. (Ser. II. vol. 27.) *Placita de Banco.* 9-34 E. I.
Pap. 189 ll. 342 × 220 mm.
- [R. 38951] 305. (Ser. II. vol. 28.) *Placita coram Rege.* 4-26 E. II.
Pap. 335 ll. 315 × 205 mm.
- [R. 38952] 306. (Ser. III. vol. 1.) *Miscellanea.*
A note of the books in the cheste at Westminster.—*De partitione
Angliae per comitatus et domibus religionis in eis contentis.—
Modus tenendi parlamentum.*
Pap. 117 ll. 348 × 225 mm.
- [R. 38953] 307. (Ser. III. vol. 2.) *Knight fees.* 1 R. III-4 James I.
Pap. 139 ll. 310 × 204 mm.

- [R. 38954] 308. (Ser. III. vol. 3.) *Miscellanea.*
Gervasii Tilberiensis de necessariis Scaccarii observationibus dialogus.
 —[Sir John Doddridge] The severall opinions of sundry antiquaries touching the antiquitie, power, order, state, manner, persons and proceedinges of the High Court of Parliament of England (in English).—*De baronibus in parlamento* (collected for the Lords of the Upper House of Parliament 20 Jacobi).—*England's Epinomis . . .* by John Selden.—*Modus tenendi parlamentum.*—*Leges Henrici I transcriptae ex libro rubro Scaccarii, etc.*
 Pap. 234 ll. 307 × 212 mm.
- [R. 38955] 309. (Ser. III. vol. 4.) *Liber omnium feodorum militum in comitatu Norfolcensi.—Knight fees.* 2-13 E. I.
 Pap. 89 ll. 286 × 215 mm.
- [R. 38956] 310. (Ser. III. vol. 5.) *Com. Derby. Tenentes feoda militum et de quibus ipsi tenent.*
 Pap. 55 ll. 425 × 275 mm.
- [R. 38957] 311. (Ser. III. vol. 6.) *Nomina militum, comitatum, civitatum, burgensium burgorum et villarum, et baronum quinque portuum, electorum ad serviendum in Parlamento incipiendo et tenendo apud civitatem Westmonasterii, decimo nono die Maii anno regni regis domini Jacobi secundi primo, annoque Domini 1685.*
 Pap. 34 ll. 329 × 219 mm.
- [R. 38958] 312. (Ser. III. vol. 7.) *Miscellanea Genealogica.*
 Pap. 276 ll. 355 × 226 mm.
- [R. 38959] 313. (Ser. III. vol. 8.) *Ancient pedigrees.*
 Pap. 182 ll. 465 × 367 mm.
- [R. 38960] 314. (Ser. III. vol. 9.) *Rights and Jurisdictions of London.*
 Pap. 421 ll. 310 × 202 mm.
 (Ser. III. vol. 10.) See MS. 221.
 (Ser. III. vol. 11.) See MS. 237.
- [R. 38962] 315. (Ser. III. vol. 12.) *A course of lectures on the Laws of the Forest (in law-French).*
 Pap. 165 ll. 373 × 268 mm.
- [R. 38963] 316. (Ser. III. vol. 13.) *Abstracts from parliamentary rolls. 49 H. III-5 H. VI.*
 Pap. 242 ll. 375 × 225 mm.
- [R. 38964] 317. (Ser. III. vol. 14.) *Placita coram justiciis itinerantibus H. III, E. I, E. II.—Patent rolls E. IV.*
 Pap. 341 ll. 346 × 223 mm.
- [R. 38965] 318. (Ser. III. vol. 15.) *Miscellanea. Abstracts from various charters, rolls and MSS. concerning the history of England.*
 Pap. 231 ll. 292 × 187 mm.
- [R. 38966] 319. (Ser. III. vol. 16.) *Miscellanea.*
Abstracts from various charters, rolls and MSS. concerning the history of England. Catalogue of the library of Mr. Scipio Squire.
 Pap. 143 ll. 349 × 222 mm.

- [R. 38967] 320. (Ser. III. vol. 17.) *Miscellanea.*
 Abstracts of various records concerning Wales, Cornwall and the county of Chester.
 Pap. 38 ll. 342 × 198 mm.
- [R. 38968] 321. (Ser. III. vol. 18.) *Earls and Barons from 1066 to 1336.—Dukes, Earls and Barons from 1336 to 1514.*
 Pap. 174 ll. 280 × 185 mm.
- [R. 38969] 322. (Ser. III. vol. 19.) *Calendar of Placita coram Rege et de Banco, H. III-H. V.—Calendar of the records in the receipt of the Exchequer.*
 Pap. 141 ll. 346 × 220 mm.
- [R. 38970] 323. (Ser. III. vol. 20.) *A repertory of the records in the custody of the chamberlaynes of the Receipt in the Pallace Treasury.*
 Pap. 41 ll. 310 × 195 mm.
- [R. 38971] 324. (Ser. III. vol. 21.) *A book of Offices as well of His Majesties courtes of records as of His Highnes most honourable househoule, the counsell of the North, of Wales and the Marches, the Admiraltye, the Armorye and the Minte, His Majesties Townes of Warres, Castles, Bulwarkes and fortresses, the Islandes, His Majesties hewses, parkes, forrests and chases with the havens and Harbours of England collected in 1603.*
 Pap. 47 ll. 287 × 197 mm.
- [R. 38972] 325. (Ser. III. vol. 22.) *A generall collection of all the offices of Englande with their fees and allowances in the Queenes [Elizabeth] gift. . . .*
 Pap. 52 ll. 213 × 165 mm.
- [R. 38973] 326. (Ser. III. vol. 23.) *Questions of Lawe and affaires of state concernyng the Kingdome of Ireland.*
 Pap. 138 ll. 297 × 200 mm.
- [R. 38974] 327. (Ser. III. vol. 24.) *Dominium maris Britannici assertum ex archiviis, historiis ac municipalibus Regni legibus, per D. Johannem de Burgo, equitem auratum et archiviorum Regni in Turri Londinensi custodem, etc.*
 Pap. 38 ll. 309 × 202 mm.
 (Ser. III. vol. 25.) *Missing.* Very likely one of the four MSS. No. 329-332.
- [R. 38975] 328. (Ser. III. Vol. 26.) *Miscellanea.*
 Transcripts of some rolls.—Abstracts of Littleton, Donat, etc.—
 Fragments of a correspondence of C. Parkin concerning his History of the Antiquities of the county of Norfolk.—
 This is the true coppie taken by Sr Symon Dewes out of antient records in the Tower of London of all the Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons, Knights and gentlemen that were with King Henry the third in France, with King Edward the second at the

siege of Caerlaverock in Scotland, and with King Henry the fifth at the siege of Roan in France with all their coats of arms.

A bundle of 13 quires of various sizes.

- [R. 38976] 329. Coats of arms of the mayors and sheriffs of London from 1190 to 1659.

Pap. 63 ll. 323 × 199 mm.

- [R. 38977] 330. Honours magazine or a briefe chronologie of the ancient armes of the Brittaines, Danes, Saxons and Norman Kings with their different supporters and badges of Regality as also of severall degrees of all the nobility of this nation . . . with some observations of their severall places and offices of Honor and Trust and what else is most remarkeable concerning them.

Pap. 219 ll. 387 × 267 mm.

- [R. 38979] 331. Rotulus parlamenti tenti apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quinto Ffebruarii anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum XXIII.

Pap. (not bound). 204 ll. 328 × 211 mm.

- [R. 38980] 332. Parliamentary rolls. 1, 12, 13, 14, E. IV.

Pap. (not bound). 424 ll. 330 × 210 mm.

SOME NOTES ON THE PREPARATION AND USE
OF THE GENERAL CATALOGUE OF PRINTED
BOOKS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY GUTHRIE VINE, M.A., SUB-LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN
RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THERE is a more adequate recognition to-day of the difficulties incidental to the construction of a detailed catalogue of a large collection than prevailed seventy years ago when the Report of the "Commissioners appointed to inquire into the constitution and management of the British Museum" was published. This is due in part no doubt to the appearance of that monument of scholarship—the catalogue of the printed books in this national institution. The construction of that vast guide to the world of literature, which owes its inception primarily to Sir Anthony Panizzi, provided a visible demonstration of the scope and effective powers of a catalogue. No catalogue having any pretensions to importance published subsequently can fail to be under great obligations to that of the British Museum, whether the debt be openly admitted or not. The whole of the long series of printed volumes, comprising that great bibliographical work, was already published, when in 1900 the preparation of the supplementary catalogue of the John Rylands Library was on the point of commencement. The original author catalogue of this Library was issued in three volumes in 1899. New works were constantly being added to the Library for which fresh entries were required. With the whole of the British Museum catalogue now available it became a question whether the style of cataloguing should not be approximated more closely than had been possible hitherto to the methods adopted in that authoritative work. It was decided—and the decision has never been regretted—that the British Museum catalogue should henceforth be the standard for the compilation of our own catalogue, and that the code of rules governing its construction should, with certain

exceptions and modifications, form the guide to our own practice. The catalogue of the British Museum, together with the code of rules, has not always being exempt from criticism, but it remains immeasurably superior to any other yet published. Cataloguing is a subject of which it may truly be said : " *La critique est aisée, et l'art est difficile* ".

Reference has already been made to the difficulties attendant on the compilation of the catalogue of any great library. It may be that some indications of a few of more frequent occurrence may be welcome. The catalogue of any important collection will be used by specialists in every branch of knowledge. It must be adequate therefore to meet the requirements of each. The bibliographical information must be exact, whilst, subject to the limitations inherent in its form, a catalogue cannot ignore the latest views on any question of disputed authorship. The extent of the bibliographical details supplied will vary according to circumstances, but in any case the information must be unimpeachable in point of accuracy.

A few examples drawn from the catalogue may serve to illustrate the method of its compilation, and so prove useful to readers in consulting it. In this library, the supplementary catalogue is in two portions : (1) authors, (2) subjects. This arrangement has been preferred to that style of catalogue known as the dictionary catalogue (in which both are combined in a single alphabet) in the belief that the dual form is more intelligible to the average reader. We shall draw attention then first to a few points connected with the author catalogue, and afterwards touch briefly on the subject index.

The primary rule is that a book is entered under the name of the author (or authors), or some substitute for the same. Under this apparently simple rule arise numberless questions which are of almost daily occurrence, occasioned for the most part by uncertainty as to what constitutes the correct form of the name for cataloguing purposes. In the case of writers of the later middle ages, for instance, it is a constant source of perplexity whether a man has a real surname or only attaches an appellative of some kind to his Christian name for purposes of distinction. Robertus Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and John de Sandale, Bishop of Winchester, might be cited as examples. In the case of well-known people it is comparatively easy to decide the question, but in dealing with persons less notable there is often so little

definite information available that one is frequently at a loss as to the correct course to be pursued. Of a similar kind are the difficulties arising in the identification of the early saints, such as may be mentioned in a series like the *Studi e Testi* of the Vatican Library. It must be borne in mind that the writer of an article may hesitate to express an opinion on the identity of a particular martyr and is able to state his reasons at length for such indecision. The compiler of a catalogue is prevented by the form of it from any discussion of the question; his opinion has to be expressed in the definite formula of a heading which gives no indication of the reasons that have led to its adoption. Other individuals of the same name may appear in the catalogue, or the same person may be referred to under different forms of the name. One has merely to suggest these possibilities for it to be seen how many and varied are the problems that may arise in this way alone.

As we have spoken of the saints, it may be useful to point out that saints, popes, sovereigns, and princes of ruling houses are entered under their Christian name, or forename, as well as members of religious orders who by the constitution of the order discard their secular names.

FRANCIS [Xavier] *Saint*. The life and letters of St. Francis Xavier. By Henry James Coleridge. . . . Third edition. [Quarterly Series 4]. London, 1902. 2 vols. 8vo.

LOUIS I [de Bourbon] *Prince de Condé*. A Declaration made by the prince of Conde, for to shew and declare the causes, that haue constrained him to take vpon him the defence of the Kinges authoritie of the gouvernement of the Queene, and of the quietnes of this Realme. . . . Printed at London by Roulande Hall, for Edwarde Sutton. . . . 1562. 8vo.

In cases where an author wishes for some reason or other to disguise his identity, and consequently publishes his work under a pseudonym, or under initials, the principal entry will be found under the pseudonym or initials, whilst a cross reference under the author's name when it is known, will direct the reader to the heading where full information about the book is to be obtained. Such vague designations as Gentleman of Cambridge, Clergyman of the Church of England, Lady, etc., are not regarded as proper pseudonyms, and books on

the title page of which the author is so described are treated as anonymous.

HOPE (Laurence) *pseud.* [i.e. Adela Florence Nicolson]. Stars of the desert. [New impression.] London, [1915]. 8vo.

S. N. A concordance to the Holy Scriptures; together with the books of the Apocrypha. . . . By S. N. [i.e. Samuel Newman]. The fourth edition. . . . Cambridge, 1698. Fol.

Anonymous books have been responsible for more difficulties, probably, both to the compilers of catalogues and to their users, than any other form of literature. The treatment of them has varied considerably in different libraries; in their endeavours to anticipate the ideas of readers as to the style of heading which should be adopted, librarians have sacrificed consistency of method with a resulting complexity that has only been, after all, productive of bewilderment in the public. In framing the rules on this subject for the John Rylands Library, it was decided to have a very limited number, and that these should be of as natural a character as possible.

One can divide anonymous books conveniently into two main classes: (a) those relating to a person, or place, mentioned on the title page; (b) all books not relating to a person, or place.

Books belonging to the first class are entered under the name of the person, or place, mentioned on the title page. For all others the first word of the title is taken as the heading if it be a substantive; if it should be an adjective, the first substantive is combined with it.

On one important point our definition of an anonymous book differs from that of the British Museum and some other authorities. If the author's name does not appear on the title page proper, or some secondary title page, the volume is regarded as anonymous as far as the selection of the heading for the main entry is concerned, even though the preface may happen to be signed by the writer. Experience has, we believe, abundantly justified this definition of the term.

HUGH [*of Avalon*] *Saint, Bishop of Lincoln.* Metrical life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln. . . . Printed from ms. copies in the British Museum and Bodleian libraries. Edited . . . by . . . J. F. Dimock. . . . Lincoln, 1860. 8vo.

LUCKNOW. The defence of Lucknow. A diary recording the daily events during the siege of the European residency, from

31st May to 25th September, 1857. By a staff officer [i.e. Thomas Fourness Wilson]. With a plan of the residency. *London*, 1858. 8vo.

ASIA. Memoirs of the late war in Asia. With a narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings of our officers and soldiers; by an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment [i.e. William Thomson]. *London*, 1788. 2 vols. 8vo.

DISCOURSE. A discourse against transubstantiation. The fifth edition. [By John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury.] *London*, 1685. 4to.

NATURAL HISTORY. Natural history of enthusiasm. . . . Fifth edition. [By Isaac Taylor.] *London*, 1831. 8vo.

Whilst the compiler of a catalogue is expected to be familiar with the latest views on questions of authorship, it is obvious that the catalogue cannot give endorsement to such opinions unless the evidence appears to be more or less conclusive. The practice of our catalogue is threefold in this respect, according as the evidence for the authorship of an anonymous book is regarded as (1) satisfactory, (2) probable, or (3) a less tenable opinion.

These varying degrees of assent accorded by the catalogue may be exhibited by the following entries :—

(1) MARIANNE. *La belle Marianne*; a tale of truth and woe. [By Thomas Frognall Dibdin.] *London*, 1824. 8vo.

(2) QUINZE JOIES. *Les quinze joies de mariage*. [By Antoine de La Sale ?] *Paris*, 1837. 16mo.

In this case the authorship is less certain than in the preceding one, although highly probable.

(3) PEDLAR. *The pedlar's prophecy*. 1595. [Attributed to Robert Wilson.] [The Malone Society Reprints.] [*Oxford printed.*] 1914. 4to.

In this instance the ascription of authorship to R. Wilson may be regarded as more doubtful than in the previous case.

The question of corporate authorship is one on which a few observations may be useful. Public bodies and associations are considered as the authors of works issued in their name, or under their authority. By this rule the laws and other official documents of a country are catalogued under the name of the country, the bye-laws of

a city under the name of the city, the proceedings of a society under the title of the society, the calendar of a university under the designation of the university. This rule includes too such cases as parish registers, which are entered under the name of the town or village to which they belong.

PORTUGAL. [Laws and other Public Documents.] *Portugaliae monumenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintum decimum iussu Academiae scientiarum Olisiponensis edita. Olisiponc, 1856 [-97]. 2 vols. Fol.*

SOUTHAMPTON. The charters of the borough of Southampton. Edited . . . by H. W. Gidden. [Southampton Record Society.] *Southampton, 1909-10. 2 vols. 8vo.*

BOLNEY, Sussex. The parish registers of Bolney, Sussex. 1541-1812. Edited by Edward Huth. [Sussex Record Society, 15.] (London, 1912.) 8vo.

Under the name of any of the greater countries, or of a large city, there will naturally be a large assemblage of entries. It becomes necessary in such cases to provide minute subdivisions to render the heading easier to consult. It may be useful to give the main divisions for the heading England in the author catalogue. This serves as a model for all the other countries, with such variations as may be found necessary. It should be added that there are numerous subdivisions to each of the divisions here given. The division Appendix is reserved for collections of works and anonymous books which are not of an official character. For the arrangement of the heading England it is only fitting that our indebtedness to the catalogue of the British Museum should be acknowledged.

Laws and Statutes.

Year Books.

Proclamations.

Treaties and Negotiations with Foreign Powers.

Solemn League and Covenant, 1643.

Miscellaneous Public Documents.

Parliament.

Departments of State and Official Bodies.

Churches and Religious Bodies.

Miscellaneous Subheadings.

. Appendix.

Numerous treatises of the greatest importance have never appeared in separate volumes ; they are only to be found in some great collection where they will lie unknown and inaccessible unless their existence is revealed through the agency of the catalogue by means of analytical entries. The extent to which the practice of analysis is carried out may well form the test of the quality of a catalogue. It may be accepted as a general principle that all works of the nature of a Thesaurus require such treatment ; similarly, all volumes composed of a number of papers, essays, etc., will need to be analysed. Analysis will be found in author and subject catalogue alike. Such a set of volumes as the " *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* " of Gallandius will not be of much use to the ordinary reader who may want a treatise of some ecclesiastical writer until separate slips have been made and inserted in the catalogue for each author whose work appears in the collection. Likewise, in the subject catalogue the composite volumes of an essayist such as M. Maeterlinck will need entries under each separate topic if readers are not to miss many valuable articles through the failure of the catalogue to divulge their existence.

We give below two examples of analytical entries (*a*) from the author catalogue, (*b*) from the subject catalogue.

(*a*) SCALA (Rudolf von).

The Greeks after Alexander the Great.—*See* Helmolt (H. F.).
The world's history : a survey of man's record. Edited by . . .
H. F. Helmolt. . . . With plates and maps. Vol. 5, pp.
1-119. 1907. *London*, 1901-07. 8 vols. 8vo.

(*b*) PALÆOGRAPHY ; Treatises ; English.

Shakespeare (W.) [Appendix.—Particular Topics.—Times of Shakespeare.] Shakespeare's England. An account of the life & manners of his age. [Vol. 1, pp. 284-310. Handwriting. By Sir E. M. Thompson. . . .] [With plates and illustrations.]
Oxford, 1916 2 vols. 8vo.

The problems of the subject portion of the catalogue are entirely distinct in character from those of the author part. The latter deals with biographical and bibliographical questions—authorship, title, format, editions, etc. The subject index is concerned with the literary contents of a book and its intrinsic qualities. The headings of the author catalogue are decided to a great extent by the title of a work. Anyone

who should attempt to rely merely on the titles of books in constructing the subject index would simply be misleading readers at every turn.

The headings of the subject index are arranged like those of the author catalogue in alphabetical sequence. In many cases they represent the result of prolonged and careful consideration. Alternative forms of heading have been duly examined, and the one which seemed the most correct, or the most inclusive, as the case may seem to require, has at length been selected. In all such instances cross references are provided from the forms which have been rejected to the one eventually chosen, as in analogous cases occurring in the author catalogue.

In some catalogues the rule of specific entry is followed, that is to say, the term of smallest denomination is selected on principle as the heading. In this library no such rule has been adopted. Where it has seemed advisable, there has been no hesitation in admitting class entry. In the subject catalogue utility outweighs all other considerations, but a knowledge of what constitutes utility is only gained by experience based on a wide knowledge of the character of the literature in any given subject. One or two examples will help to illustrate this point more clearly :—

(a) Architecture : Particular Topics : Towers.

(b) Dead, Disposal of : Sepulchral Monuments and Inscriptions :
Brasses.

(c) Orders and Ordination : Episcopacy.

(d) Psychology : Particular Topics : Laughter.

Some headings, such as Philosophy and (General) Theology, which are of great size on account of the number of entries under them, do not readily admit of division, except chronologically. This form of arrangement, although it partakes necessarily of the arbitrariness of all historical divisions, has been found to answer very satisfactorily in such cases, and may be defended on the grounds that each age has its own methods of stating problems which it solves in its own way.

Many other points will naturally suggest themselves arising out of the foregoing remarks to which no reference has been made. This article does not profess to treat exhaustively any of the questions which have been raised, much less to provide the semblance of a code of rules. The writer, however, will be well content if it should prove helpful to readers desirous of understanding a little better the methods and structure of the catalogue in the John Rylands Library.

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COMINCIA LA COMEDIA DI
dante allegghieri di fiorenze nella quale tracta
delle pene et punitioni de uitii et demeriti
et premii delle uirtu: Capitolo primo della
prima parte de questo libro loquale se chiama
inferno: nel quale l'autore fa prohemio ad
tutto el tractato del libro:.

NEL mezzo del camin di rã uita
mi trouai pãna selua oscura
che la diricta uia era smarrita
Et quanto adir q̃lera cosa dura
esta selua seluagia aspra e forte
che nel pensier renoua la paura

Tante amara che pocho piu morte
ma per tractar del ben chio uitrouai
diro dellatre cose chi uo scorte

Inon so ben ridir come uentrai
tantera pien di sonno in su quel punto
che la uerace uia abandonai

Ma poi che fui appie dum colle gionto
ladoue terminaua quella ualle
che mauea di paura el cor compuncto

Guardai in alto et uide le sue spalle
uestite gia deraggi del pianeta
che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle

Allor fu la paura un pocho cheta
che nellaco del cor mera durata
la nocte chio passi contanta pieta.

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
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VOL. 6

JULY, 1921

No. 3

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made for the delivery of the following lectures during the ensuing session of 1921-22. This is the twentieth annual series of public lectures to be so arranged.

FORTH-
COMING
PUBLIC
LEC-
TURES.

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 12th October, 1921. "Autobiography in the 'Divina Commedia'." By Edmund G. Gardner, Litt.D., Professor of Italian Studies in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th November, 1921. "The Study of Mediæval Chronicles." By T. F. Tout, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th December, 1921. "The Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic." By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th January, 1922. "The Portrait of a Roman Gentleman from Livy." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th February, 1922. "Lessing." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th March, 1922. "Euripides' 'Alcestis': an Interpretative Recital." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 15th November, 1921. "House Moving: a Tract for the Times." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Tuesday, 17th January, 1922. "Consider the Lilies." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

Tuesday, 14th February, 1922. "The Reversal of Erroneous World-Judgments." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

Tuesday, 7th March, 1922. "Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' and its Traditional Misinterpretation." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Since the publication of our last report of progress regarding the Louvain Library Scheme of Reconstruction, which appeared in January last, a further consignment of 2363 volumes has been dispatched, making an aggregate total of 38,002 volumes actually transferred to Louvain, to the great joy and relief of the Rector, the Staff, and the Students of the University. In their name, we take this opportunity of again thanking the donors, whose names are included in the accompanying list, for their generous and welcome gifts which have made possible the achievement of this result.

(The figures in brackets represent the number of volumes contributed.)

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LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
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We are glad to be able to announce that the foundation stone of the new library building, which is to replace the one so wantonly destroyed by the Germans in 1914, is to be laid on Thursday, the 28th of July, in the presence of His Majesty, the King of the Belgians, and Monsieur Raymond Poincaré, Ex-President of the French Republic.

FOUNDA-
TION
STONE
OF NEW
LIBRARY
TO BE
LAID.

The writer hopes to assist at this interesting ceremony, as the representative, not only of the Governors of the John Rylands Library, but also of the many contributors in all parts of the world, who so

readily co-operated with us in our efforts to assist the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war. We shall take the opportunity of congratulating the Rector, Monsignor Ladeuze, in their name, upon what we venture to describe as "this happy issue out of all their afflictions," and also of expressing to him the hope that the future history of the University may be still richer and more glorious than its memorable past.

Singularly appropriate, and even prophetic, were the words which stood inscribed over the principal entrance to the University Halls: "SAPIENTIA ÆDIFICAVIT SIBI DOMUM," and it is to be hoped that the same words embodying as they do a confession of the faith which sustained our friends throughout the years of their exile, will be given a prominent place over the main portal of the new library.

The six-hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante, which took place at Ravenna on the 14th September, 1321, is being commemorated this year, with appropriate veneration throughout the entire world of letters. In Manchester, the commemoration has taken the form of an exhibition of the poet's work in the main reading-room of this library. It is intended to serve the two-fold purpose of rendering homage to the most eminent of Italy's sons, and at the same time of directing attention to the wealth of material which is here available for the study of his immortal works, comprising as it does five manuscripts and upwards of 6000 printed volumes.

COM-
MEMO-
RATION
OF
DANTE'S
DEATH
IN 1321.

Of the five manuscripts, three are exhibited: a copy of the "Canzoni" written in the latter part of the fourteenth century, which is ornamented with large initial letters and illuminated borders enclosing portraits of Dante and his innamorata; a copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the date 1416, containing a number of variants from the common text, made by B. Landi de Landis, of Prato; and a sixteenth century copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the "Credo" and other poems at the end, which at one time was in the possession of Cavaliere S. Kirkup.

Of the printed editions there are the three earliest folios of the "Divina Commedia," printed in the same year (1472) at Foligno, Mantua, and Jesi respectively. The only serious gap in the collection is the fourth folio, undated, which issued from the press of Francesco del

Tuppo, at Naples, between the years 1473 and 1475. This edition is of extreme rarity, not more than three or four copies having survived. With this exception, the entire range of the early and the principal critical editions of the text of Dante's poem is represented, those of outstanding importance being included in the exhibition.

Of the first illustrated edition, which has also the distinction of being the only one printed in Florence during the fifteenth century, there are two copies shown, one containing twenty of the engravings, said to have been executed by Baccio Baldini after Botticelli. Of the Venetian illustrated editions there is a full range commencing with that of March, 1491. On many of the illustrations of this edition the same small "b" is found, which occurs in several other Venetian books, including the famous "Hypnerotomachia," printed by Aldus in 1499, and which may stand for the name of the designer, the engraver, or for the workshop in which they were engraved.

Amongst the many other editions exhibited is that printed at Venice in 1555, which has the distinction of being the first edition in which the epithet "Divina" is applied to the "Commedia". Dante himself was spoken of as the "divino poeta Fiorentino," long before the epithet "divina" was applied to his poem.

One of the outstanding volumes in the exhibition is the monumental folio edition of the entire "Opere" of Dante, printed on vellum at the Ashendene Press of Mr. St. John Hornby, in 1909.

The occasion was further marked by the holding of a combined meeting of the British-Italian League and the Manchester Dante Society, in the conference room of the Library, on Wednesday the 20th of April. In the unavoidable absence of the President (the Bishop of Salford) Professor C. H. Herford presided over a gathering of upwards of a hundred Dante enthusiasts, and an address was given by the Librarian on "Dante as viewed from the bibliographer's standpoint".

The exhibition will remain on view until the beginning of September, when it will be replaced by one of a more general character, with the object of conveying some idea of the range and importance of the library's collections of manuscripts and printed books.

It should be stated, however, that the primary purpose of the projected exhibition is to signalize the visit to the library of members of the Library Association, on the occasion of the holding of their annual conference in Manchester.

Twenty-two years have elapsed since the Library Association last held its conference in this city, in September, 1899, just a month before the formal dedication of this library to public use, which took place on the 6th of October. At the time it was greatly regretted that the building could not be ready for opening until a month after the Library Association's annual meeting had taken place.

LIBRARY
ASSOCIA-
TION
CONFER-
ENCE.

It is true that many members of the Association honoured us by assisting at the dedication ceremony, but the Association as a body has not hitherto been formally welcomed to the library.

Arrangements are being made, however, for members of the conference to be received by the Chairman (Sir Henry Miers, F.R.S.) and the Governors of the Library, during the afternoon of Tuesday, the 13th of September, when every facility will be given to them for inspecting the building and its equipment, including the recently erected wing with its enamelled steel stack, and also the special exhibition which is to be arranged for the occasion.

In the present issue Dr. Rendel Harris makes another of his identifications in the region of lost literature connected with the early Christian Church. Dry bones are his speciality, but this time they are resurrected as well as dry. Dr. Harris, whose art is to make dry bones live, thinks that he has found a great fragment of the work of Marcion of Pontus (the Pontic wolf of the early fathers) in which he showed the inconsistency between the Old and New Testaments, between the God of Law and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. If Dr. Harris has hit the mark the wolf is not such a bad wolf as he has traditionally been represented.

DR.
RENDEL
HARRIS
ON
MAR-
CION OF
PONTUS.

We may look for some more discoveries before long from the same diligent excavator.

We desire to associate ourselves with the appeal which was made recently in the columns of "The Times," by the secretaries of the Historical Association, the Early English Text Society, and other kindred learned societies, together with the librarians of great libraries which are unsupported by state funds, to the printing and publishing trade, urging them to bring down the cost of book-production so that valuable contributions to scholarship may not be starved out of existence.

PROHIBI-
TIVE
COST OF
BOOK
PRODUCE-
TION.

It is admitted on all hands that the general economic conditions are improving, and it is not unreasonable therefore to ask that the improvement may be reflected in the cost of book-production.

It must be quite obvious that the printing and publishing trades themselves will be the sufferers if books of real scholarship and research are no longer issued.

To our personal knowledge the committee of one of the University Presses have been compelled reluctantly to decline, or indefinitely to postpone, the publication of works embodying results of scholarship of far-reaching importance, simply on account of the prohibitive cost of production.

The remedy lies with the trade, both masters and men, and unless there is an immediate and a substantial reduction in prices, the result is likely to be disastrous to them.

At the best of times books embodying the result of long and valuable work in scientific and historical research have been very costly to produce, and as they do not make any popular appeal they have comparatively few purchasers. It is none the less of importance that they should be published in order to preserve the results of such research for the world.

DANTE ALIGHIERI.

1321-1921.

AN APPRECIATION: IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SIX-HUNDREDTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE POET'S DEATH.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT was at Ravenna, on the 14th day of September, 1321, that Dante "rendered up to his Creator his toilworn spirit," in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

He was buried with great honour in the Franciscan Church of San Pier Maggiore (now the Chiesa di San Francesco), by his friend, a noble knight named Guido Novello da Polenta, nephew of Francesca da Rimini, whose intention it was to erect a sumptuous tomb to his memory. Unfortunately, Dante's patron and admirer was soon afterwards betrayed and driven from Ravenna, losing thereby his estates and his life, so that his project was for the time defeated.

A century and a half later, however, in 1483 to be exact, Bernardo Bembo, the father of the celebrated cardinal, gave effect to the design by commissioning a superb monument, the work of the artist Pietro Lombardi bearing the following inscription, by some authorities said to have been dictated by Dante on his death-bed, or to be based upon some earlier epitaph, perhaps the original one referred to.

(The accompanying paraphrase is by James Russell Lowell.)

*Jvra monarchiæ Svperos Phlegethonta lacvsqve
Lvstrando cecini volvervnt Fata qvovsque
Sed qvia pars cessit melioribvs hospita castris
Avctoremqve svvm petiit felicior astris
Hic clavdor Dantes patriis extorris ab oris
Qvem genvit parvi Florentia mater amoris.*

The rights of Monarchy, the Heavens, the Stream of Life, the Pit,
In vision seen, I sang as far as to the Fates seemed fit;
But since my soul, an alien here, hath flown to nobler wars,
And, happier now, hath gone to seek its Maker 'mid the stars,
Here am I Dante shut, exiled from the ancestral shore,
Whom Florence, the of all least-loving mother, bore.

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DANTIS ALIGERII POETAE
FLORENTINI INFERNI CA-
PITVLVI PRIMVM INCIPIT.



NEl mezzo del chamin di nostra uita
miritrouai per una selua secura
chella dritta uia era smarita
Ah quanto adir qual era e chosa dura
questa selua seluagia aspra e forte
che nel pensier rinouua la paura
Tanto e amara che poco e piu morte
ma per tractar del ben chio ui trouai
diro delaltre chofe chio uofchorte
I non fo ben ridire chomio uentrai
tanto era pien di sonno in suquel punto
chella ueracie uia abandonai
Ma poi chio fui al pie dun cho'le giunto
la oue terminaua quella ualle
che mauca di paura ilhebur chompunto
Guardai in alto e uidi le fue spalle
uestite gia di raggi del pianeta
che mena dritto altrui per ogni challe
Allor fu la paura unpocho cheta
chenellagho del chiur mera durata
la note chi passai chontanta pieta
E ebeme que che con lena affanata
uscito fuer del pelagho ala riuu
In uolgie alacqua perigliosa e guata
Ch'ii lantimo mio chanchor fugiua

si uolse in dritto arimmar il passo
che non lascio gia mai per ona uia
Poi chebbi ripolato il chorpo lasso
ripresi uia per la piagia diserta
si chel pie fermo sempreza il piu basso
E echo quasi al chominciar dellerta
una leonza legiera e presta molto
che di pel machulato era chopena
E nemisi partia dinanzi al uolto
anzi inpediua tanto il mio chaminio
chi fui per ritornare piu uolte uolto
Tempo era del principio del matino
el sol mentaua in su chon quelle stelle
cheran chellui quando lamer diuino
Messe di rima quelle chofe belle
sicha bene sperar mtra chagione
di quella sicra lagaieta pelle
Lera del tempo ella doleie stagione
ma non si che paura non midesse
la uista che ma parue dun liene
Questi para che chontro ame uenisse
chella testa alta e chon rabiosa fame
si che para chel aire netemelle
E duna lupa che di tute brame
sembiava charcha nella sua magrezza
e molte giienti se gia uiuer grame
Questa mi posse tanto digraueza
chella paura chofe uia di sua uista
chio perdei la speranza dellalteza
E quale eguel che uolontieri acquista
e giungie il tempo che perder lo facie
ch'entrai i suoi pensier piangie e trista
Tal mi fecie la bestia senza pacie
che uenendomi ichontro apochi apochi
mi ripingia la doue il sol tacie
Mentre chio ruinaua imbasso locho
dinanzi agliocchi mi si fu oferto
che per lungo silenzio para fiocco
Quando uidi ch'ostui nel gran diserto
miserere dime gridai allui
qual chi tu sia o ombra o homo cierto



DANTE: "COMMEDIA". MANTUA, 1472.
(From the copy in the John Rylands Library.)

Nel mezo del camin di nostra uita
 mi ritrouai per una selua oscura
 chela diricla uia era smarrita
 Et quãto a dir q̃lora cosa dura
 esta selua seluagia aspra e forte
 chenel pensier renoua la paura
 Tante amara che poco piu morte
 ma per tractar del ben chi uitrouai
 diro del altre cose chi uo scorte
 I non so ben ridir come uentrai
 tantera pien de sonno isu quel punto
 chela uerace uia abandonai
 Ma poiche fui apie dun colle giuto
 ladoue terminaua quella ualle
 che mauea di paura el cor compunto
 Guardai in alto & uide lesue spalle
 ueilite gia de raggi del pianeta
 che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle
 Allor fu la paura un poco cheta
 che nellaco del cor mera durata
 lanocle chio passai cõ tãta pieta
 Et come quei che con lena affanata
 uscito fuor del pelago ala riuua
 si uolge alacqua peligrõsa & guata
 Così lanimo mio ancor sùggeua
 si uolle arietro arimmar lo passo
 che non lascio giamai persona uiua
 Et riposato un poco el corpo lasio
 repressi uia per la spiagia deserta
 si chel pie fermo sempre ra il piu basso
 Et ecco quasi al cominciar del erta
 una leonza assai legiera & presta molto
 che di pel macolato era couerta

These Latin lines have been regarded by some writers as unworthy of Dante, just as Shakespeare's doggerel English epitaph has been thought unworthy of him. On the other hand, the rudeness of the verses has been put forward as a proof of their authenticity in both cases.

The Bembo tomb was restored by Cardinal Domenico Maria Corsi, the Papal Legate in 1692, and finally rebuilt in its present form by Cardinal Gonzaga, in 1780, each of whom in turn commemorated themselves in Latin inscriptions. It is a little shrine covered with a dome, not unlike the tomb of a Mohammedan Saint, and is now the chief Mecca which attracts pilgrims to Ravenna.

It follows then, that the present year, 1921, marks the six-hundredth anniversary of this outstanding event, and by reason of the prominent and honoured place which Dante occupies upon the shelves of this library, we claim the privilege of collaborating with Italy in commemorating the death of the most eminent of her many brilliant sons, by adding our modest tribute of homage to the countless number of similar tributes of more enduring worth which will be offered at the shrine of his genius during this anniversary year.

In the course of the six centuries that have elapsed since Dante's death men of great and enduring talent of all nationalities have helped to swell his praise and to immortalize his fame.

In this country, especially during the last hundred years, the study and appreciation of Dante has been second only to the homage of his own countrymen. Two of our greatest poets, the one living in the fourteenth and the other in the seventeenth century, both exercising an enormous influence on their own and succeeding generations, were diligent students of Dante and transfused into their work much of the form and spirit of the "Commedia". In the "Canterbury Tales," and in "Paradise Lost," there are many passages which would have been impossible but for the influence of Dante. It was a proof of Chaucer's critical judgment that he calls Dante "the great poet of Itaille". And yet, after being canonized, as it were, by Chaucer and by Milton, Dante was allowed to sink into an oblivion of forgetfulness, by the neglect of almost all Tuscan literature among English readers, down to some hundred and twenty years ago. It is true that he was mentioned from time to time, but mostly from hearsay only; Spenser shows that he read his works closely; Sackville may

have read the "Inferno"; and it is certain that Sir John Harington had done so. He has had, however, a noble revenge; Shelley, Byron and Tennyson have led him back with chants of recognition; Carlyle and Ruskin have set forth his praise in impassioned prose; Boyd, Cary, Longfellow, Okey, Plumptre, Norton, Stanley, Shadwell, Wright and Wicksteed have translated him; whilst a host of other scholars such as Coleridge, Vernon, Moore, Gardner, and Toynbee have made Dante more widely known to English readers by commenting upon and elucidating the works of the poet.

To Ruskin Dante was the "central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties, all at their highest". To Carlyle his book was the sincerest of all poems; "he was the spokesman of the middle ages; the thought they lived by stands here in everlasting music; his 'Divine Comedy' is the most remarkable of all modern books; and one need not wonder if it were predicted that his poem might be the most enduring thing our Europe has yet made".

Among the more recent of the offerings at the shrine of Dante's genius we cannot refrain from quoting the ode written by Tennyson at the request of the Florentines in 1865, on the six-hundredth anniversary of his birth:—

King that has reign'd six hundred years, and grown
In power, and ever growest, since thine own
Fair Florence, honouring thy nativity,
Hath sought the tribute of a verse from me,
I, wearing but the garland of a day,
Cast at thy feet one flower that fades away.

What was true in 1865 has become more true to-day, for the realm of the poetic monarch has grown still greater both in power and in extent.

Many attempts have been made to account for this supremacy of what may be termed the Dante cult, and to determine what were the abiding qualities of genius which have secured for Dante the fame he has won and worn for six hundred years, and which give him to-day a claim for such study as only a few world classics deserve.

James Russell Lowell, in that remarkable essay of his entitled "Dante," written in 1872, which Dr. Wicksteed describes as: "a sufficient introduction to the study of Dante, and by far the best thing

on the subject in English"; and which Professor C. E. Norton also refers to as: "the best introduction to the study of the 'Divine Comedy,' which should be read and re-read," asserts that: "Almost all poets have their seasons, but Dante penetrates to the moral core of those who once fairly come within his sphere, and possesses them wholly. His readers turn students, his students zealots, and what was a taste becomes a religion." ". . . if Shakespeare be the most comprehensive intellect, Dante is the highest spiritual nature that has expressed itself in rhythmical form. Had he made us feel how petty the ambitions, sorrows, and vexations of each appear when looked down on from the heights of our own character and the seclusion of our own genius, or from the region where we commune with God, he had done much. . . . But he has done far more; he has shown us the way by which that country far beyond the stars may be reached, may become the habitual dwelling place and fortress of our nature, instead of being the object of its vague aspiration in moments of indolence."

In another passage Lowell declares that "among literary fames Dante finds only two that for growth and immortality can parallel his own: Homer and Shakespeare". And it was evident to all scholars, as soon as comparison by the critical method was attempted, that the Florentine must be given rank with Homer who chanted the heroic world of Hellas in Iliad and Odyssey, and with our own pre-eminent poet who held the mirror up to nature in such a way that he promised to be the universal poet of mankind.

But the great Italian singer apparently yields the palm neither to Homer nor to Shakespeare when he is judged from the bibliographer's standard, in other words, by the number of literary accretions which have surrounded the creations of these three most immortal of poets, or as one writer has described them: "the first three, chief among the captains of world song".

Dante's reputation and influence, like those of every other great writer, have not been without their periods of decline.

As a young man he was recognized quite early as a scholar and a poet. Immediately after his death he was lauded by such judges as Villani, Boccaccio, and Petrarch as a master of thought and style, and as a marvellous artist in the use of the hardly formed Italian language. Indeed, it is proof of the natural instinct of Dante, and of his confidence

in his own genius, that he should have chosen to write all his greatest works in what was deemed by scholars to be nothing more than a "patois," but which he, more than any other man, raised to the dignity of a classical language. In other words, he is not only the first great poet but the first great prose writer to use a language not yet subdued to literature.

Dante was the first influential poet in the "lingua rustica". To quote Boccaccio: "he was the first to elevate vulgar poetry among us Italians, and to raise it to a position of honour, just as Homer and Vergil did with theirs among the Greeks and Latins".

It is true that the work of popularization, in the true sense of the term, can be effected only by speaking to the people in their own language, and that was Dante's work. His aim, as he tells us in the "Conveto" (i. 8), was to give useful things to many, and, in the words of Dean Milman: "it required all the courage, firmness, and prophetic sagacity of Dante to throw aside the inflexible bondage of the established hierarchical Latin of Europe".

Not content with proving to all the world the fitness of the Italian language as a literary vehicle by the practical example of his own work, Dante planned a theoretical exposition of this fact in his "De vulgari eloquentia". The modern student of Romance philology must feel a special satisfaction in being able to date the commencement of his science from the appearance of his work, which is conceived and executed in the modern scientific spirit. Dante begins by telling his readers that he was the first to treat the subject.

It should be noted, however, that whilst Dante recognized the importance of a national language and literature, he was at the same time keenly alive to the necessity of classical studies for all who would attain proficiency in their own tongue. He chose for his models of composition the learned Roman poets. Indeed, Vergil, who was his master and guide on the unearthly pilgrimage, taught him in the sixth book of the "Aeneid" what that supernatural world was like.

His references to ancient literature have been collected and classified, and it will help us to appreciate the extent of his indebtedness to these classical writers, if we show approximately the number of times each of the respective works or authors are cited by Dante: the "Vulgate" 500, Aristotle 300, Vergil 200, Ovid 100, Cicero 50, Statius and Boethius 30 to 40, Horace 7, Livy and Orosius 10 to

20. Dante knew practically nothing of Greek, so that he was in bondage to the Latin translations, and when he quotes Aristotle it is the Latin Aristotle he is employing.

The perfection of the "Commedia," and above all the style, which Macaulay describes as "unmatched," are the first fruits of classical studies in modern Europe. It was Dante who first aroused a general taste for classical learning, and for that reason he may be fittingly described as the first humanist.

He was a born student and on the authority of Professor Norton we have it, that if Dante had never written a single poem, he would still have been famous as the most profound scholar of his times.

Within two generations of Dante's death no fewer than eleven commentaries on the "Commedia" had appeared, and Michael Angelo had not only sketched designs to illustrate the divine poem, but had written sonnets in praise of its author. As time passed, however, the atmosphere changed, and the glory faded, but it was only like nature's sleep before spring, the winter rest, which causes the shoot to be greener and the blossom to be more fragrant.

With the Florence of Michel Angelo he seemed to die, and when the Risorgimento dawned, he, too, rose from the grave. He rose by reason of some divine power persisting within his works, defeated but unconquerable. First, however, like the corn of wheat, he seemed to die.

Whereas, twenty editions of the "Commedia" were printed and published in Italy between the years 1472 and 1500, and forty editions in the sixteenth century, there were but three editions printed in the seventeenth century. This was due, no doubt, to the persecution by the Jesuits of the poet's works, and the writings they called forth. One of their principal aims was to make all literature Latin, and they felt that their plans must needs be thwarted, if they allowed so mighty a work in the vulgar tongue to run the land unchallenged. But all these schemes and machinations were of no avail. A voice so mighty as that of Dante, was sure to make itself heard, and no sort of intrigue was able to stifle its powerful note for any length of time.

The eighteenth century was not quite so barren of interest as the preceding one; but it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that a real revival of interest for Dante was noticeable. Between the years 1800 and 1865 upwards of one hundred editions of

the "Commedia" are recorded as having been published in Italy alone, and since that date the increase of Dante literature has been quite phenomenal.

In our own country the light of the genius which had impressed Chaucer and Milton burned but dimly in the eighteenth century. Appreciation of Dante was immensely advanced, however, by the publication in 1805 of Henry Francis Cary's translation of the first seventeen cantos of the "Inferno," and in 1814 by his complete translation of the "Commedia," of which numerous editions were called for between the year of its first appearance and 1844, the date of the translator's death. Critics are unanimous in its praise. Macaulay went so far as to say he knew no version of a great poem so faithful, and none which so fully showed that the translator was himself a man of poetic genius. It still holds its place in our literature, and Cary's well-deserved niche in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey with its simple inscription "Translator of Dante," will remain as a lasting monument of this Dante revival in England.

In an earlier paragraph we have ventured to quote the opinion expressed by Professor Willard Fiske, in that very suggestive and scholarly introduction to the "Catalogue of the Dante Collection" which he himself presented to Cornell University Library, that Dante yields place neither to Homer nor to Shakespeare when judged from the bibliographer's standard, and it may not be out of place to examine the considerations which led Mr. Fiske to arrive at such a conclusion, and to endeavour to justify it.

It is true that in point of bulk the achievements of Dante are greatly exceeded by those of the two older writers. Shakespeare claims pride of place in this respect with 110,237 lines, even when the doubtful plays assigned to him are deducted, as compared with 27,793 verses in the two epics with which the name of Homer is associated (15,693 in the "Iliad" and 12,100 in the "Odyssey"), and 14,333 in the "Divina Commedia". When, however, we seek to estimate the number of their readers by the frequency with which their writings have been reproduced Dante appears to hold his own. This is the more surprising when we consider that Shakespeare in his vernacular appeals to a world far vaster than that which Dante addresses in his natural tongue.

Another point to which Mr. Fiske calls attention and which is

certainly worthy of notice is the advantage which the dramatic art possesses over the epic in its methods of giving publicity to a production. Epics are no longer recited in public, and were never recited with the attractive accompaniments of moving figures and varied costumes. The dramatist on the other hand, speaks to and through double audiences, one of readers, the other of hearers. This is no slight advantage, and it becomes a question whether the general acquaintance with Shakespeare would not be greatly diminished were his plays never acted. Furthermore, this two-fold character of dramatic poetry increases its literature, for the theatre demands frequent separate reprints of the texts of popular plays.

In the case of Homer, since the days of the revival of classical studies, his works in the original Greek have been in constant educational use, such as the two other writers can hardly claim for theirs. His epics are repeatedly printed as school texts in every civilized land, and in great editions, with more or less of comment and other literary apparatus. Even so, it is doubtful whether the two most popular of the world's epics have appeared in more versions than has the immortal poem of Dante.

But the real test of a man's universality as Willard Fiske has pointed out, is decided by a man's standing outside his own country, or in the case of a writer beyond the limits of his own speech. The breadth of a writer's renown is measured by the reproductions or translations of his creations into other languages. In the case of Dante it may be said that since the end of the eighteenth century he has become the most passionate study on the part of the master poets of Europe. His marvellous style, his manifold exquisite images and similes, have become a never-failing source of inspiration.

Let us now see how Dante stands in this respect when compared with his two peers.

In English, commencing with the version in blank verse by C. Rogers of the "Inferno" in 1782, there are twenty separate and distinct translations of the "Divina Commedia," one of which, Cary's, has appeared in no less than thirty editions, as compared with about twelve of Homer, from that of Chapman appearing in 1598, down to the present day; whilst Italy has but three complete renderings of Shakespeare. This is the more noteworthy because of the Italian origin of Shakespeare's finest creations.

In French the "Divina Commedia" has been fully rendered by sixteen different translators, commencing with that of Grangier, which appeared in 1596, but the study of Dante struck no root in French soil until the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was Rivarol, by his translation of the "Inferno" in 1783, who was the first to attract general attention to the "Commedia" in that country, and Chateaubriand, though far from appreciating the work at its true value, made the cult general. Hugo regarded Dante as having hated all evil, not only evil in high places. And if we turn to French literature to-day, with its various schools, symbolists and others, we are struck with the fact, that they, too, continue to derive much of their inspiration and support from Dante's work. As compared with the sixteen translations of Dante into French, we find only twelve versions of Homer, and eight of Shakespeare.

It is surprising that for so many centuries Dante should have been little more than a name in Germany, especially when we consider the close relations in which that country stood to Italy at repeated intervals in her history. The first German translation of the "Commedia" was that of Bachenschwanz, which appeared between 1767 and 1769. Versions of Kannegiesser, Streckfuss, Kopisch and Prince John of Saxony followed. Goethe seems never to have given that attention to Dante which might have been expected. Schlegel speaks of Dante as his favourite poet, and from the date of the appearance of Schlegel's translation of parts of the "Commedia" in 1791, we may trace the influence of the form and spirit of Dante's poetry on German literature. Against nineteen versions of the "Commedia," in German, we can only set ten of Homer, and eight of Shakespeare.

In Spanish Dante's masterpiece has been translated six times as against half that number of versions of Homer and Shakespeare. The very first translation of Dante was into Catalan in 1428. In Dutch it has been rendered four times, a number not equalled either by Homer or by Shakespeare. In modern Greek there are two renderings to one of Shakespeare, and two of Homer. Russia boasts of two versions, whilst Hungary, Portugal, and its linguistic daughter Brazil, have each just as many; and there is a single interpretation in Bohemian, in Polish, in Roumanian, and in Swedish. Not all the last-named languages have versions of either Homer or Shakespeare.

In Latin the "Divina Commedia" has been printed in four different renderings, Homer only in two.

Translations of the "Divina Commedia" either in whole or in part have appeared in twenty-six languages, and in eleven of the dialects of Italy, a figure which is not reached either by Shakespeare or by Homer.

It is computed that since 1800 the average annual issue of editions of the "Divina Commedia" in the original has been more than four, and it is doubtful whether during the nineteenth century anything approaching four hundred editions of Shakespeare were issued.

In the Italian lands, throughout which Dante enjoys an immortality both of affection and acquaintanceship, such as no other of the great intellects of the modern world has succeeded in gaining among his countrymen, the number of independent Dante publications yearly exceeds one hundred and twenty-five. If to these are added the privately printed monographs, and the really important contributions to reviews, and transactions of various societies, the annual total will probably exceed two hundred. How many important publications having reference to our own master poet can we reckon up every twelve months among English-speaking peoples, who out-number the Italians by at least four to one?

There is little doubt that the sources of this literary flood are to be found in the encyclopædic character of the great poem. If we examine Dr. Paget Toynbee's "Dante Dictionary" we shall find that the poet has touched upon, or treated, a surprising number of themes. His allusions to persons and places, and his references to scenes and events, which may be numbered by the hundred, have served as so many pegs upon which students of research have been enabled to hang scholarly dissertations. His mysticism and symbolism, his allegories and analogies, and the many fascinating problems scattered through his text have not only challenged the faculties of the more speculative of the scholars, but have quickened the fancy of the poet, the novelist and the dramatist. Scientific minds also find subjects for meditation in his astronomical features, and in the topographical word pictures of the circles of Hell, the terraces of Purgatory, and the planetary spheres of Paradise, which he has sketched for us.

Such are only a few of the topics which constantly seem to demand the investigation of critics, quite apart from the ambitious attempts

to expound the "Divina Commedia" as a whole, the interpretation of its loftier meanings, the estimate of its relations to its author, to his age, to his fellowmen, and to spiritual things; aspirations which have evoked the labour of so many intellects, and such learning as the world must always admire.

Turning now to a more detailed consideration of the printed edition of the original text of the "Divina Commedia," it is a matter of strange coincidence that the three first editions should have appeared in the same year (1472); and still more surprising is it that two of them were printed in the comparatively unimportant towns of Foligno, and Jesi, whilst the third appeared in Mantua.¹

The natal place of the poet, Florence, holds the first rank as to the number of editions produced from first to last by the printers of a single city. These have reached the figure of eighty, whilst those printed at Venice number only fifty-five, Mantua fifty, Naples thirty-five, Turin ten, and Rome ten.

Outside Italy, Paris is easily first with thirty editions of the Italian text; London has something like a dozen to her credit, the first no earlier than 1778.

The first Florentine edition appeared in 1481, and was the first illustrated edition; but it was a quarter of a century before a second edition was printed there (1506), and sixty-six years elapsed before the third appeared in 1572, yet again twenty-three years before the fourth appeared in 1595. Throughout this period Venice was issuing a new edition every five years, twenty-five in all between 1477 and 1596. Subsequent to the edition of 1595 no Florentine edition appeared until that with the commentary of Venturi in 1771-1774, being a period of a century and three-quarters, and that remained the only edition issued from the poet's natal place in the eighteenth century.

In 1813 the text again accompanied by the commentary of Venturi appeared with a Florentine imprint, but these years of dearth came to an end in 1817 with the first of the four pretentious and profusely illustrated folios, of the so-called "Anchor edition," which appeared between 1817 and 1819. Since then one yearly edition has been the result.

This appreciation of Dante would be obviously incomplete without

¹ Facsimiles of the first page of each of these three editions, from the copies in the John Rylands Library, are published with this article.

some reference to the touching love story which he has enshrined for us in his "Vita Nuova".

It is generally admitted that in the domain of love literature Petrarch's sway is unequalled. It is claimed for him that he was the inspirer of most of the love poetry of modern Europe; and yet it must be said that Petrarch's "Canzoniere" would have been impossible if Dante's love for Beatrice had not been there to serve him as guide.

According to Boccaccio's "Life of Dante," quoting from Dr. Wicksteed's translation: "While his [Dante's] tears were still flowing for the death of Beatrice, about in his twenty-sixth year, he put together in a little volume which he called the "Vita Nuova," certain small things as sonnets and odes, which he had made in rhyme at divers seasons theretofore, marvellously beautiful, placing at the head of each severally and in order the occasions that had moved him to write it, and adding the divisions of the poems after them."

Dante without doubt idealized Beatrice, and in the end employed her as a symbol, but that does not imply that she was not, in the origin, a real creature of flesh and blood, and the object of his genuine love. In her loveliness and purity the heroine becomes an image upon earth of the Divine Beauty and Goodness, and the poet's love to her is the stepping-stone to love of the supreme God.

It is suggested that by the title "Vita Nuova" Dante probably meant to intimate the renewal or transfiguration of his life by his love for Beatrice.

He himself tells us that he acquired the greater part of his learning after the death of Beatrice, with the purpose of composing a work in honour of his beloved, in which he was to say things, which had never before been said of any woman.

It was a preparation for the "Commedia" inasmuch as it tells us how the singer became poet, and how the woman, who was to be his spiritual pilot over the ocean, crossed his path.

Dante regarded love as the origin of all things, good and evil, and sets forth his theory at full length in the seventeenth canto of the "Purgatorio". This elevating influence of love had formed one of the chief themes of the troubadours and their disciples when Dante came and set the stamp of immortality upon the conception. This is the love that the best and greatest of our poets still hold up as the ideal to which all must strive, the love which is found in Shelley, the Brown-

ings, and Tennyson. It may be said, therefore, that these minor poems of Dante served as a land mark between mediæval and modern love poetry.

Professor Gardner describes the "Vita Nuova" as the most spiritual and ethereal romance ever written, but its purity is such that comes not from innocent simplicity of soul, but from self-suppression ; and suggests that we should take the "New life" not as merely meaning the poet's youth, but as referring to the new life that commenced with the dawn of love, the regeneration of the soul.

Dante tangled various threads in his enchanted web, seizing hints from all he came across. He was not merely a singer of love songs, or a weaver of dreams, but a seer of things hidden from mortal sight. His utterances are the utterances of one who has himself been close to those aspects of life of which he speaks. He has looked at them with his own eyes, by the keenness of his vision and by the strength of his insight he has seen more deeply into things, and has appreciated their meaning more powerfully than the common race of men. Above all he possessed the wonderful faculty of making us see and feel with him. All his works with the possible exception of the "De vulgari eloquentia" are component parts of a whole duty of man mutually completing and interpreting one another.

His spiritual message is love, but love tested and sanctified by the grace of Christ the Redeemer.

We can but admire the miracles of construction which make his "Vita Nuova" correspond after a way of its own to St. Augustine's "Confessions," and his "Divina Commedia," where the strange title conceals a resemblance of design and of treatment, to the "Civitate Dei," each a design of infinite detail, complex and opulent as a Gothic Cathedral.

Dante will be always the greatest of dramatic poets, by his blending into a single work of the charm of nature, the power of the supernatural, and the pathos of human joy and sorrow, with justice over all ; and we may safely predict that he will never again pass under eclipse as long as our civilization endures.

Truly may it be said that the nation that had a Dante could not perish.

THE PLACE OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY IN HISTORY. A CENTENARY STUDY.¹

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IT is now just seven centuries since the feast of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr was first celebrated in the church of Canterbury. For three centuries every return of the long and genial July summer saw the perennial stream of pilgrims swell to the dimensions of a mighty river. For those same three centuries every recurrent fifty years witnessed the abnormal crowds of the faithful that attended the celebrations of the jubilee of that transference of the sacred relics, to witness which, the great Stephen Langton had summoned the whole world to Canterbury, on 7 July, 1220.

Nearly four centuries after the Reformation, Canterbury once more commemorated Thomas' jubilee on the occasion of the seventh centenary of his translation on 7 July, 1920. It could hardly be celebrated better than by interrogating historical science as to Thomas' place in history. Let us make this enquiry in the spirit of a science which should be neither sceptical nor credulous, neither clerical nor anticlerical, neither Anglican nor Roman, neither Catholic nor anti-Catholic, but should aim simply at the sympathetic yet critical study of facts as they happened. For this the first requisite is to get at the facts themselves and to try and appreciate them in due proportion. In our search for the truth we must distinguish between the mass of irrelevant detail and the principles which the flood of detail almost overwhelms. We must distinguish also between what St. Thomas stood for in his lifetime and what men believed him to have stood for

¹ This paper is based on a lecture delivered in the chapter house of Canterbury Cathedral on 7 July, 1920, on the occasion of the seventh centenary of the translation of St. Thomas. It was repeated on 8 December, 1920, at the John Rylands Library, and on 25 January, 1921, before the Durham branch of the Historical Association.

in the generations that succeeded his death. To do this we must understand and sympathise with the mediæval mind and the mediæval point of view, in some ways so different, in others perhaps not so widely separated from our own. And of one thing at least we may feel assured, that both St. Thomas and his enemies shared in this mediæval point of view. It was no fight, as some have imagined, between modern anti-clericalism and aggressive priestcraft. Still less was there any element of a national movement, whether ecclesiastical or civil. It was only to a certain extent a contest between the state ecclesiastical and the state political. There were as many good churchmen against Thomas as there were for him in the six years' strife that preceded his catastrophe. But if Thomas' detractors persecuted him in his life, they joined with his disciples in venerating his memory after his martyrdom. The rights and wrongs of the living Thomas fiercely divided his contemporaries, but friends and foes agreed in worshipping the saint and martyr. Bitter lifelong antagonists went on pilgrimage to his shrine, joining with his faithful disciples in testifying to his high character and to the wonders which his sacred relics wrought. It was this remarkable consensus of opinion that gave St. Thomas of Canterbury his undoubted position as the most famous of English mediæval saints.

The study of the lives of the saints takes us over difficult and thorny ground. But the problem as to what the main facts were, so insoluble in the case of those early saints as to whom we have little or no authentic or contemporary testimony, does not concern the historians of St. Thomas. More is known about St. Thomas' life than about that of almost any one of his contemporaries. He had as many and as good contemporary biographers as St. Bernard or as Henry II himself. Had we to attempt the detailed study of his acts, we should be appalled by the mass of evidence through which we have to wade. We might also be well discouraged by the inadequacy of the exposition and interpretation of the facts shown by most of the writers who have in later times attempted to deal with the question. There is no such problem here as there is in dealing with those ancient saints whose historical existence is chiefly vouched for by the names of the churches which they have founded, and whose records are to be found in biographies, written in later ages either from the motive of edification, or with the less praiseworthy though very human object of writing up a famous

church and proclaiming the wonders wrought by the local saint to a public bent on pilgrimages. It would be too much to say that either the motive of edification or the motive of advertisement are absent from the lives of St. Thomas. But with all allowance made for this these writers knew their man. They were contemporaries, and eye-witnesses ; they knew the facts and had little motive for distorting them. The most sceptical cannot deny the main features of the record ; they can only question the wisdom or the impartiality of the interpretation. Fortunately for us neither the biography nor the character of St. Thomas is our direct concern. Our business is with opinion rather than with events, with generalities rather than with details. Let us in this spirit ask ourselves what St. Thomas stood for, why did his contemporaries uphold him or denounce him in his lifetime : and why after his death did all alike join together in cherishing his memory ?

In discussing St. Thomas' place in history, we shall have mainly to examine his place in the history of the church. But because the ecclesiastical aspects of his career are so obvious, it will be well if, before we approach these, we concern ourselves for a moment with St. Thomas' place in civil history. For the career of Thomas as a champion of the liberties of the church was a brief one. His early career is only accidentally that of a churchman. The young and promising Londoner, who began his life's work at the court of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, sought fame and advancement, rather than the functions of a Christian minister. He was a clerk because in the twelfth century all educated men, all who sought to win their way by their brains, were necessarily clerks. Though he worked in an archbishop's household, and therefore incidentally served the church of Canterbury, yet he was no more a clerk than if he had attached himself to the service of the crown or of a great secular lord. His functions were administrative, diplomatic, secretarial, anything but those of the servant of the altar. If he had his reward in livings, prebends, provostships, it would have been the same had he joined the household of a lay magnate.

For the greater part of his service in the archbishop's household Thomas was, though a clerk, yet not in holy orders. It was only after some twelve years of such service that he was ordained deacon on his appointment as archdeacon of Canterbury. And in these days the archdeacon was a personal servant of his bishop, the *oculus episcopi*, a member of his household or *familia*, the judge of the

ecclesiastical court of first instance, the administrator. Such an officer was, as his name suggests, normally in deacon's orders, and not, as now, a priest of senior standing. And a small diocese, like that of Canterbury, still kept up the primitive fashion of one archdeacon whose sphere was the whole diocese. Nor did Thomas as archdeacon remain attached to the archbishop's household for a long period; almost immediately afterwards he was, with Theobald's goodwill, transferred from his household to that of the king, though retaining his office as archdeacon.¹ As royal chancellor between 1155 and 1162, he was as much the household servant of a great lord, as when between 1143 and 1155 he had been the *familiaris* of Theobald as clerk and archdeacon. From the household clerk as from the household knight, mediæval morality required above all things unlimited and unquestioned devotion to the will of his lord. Just as the *comes* of the primitive *princeps* fought not for victory but for his master, so did the *familiaris* of the mediæval magnate regard the absolute and unquestioning subordination of himself, soul and body, to his lord's interests, as the primary duty of his station. It was all of a piece when Thomas, as the archbishop's *familiaris*, sought to uphold the interests of the church of Canterbury as when, as the king's chancellor, he strove with all his might to promote the interests of the Angevin monarchy. The secular absorption, the "unclerical" acts, such as appearing in armour in the war of Toulouse, the hot zeal with which Thomas extracted from the clergy the uttermost farthing of their means to promote the king's campaigns in Southern France, were all the natural results of his loyal and unbounded devotion to his lord for the time being. Save a few precisians, contemporaries saw little unseemly in them in a clerk in deacon's orders. If the pomp of the chancellor was criticised as excessive, it was assumed to originate in his desire to impress upon the world the greatness of his master the king. It was a suggestion of highmindedness, a premonition of future sanctity, that this brilliantly garbed and lavishly attended servant of the crown lived a life of blameless chastity and self-restraint. In all this devotion to his personal lord Thomas the clerk was but obeying the same standard of duty as that which inspired his junior contemporary, William the Marshal, to con-

¹ It was not until 1163 that Thomas, at the king's request, transferred the archdeaconry to his clerk, Geoffrey Ridel, who soon became his uncompromising foe.

secrete a long and unblemished career to the service of Henry II and his sons. The questionable acts that resulted from such devotion were taken as a matter of course. If Thomas fleeced the church to pay for the war of Toulouse, William Marshal's personal devotion to his lord compelled him to remain faithful to King John against Stephen Langton and the barons who upheld the Great Charter. We shall see that the same principle of devoted service to his lord made Thomas as archbishop the protagonist of ecclesiastical freedom and led him straight on to his martyrdom.

Thomas' position for the first twenty years of his public career was then that of the exemplary household clerk, obliged as his first duty to devote himself to the service of the immediate lord whose bread he ate. In this he was a pattern to his age of the faithful *familiaris*. But Thomas' two masters were men of exceptional character, ability, and resourcefulness. Membership of their households involved no common obligations or privileges. In the twelfth century, as in earlier ages, no line was drawn between the private and the public activities of either a lay or an ecclesiastical magnate. Both the prince and the prelate had to govern his huge train of followers, feed them, clothe them, and house them, and to administer the estates which provided the resources for the expenditure involved. Moderns would regard this as a matter of private estate management. But the early middle ages confused with this domestic economy the management of the public charges which fell upon the dignity of state or church. Accordingly, the pope ruled the church universal, the archbishop ruled his province, the emperor governed the vaguely defined Roman empire, the king ruled his kingdom, the baron his barony by the same persons and by the same machinery as those through which he ruled his own domestic establishment. Moreover, by this time law and sound rule were emerging from feudal chaos. Nowhere was this more the case than in England where the feudal anarchy of Stephen's reign involved two contradictory reactions. In the absence of effective state control, the church, headed by Theobald, perforce undertook many of the functions of the state. After Stephen's death the state, now controlled by Henry II, set itself to work to restore the strong rule of William the Conqueror and his sons. Both archbishop and king worked to this end through their organised household.

Thomas' early experience as Theobald's clerk and his later

experience as Henry II's chancellor gave him a full experience of both sides of this process. The household of Theobald was the centre of politics, of government, of learning, and of piety. Part of Thomas' legal lore came from his studies at Bologna, but part may have come from attending the lectures given by the famous Lombard jurist, Vacarius, not at Oxford, as was once thought, but in the court of the archbishop of Canterbury. His political and ecclesiastical ideas certainly came from a brother clerk of Theobald's household, John of Salisbury. His first diplomatic mission was when, as Theobald's agent, he persuaded the pope not to perpetuate anarchy by allowing Stephen's son to be crowned king. This service to the house of Anjou made natural Thomas' appointment as chancellor. In the seven years (1155-1162) in which he held that office, the Angevin chancery became the most perfect piece of administrative machinery that Europe had yet known. The mediæval chancery was, we must always remember, not a law court, like our modern chancery. It was an administrative office, the branch of the royal household devoted to drafting and sealing documents, issuing orders in the king's name, and not seldom suggesting the policy which those orders involved. It itinerated with the court of an ever wandering king. Its sphere was not England—to call Thomas Chancellor of England is an elementary error. Its sphere was as wide as the mighty Angevin empire that ranged from Scotland to the Pyrenees, and included a third of modern France. The chancellor was the king's chancellor, not the chancellor of the kingdom. Like his master, he spent more time in Normandy and Anjou than in England, and, wherever he was, he and his clerks issued their writs which the king's lay officers made it their business to enforce. He was as much the chancellor at Rouen, at Poitiers or at Bordeaux, as at London or York.

The immediate function of the king's chancery was formal—the issuing and classification of writs. Those writs, or letters, were famous for their precision of form, their businesslike brevity, their effectiveness in expressing their meaning. So anxious was the chancery to spare words and parchment that instead of "Henricus" the initial "H" was used to represent the king's name, and the traditional formula "King by the grace of God" was cut out by omitting the reference to divine favour. The great French scholar, Léopold Delisle, has shown that the excision of *Dei gratia* was characteristic of

Henry II's writs from his accession to 1173.¹ It still remains for the historian of St. Thomas to point the moral that this omission was accomplished and continued when the future martyr of ecclesiastical liberty was the king's chancellor, his most powerful, beloved, and influential minister. It is true that there was no profanity ; no suggestion of anticlericalism or secularism was possible at such a time. It was just to save trouble with unnecessary forms.

The king ruled his whole dominions through his one household. The chancellor was his secretary ; not yet in name but already in fact, he was his secretary of state for all departments. We might even call him the king's private secretary, only we have already learnt that the contrast of private and public was meaningless to the men of that age. But a good secretary always has power to suggest policy. Though Henry II was eminently capable of ruling for himself, and possessed, I feel sure, more originality, breadth, and insight than his chancellor ever had, it is inconceivable that so active and so useful a servant did not do something towards determining the current of the royal wishes. He perhaps did this the more effectively since his attitude was just that of the good private secretary of a modern statesman. His mission was to do his master's bidding, to efface himself, and get his master the credit for his acts. This work he did so well that Henry became on the most intimate and cordial terms with his minister. Thomas then was the first of our great chancellors. He raised an important but unassuming court office into something approaching an independent political status. It is clear that even the king's justiciar, the only great official of those days, was becoming comparatively effaced. The best proof of this is that, when, a year after Theobald's death, Henry imposed Thomas on the Christ Church monks as their new archbishop, he had every intention of combining the see of Canterbury with the office of chancellor. In earlier days the chancellor, like Thomas, seldom held higher church preferment than an archdeaconry. When he became a bishop, he left the chancery and the court and devoted himself to ecclesiastical work. It was a rude shock to the masterful king when Thomas, on becoming archbishop, insisted on resigning the office of chancellor.

With this great renunciation we pass to the ecclesiastical side of

¹ See for this Delisle's *Introduction* to his monumental *Recueil des actes de Henri II concernant la France*.

Thomas' career. But it is worth while in insisting on what may seem disproportionate length on the administrative aspect of Thomas' work. It gives him another niche of his own in history, as one of the first household clerks of a great archbishop, and a greater king. In this capacity he stood out from among a class just struggling into importance by reason of his superior efficiency, competence, and absorption in the faithful execution of his lord's work. But Thomas, on becoming chancellor, was more than this. He did for the chancery what Roger of Salisbury, in the days of the king's grandfather, Henry I, did for the exchequer. He prepared it for the position it later gained as the great administrative office of the state, just as Roger prepared the way for the Angevin exchequer becoming the financial office of the state. Only the exchequer was more advanced: it was going out of court: it was becoming English, localised, sedentary at Westminster, even in a sense national. All this was in time to be the case with the chancery also. But Thomas here was only a forerunner. The events after his resignation cured Henry of any wish to make the chancery what the exchequer had already become, a virtual office of state, independent of the household, with its own rules and traditions strong enough to temper even the personal will of the king. It is because the position of Thomas the chancellor has been so little recognised by historians, indifferent to the history of administration, that a student of administration feels in private duty bound to stress, perhaps to overstress, this aspect of his work. Yet he who neglects administrative history can hardly understand aright the process by which the two great machines of church and state, often at variance, but even more often in fairly friendly co-operation, restored law and order to Europe, overthrew feudal anarchy, and made peace, civilisation, arts, and science once more possible.

We next come to the second great stage in Thomas' career, a stage that lasts from 1162 to his death in 1170. The abruptness of the transition is emphasised by the fact that he was only ordained priest on the eve of his consecration as bishop, and that he said his first mass as effective primate of all England in his metropolitan cathedral. During these eight years he belongs to an even wider, and much more generally recognised type, a type with which the middle ages were only too familiar, the type of the political ecclesiastic. By this we mean that church interests were uppermost in his mind, that he conceived it

his chief duty to fight for the church, and make himself its champion. But his conception of the church remains a quasi-political conception. He regarded the church as a great organised society, a sort of state over against the state, a super-state if you will, with a higher mission, a greater right to control men's minds, but nevertheless as a body whose essence was political rather than spiritual, a machine, an organisation, a something concrete and tangible, whose function indeed was to promote God's glory, sound doctrine, and the good life, but whose method was to watch the lower organisation, that state which, though of God, was relegated to a lower and limited plane, which in effect was only too often to be envisaged as the work of sinful man, it may even be as the creation of the devil. It was the business of this organic and militant church to save the world from the overgrown might of the state, which, under strong and ambitious kings, was ever encroaching on the sphere of the church so that the zealous churchman was forced to stand, as it were, upon the defensive, to safeguard its privileges, to uphold its liberties, believing that in so doing he was best promoting the welfare of humanity, the glory of his Maker, and the prevalence of the things of the mind and soul over the things of the body. There were hundreds of conspicuous prelates of this sort, so many that it is hard to decide who were the most zealous, who the most characteristic of this mighty band. If Thomas be regarded, as well he may, as the sublimation of this type, he remains a striking and extraordinary but still not a unique figure in history.

What then did Thomas stand for in the years between 1162, when he became archbishop, and the year 1170, when he became Thomas the martyr? From 1162 to 1164 he remained in England; but even in those early years of his new dignity he was involved in all sorts of different disputes with the king. On becoming archbishop, Thomas, faithful to his long tradition of whole-hearted allegiance to his lord, threw himself with all his might into the new service to which he had now been called. Henceforth he was the servant neither of archbishop nor of the king but of Holy Church, and he devoted himself with heart and soul to safeguarding the interests of his new mistress. Henry II was bitterly disappointed. He regarded Thomas as bound to himself by personal as well as by official ties. Resenting his new attitude, the king took no pains to avoid the conflict which was soon imminent between him and the primate. The occasions of dispute

multiplied. Their immediate grounds are too trivial to detain us here, but they were all based on the incompatibility of interests and the similarity of temperament of the two protagonists. Soon they were all merged in the great dispute as to whether or not Thomas would accept what Henry's lawyers professed to be the "ancient customs" regarding the relations of church and state which were embodied in the Constitutions of Clarendon. To these constitutions Thomas for a moment gave a grudging and reluctant assent. But he repented almost immediately of this unworthy concession to the secular arm, and from the moment of his repentance there was no chance of a reconciliation between the rival authorities. Soon Thomas sought in exile freedom to uphold the liberties of the church. But the dispute was no mere English dispute. Henry was as much at home in France as in his island kingdom, and Thomas was more at home in his monastic retreats at Pontigny and Sens than he could have been in any spot that yielded civil obedience to Henry. The conflict was the world conflict of church and state that distracted western Christendom for centuries. It was in vain that pope Alexander III and Henry himself strove to isolate and localise the dispute. Alexander threw floods of cold water over the over-eager exile; but the pope's attitude, like the solid support given by the English bishops to the king, only convinced Thomas the more that he was waging, alone and unaided, the good fight for freedom. It was equally to no purpose that both sides used every effort to involve others in the controversy and fight out their fight alike by fair means or foul. By stopping all supplies from the resources of the church of Canterbury, Henry strove to starve out his enemies. By driving Thomas' kinsfolk into exile, he sought to make the dispute as bitter and as cruel as he knew how. By coercing the Cistercian order, afraid to quarrel with the mighty Angevin, Henry deprived Thomas of his quiet refuge at Pontigny. It was only through the support of the English king's political enemies, notably Louis VII of France, that Thomas could obtain a home to live in and the means for a precarious subsistence.

As time went on Thomas' prospects grew brighter, notably when Alexander was able to return to Italy, though not to Rome, from his long exile in France, and therefore felt himself in a stronger position to back up Thomas in his efforts. But new disputes complicated the position, and especially the unwarrantable intrusion by Henry on the

rights of Canterbury when he encouraged Roger, Archbishop of York, Thomas' most malignant enemy among the English episcopate, to crown his son, the younger Henry, as joint King of England, on Whitsunday, 1170, in Westminster Abbey, despite the protests of the exiled archbishop and the stern prohibition of the pope. But by this time both protagonists had grown weary of the struggle, and there followed the strangest turn of all in the long controversy. This was the sudden and altogether unsatisfactory reconciliation in which no word was said either about the disputed customs or about the new offence of Roger's aggression in the southern province. So imperfect was the patching up of the feud that there was no real attempt at a renewal of personal friendship. Nevertheless, Thomas was suffered to return to Canterbury, only to find that his sequestered estates were still administered by brutal knights in the king's service and that he was denied access to the young king Henry, who was nominally governing England during his father's absence in Normandy. Driven back to Canterbury, Thomas at once took up the challenge thrown down by archbishop Roger, and fulminated excommunication against all who had taken part in the irregular coronation of the young king.

Thomas' action, however injudicious, was only what any intelligent person who knew his character must have anticipated from him. Nevertheless, when the news of it passed over the seas to Henry, the king burst into a characteristic fit of temper in the course of which he uttered the rash words that encouraged four over-zealous knights, attached to his household service, to hurry over the channel, make their way to Canterbury, and murder the archbishop in his cathedral. With the tragedy of that dark winter day, 29 December, 1170, Thomas ceased to be the hot-headed and quarrelsome ecclesiastic, fighting for the privileges of his church. He became the saint and martyr. With his death he became an infinitely more powerful enemy to his king than ever he had been in his life. After it begins that posthumous history of Thomas of Canterbury which alone has given the martyr his unique place in history.

Before we begin to consider the last and most important stage of Thomas' influence, we must pause to ask ourselves what he was fighting for during these eight years of conflict. To do this properly we must try and enter sympathetically into the archbishop's point of view. To do this is not easy, since all the voluminous correspondence and

literature, arising from the controversy, though full of strong language and vituperation, is singularly unhelpful in material to enable us to narrow down the points of dispute into a definite shape. Thomas himself does little to put his views clearly. He was neither a scholar nor a thinker. He acted on impulse and on instinct rather than on reason, and he seldom presented a reasoned case either to himself or to others. He was above all things an administrator, a man of action, a man of practical affairs. He had little imagination or sympathy, little originality, and not much sense of humour. His culture was limited, and so far as it went was legal. He may have attended the lectures of Vacarius on Roman law in Theobald's court. He certainly frequented the schools of Bologna for a short season, when released by Theobald from the service of the court of Canterbury, in order that he might fit himself for his work as archdeacon by studying canon law at a time when the famous Gratian still taught at Bologna. He was no theologian. Though after his consecration he wore the black robe of an Austin canon and macerated his body by severe asceticism, his piety was that of the ordinary monk whose ideal was personal salvation for himself rather than ministerial service to the community.

The very simplicity of Thomas' point of view prevented any occasion from breaking from his old principles. His mainspring of duty was still loyalty to his immediate lord. This in no wise stood in the way of his abandoning his ancient habits and former relations to others. His early friendship from the days of his membership of Theobald's household he still kept up, just as he did his ancient enmities, notably his feud with Roger of Pont L'Evêque, who, like him, had been one of Theobald's clerks and had preceded him as archdeacon of Canterbury, releasing that post for him only on his nomination to the see of York.

Another old colleague in the court of Canterbury is of especial interest for us. Conspicuous among the band of scholars who frequented the household of Theobald was John of Salisbury, the greatest English man of letters of the time, with whom Thomas established life-long relations of intimacy. There was a great contrast of temperament between the two friends. John of Salisbury was a man of letters, the chief classical scholar of his age, the greatest product of the humanistic school of Chartres, moderate, balancing, tactful, and diplomatic, a sort

of Erasmus of the twelfth century, but quite free from the humorous scepticism and the restless spirit of investigation that marked the great Renaissance scholar until the rash violence of a Luther drove him into the conservatism of his old age. John of Salisbury was not only a man of letters and a scholar. Though hardly an original thinker, he was deeply interested in speculation, and beguiled a prolonged leisure of half disgrace in writing a huge treatise on political philosophy called the *Policraticus*, in which he laid down the approved twelfth century doctrine of the relations of church and state. He was a strong churchman, too, and had entered the household of Theobald on the recommendation of the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux to whom scholarship and philosophy were anathema, except when wholly devoted to the service of the church. The leisure which enabled John to put together this mighty tome had been secured because his hierarchical principles had early brought him into conflict with Henry II, so that for a season the court of Canterbury was an unsafe place for him. The reason of the dispute seems to have been that John had denounced too freely those spoliations of the church by which Henry had financed the war of Toulouse, and for which Thomas, when the king's chancellor, had been, as we have seen, responsible. But the trouble was soon patched up; John returned to the archbishop's household and was continued there after Thomas had succeeded Theobald. For the rest of his life the scholar and the new archbishop were the closest allies. It was to Thomas that John dedicated his *Policraticus*, and we can now read in print an edition of that work, edited with admirable scholarship from the very copy which John presented to his patron. This manuscript was preserved in the church of Canterbury until in Elizabeth's time Archbishop Parker probably saved it from destruction by including it in the great collection of manuscripts which he bequeathed to Corpus College at Cambridge, his own old college.¹ From this time onwards John of Salisbury made himself the brain of Archbishop Thomas. John the scholar stood to Thomas, the man of affairs, as John Locke stood to the first Earl of Shaftesbury or as Edmund Burke stood to the Rockingham Whigs, the source of their inspiration, the fountain of their ideas of general principle. From

¹ The best and most recent edition is that edited by Mr. C. C. I. Webb, *Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII.* (2 vols., Oxford, 1909).

him, if from any one, we can learn what Thomas' theory of church and state really was.

Like Thomas, John of Salisbury was not original. His *Politicus* is the accepted doctrine, illustrated with great learning. In it he lays down the time-honoured distinction between the constitutional king, the *rex politicus*, who reigns by law and the tyrant who overrides the law in the interest of his own individual caprice. For the law-abiding king John has the utmost respect. His power comes from God, for all lawful authority is from on High. He who resists the prince resists God Himself. But the prince, though the servant of law and equity, is himself released from the trammels of law because he represents the public authority. Even when, like Attila, he is the scourge of God, his rod is to be endured, for whomsoever the Lord loveth, He chasteneth. But the sword of justice, thus wielded by the righteous prince, comes from the hand of the church. The church hands over the secular sword to the prince, reserving the sword of spiritual justice to the bishops. The prince is, therefore, in a sense the minister of the priesthood, because he exercises that part of its sacred office which it regards as unfitting to be discharged by priestly hands. Thus the secular office is lower than that of the priest because it involves the punishment of crime and, after a fashion, resembles the work of a butcher. Conscious of his limited sphere the Emperor Constantine, though he summoned the first General Council to Nicæa, did not take the first seat in it but the last, and regarded the decisions of its fathers as sacrosanct. A crowd of ancient examples, evoked from the scholar's learning, now darkens John's general principles. It is enough for us if we remember his primary doctrine of the *regnum* as the minister of the *sacerdotium*, of the prince as the executive officer of the church. For who are to know the law, to ascertain justice, and the divine will, if it be not the priests of the Lord ?

It was from the point of view thus expressed by John of Salisbury that Thomas regarded the secular power. Henry II was so little trammelled by the divine law that he was a tyrant rather than a law-abiding prince. It was in vain that Henry pleaded that the customs formulated at Clarendon represented the traditions of his grandfather, Henry I, and of his great-grandfather, William the Conqueror. Much might be said for and against this contention. But to Thomas

the historical question of the truth of the king's allegations was a matter of no importance. If the customs were really customs, then so much the worse for the customs. It showed not only that Henry II was a tyrant, but that the imputation of tyranny could rightly be extended to William the Conqueror and his two sons. A good archbishop was bound to set his face against so wicked a tradition. In resisting the customs he was fighting for the liberties of holy church. And it was as the upholder of the freedom of the church that Thomas regarded himself. It was intolerable to him that a prince, whose function was to be the sword of the church, should tell the church what it could do and what it might not do. The church had ordained that ecclesiastical suits might upon occasion be brought before the papal curia. Could a prince of this world instruct God's people that they could not lay their causes before the vicar of Christ without his permission? Could a king check the flood of pious pilgrimage to the threshold of the apostles by forbidding the higher clergy from leaving the realm, save with the royal consent? Above all, could God's ordained ministers be dragged before secular tribunals, when the courts of the church were specially appointed to deal with them? And this plea for clerical immunity from the civil courts was the stronger since every special class had in those days its special exemptions from the ordinary law. When barons were tried by barons, townsmen by their fellow-townsmen, and even the misbelieving Jew brought before a court of his co-religionists, was the clerk alone to be submitted to the unsympathetic judgment of the royal courts?

Henry II himself so far felt the force of this plea that he did not so much as ask that clerks should be treated just like laymen and be exclusively judged in secular courts. To have made this request would have put the king hopelessly in the wrong with all serious contemporary opinion, and Henry was much too shrewd to have made so fatal a blunder. Accordingly he cloaked his statement of the "ancient custom" of the land in terms so ambiguous that they admit of very different interpretations. The result has been that it is still a question of probabilities and likelihood as to what was really required. One thing, however, is sufficiently clear and this definite point seems to me to be at the root of the matter. Henry insisted that clerks accused of any misdeed should on summons appear before the court of the king's justice, and thus recognise the royal supremacy.

His motive here seems to have been very much that which inspired the Reformation sovereigns to describe themselves as "over all persons and in all causes supreme". It was in effect a demand that clerks liable to judicial proceedings should recognise the king's authority over all his subjects.

In the same way it was insisted that, if the clerk, arraigned before the royal court, pleaded his clergy as a reason why the king's justice had no jurisdiction over him, it was left to the court to decide whether his plea was valid or not. If it were recognised, some officer of the court was to be sent to the ecclesiastical tribunal, and if the clerical offender confessed or was convicted, the protection of the church was to be withheld from him in the future. Save for this, the church could do what it liked with its own. But its punishment of the criminous cleric was to involve degradation from his orders so that he had no claim to clerical immunity for a second offence. The effect was that for a first offence the cleric was let off with the mild punishments which a sympathetic tribunal of men of his own profession was empowered to mete out to the erring cleric.

This is all that the plain text of the Assize of Clarendon requires of the clerical offender. But it is very possible that Henry may have indirectly asked for more than this. He may also have demanded that the criminous clerk, after conviction and degradation from his orders in the ecclesiastical court, should be brought back to the civil court and then be condemned to the barbarous punishments which the middle ages inflicted upon the peccant layman. That this was insisted upon by the king is the weighty judgment of the late F. W. Maitland, supported by texts and analogies from canon law.¹ Moreover, the view is supported by the statement of two chronicles, not very far removed in time and both written by men who had no ill will to Henry II.² It is also borne out by the argument used by Thomas himself against the king that God himself does not punish a man twice for the

¹ F. W. Maitland, *Collected Papers*, iii. 232-250, the most illuminating essay dealing with the problem of the criminous clerk.

² *Diceto* i. 313: "Rex decreverat . . . ut . . . curiae traderet puniendos. In contrarium sentiebant episcopi, quos enim exauctorarent a manu iudicali contendebant protegere, alioquin bis iudicatur in idipsum." Compare Hoveden, i. 219-20: "Rex volebat presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos et alias ecclesiarum rectores ducere ad secularia examina et punire sicut in laicos."

same offence.¹ The church courts could not deal out punishment affecting life or limb. But, besides degradation, they could inflict penance, imprisonment, fines, and other fairly adequate penalties. How far they did so for ordinary civil offences is another matter.

If Henry made this claim, he went too far. It is significant that, after Thomas' murder, we hear no more about it. It may well have been that under these circumstances the king had to draw in his horns. Anyhow the latter mediæval practice of benefit of clergy knew nothing of such reference back to the secular court for punishment, though in the appearance of the clerk before the king's court to plead his clergy, in the remittance of proved clerks to the ecclesiastical court, it secured exactly what Henry had certainly asked for in the constitutions of Clarendon. But in later times the action of the church court was from this point final. An offender relegated to the *forum ecclesiasticum* was normally left to expiate his misdeeds by such punishment as bishop or arch-deacon inflicted in accordance with the canon law. It was mainly in cases of heresy that the church courts invoked the secular arm to carry out the death sentence which the canons forbade them to impose.

It is important to grasp the line taken up by the high-flying ecclesiastic of the period. Otherwise we may fail to appreciate the point of view of men like Thomas or John of Salisbury. There is little danger of the modern reader being equally unsympathetic to the king's attitude. This is simply the claim of the state to control all its subjects. It was put on behalf of the king because the twelfth century could conceive no other form of state than monarchy, and for that reason when it claimed "divine right" for kings, it did not exalt monarchy at the expense of republicanism. It simply asserted the divine origin and sanction, the naturalness, as the Greeks put it, of the state. But monarchical authority, though the only conceivable form of polity in the twelfth century, was in practice exceedingly greedy and oppressive. The best of kings were pretty unscrupulous tyrants: the petty feudal prince was often very much worse than the more responsible lord of a great state. But the great monarchs of the twelfth century, with all their brutalities, were making an orderly state of society possible and so were promoting the course of civilisation. Moreover,

¹ "Non enim Deus judicat bis in idipsum;" Will. Cant. in *Materials*, i. 28. The same phrase, perhaps borrowed, is in Diceto, as above. William was the earlier writer.

they were so powerful that it needed a rare courage in a man with no armed force behind him to set himself up against the king's pleasure. The lay lord might rely upon his own armed following : but the prelate had little to fall back upon except moral force. And there is always something respectable in the resistance to physical force by moral force. Already by the twelfth century public opinion had its weight even against the strong man armed. From this aspect of the case St. Thomas deserves, at least, respect.

Thomas has been sometimes regarded as the champion of all sorts of causes with which he had nothing to do. It is easy, however, to say what he was not fighting for. No man now believes with Thierry that he was the champion of Englishmen against Normans, and we must now dismiss the notion that he was an early example of resistance to "unconstitutional" taxation, a doctrine which attracted Stubbs, though that prudent scholar never really committed himself to it. But nationality, like taxation by consent, representative assemblies, and all the paraphernalia of later constitutionalism, was not yet in existence. A twelfth century man must be judged by twelfth century standards. These standards were universal, cosmopolitan, international—however you like to put it. The strong international bent of the western church secured for all Roman christendom a common standard of ideals. And if there were no national state, still less could there be a national church. It would be futile to regard the little bickerings of Thomas with Alexander III as a protest of the head of the English church against a foreign ecclesiastic. To Thomas, as to all men of his time, the pope was the supreme head of the church whose *ex cathedra* utterances no good Christian might gainsay.

This, then, was the cause for which Thomas believed himself to be fighting. It was the battle of ecclesiastical liberty, the supremacy of things of the mind and soul over things of the world and the body. What the liberty of the church quite meant, he did not so much define as assume. This battle for ecclesiastical freedom he fought, strenuously indeed and with all his might. But he fought it violently, tactlessly, intemperately, unscrupulously even, playing for his own hand with almost as much recklessness as Henry II showed in the conflict against him. It was this impolitic rashness that tended to withdraw from Thomas much support on which he believed he could have counted. It was his trouble that he got so little sympathy even among

churchmen, that his fellow metropolitan, Roger of York, was his worst enemy, that most of the bishops were on the king's side, that even the pope and the austere Cistercians feared to incur the king's anger by upholding the self-appointed champion of the church's cause. Thomas felt his loneliness exceedingly, but he fiercely resented the cowardice, and time serving, which, as he imagined, stood at the back of the lukewarmness of his brethren. He was the more convinced that he was fighting the cause of God because he found so little sympathy among men.

Besides the obvious tendency which impelled worldly ecclesiastics to make themselves friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, there were other reasons why public opinion was so nicely divided. Some of the bishops opposed to Thomas,—Gilbert Foliot of London, for instance,—were in their way as high minded as the archbishop himself. But the chief factor in the situation was that there was no clear cut line of division between the policy of the king and that of the archbishop. Henry himself would probably, like most men of the twelfth century, have accepted in essentials Thomas' general doctrine of the relations of church and state. Neither Thomas nor his literary mentor showed any disposition to preach resistance to the divine right of the political state. It was not so much the clash of opposite principles as of opposite temperaments. It is not very likely that Henry had a very clear theory of the state, but if he had, I feel sure that it would have been hard to fit it in in practice with Thomas' theory of the church. It is for the philosopher or the divine to say which of their theories was true. But the historian must record that all through the middle ages the champions of the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium* went on stating their own side without much reference to their enemies' position. And nobody even seemed a penny the worse for these incompatibilities. The two doctrines were each asserted independently and out of relation to each other. Neither then nor later did church and state fight out a square issue of principle. The points in dispute were intricate, personal, historical, and practical details. William the Conqueror and Lanfranc doubtless differed in principle as much as Henry II and Thomas. But their personal friendliness and their practical good sense enabled each to keep his principles in his pocket and live on good terms with his rival. Thomas and Henry were so similar in their eagerness, their self will, their violence of

language, and their blind forgetfulness of the situation as a whole that they were bound to be at variance. Had they quarrelled on broad issues, they could hardly have even pretended to a reconciliation which left all those issues untouched. However these things may be, it is unlikely that in his lifetime Thomas could have won his posthumous reputation as the protagonist of ecclesiastical liberty.

The liberty of holy church is a fine phrase but a vague one, too vague to stir men to join issues unless it be more closely defined. Not even the most obstinate of mediæval kings would have denied the principle of ecclesiastical freedom, however much he over-ruled it in practice. Every monarch, from Henry I to Edward I, who issued a charter of liberties wrote down as the first article "*Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit*". But did this broad platitude take anybody any farther? All depended on its definition, and the only definition that the most detailed of the charters gave to it was that illusory freedom of election to bishoprics and abbeys, always conceded in theory, always denied in practice. There was nothing in such an issue to stir men's blood. A martyr must lay down his life for something more concrete than this vague abstraction. But we have no reason for not believing that to Thomas the freedom of the church meant something very real and living. But he went into exile, not to uphold this abstraction, but because the king and he were incompatible in temper and disagreed upon very concrete questions of detail.

The same vagueness of position that marked Thomas' controversial attitude from 1164 to 1170 did not extend to the definite point of issue which he took up when he got back to Canterbury in December, 1170. This was the defence of the rights of the see of Canterbury against the encroachments of Archbishop Roger of York. It was for this limited cause that Thomas, as a matter of fact, died, and it is a commonplace with his modern critics to say that it was hardly a cause worth dying for. It is true that the trivial disputes of the two archbishops as to the right of each to bear his cross erect in the province of his rival are among the most ridiculous of the long quarrels about very little that are so characteristic of the litigious middle ages. But there was something more than personal rivalry involved. The rights of the church of Canterbury seemed to Thomas and to many more thoughtful men a thing worth fighting for. It was not only the personal ill will between two old enemies that so far embittered the strife of

the northern and southern metropolitans. Remember how much Canterbury had lost within living memory! How Lanfranc had been forced to recognise the Archbishop of York, a mere titular metropolitan before this period, as an equal, though less dignified, sharer in the ecclesiastical government of England. How Roger, with the king's connivance, had striven to filch away from Thomas the position of papal legate, an effort the more alarming since Henry of Winchester, another aspirant to the pallium of a metropolitan, had usurped the apostolic legation in Theobald's early days. Moreover, Gilbert Foliot was contemplating a new, or reviving an old, archbishopric of London, and Gerald of Wales was before long to put down a similar claim for St. David's. A recent pope had taken away from Canterbury its vague jurisdiction over the Danish bishops of the Irish coast towns by providing Ireland with four up-to-date metropolitans of its own. All these things might well make Thomas alarmed for the rights of the church of Canterbury. Here at least he had the pope strongly on his side, for the attack on Canterbury was also an attack on the curia. We could forgive Thomas the more easily but for the personal rancour which he threw into his assault. But Roger was cruelly revenged when the swords of the four knights made Thomas the archbishop Thomas the martyr.

We must now go on to what I have called the posthumous history of St. Thomas. This is out and away more important than his personal life. This is what gave Thomas his real place in history. So long as he lived, he was one angry man quarrelling with others. His opponents seemed to many wise men to have just as good a cause as the hot-headed Archbishop of Canterbury. The moment of his cruel death there was but one opinion about him. The king, whom he had withstood to his face, repudiated all complicity in his murder. He atoned for the rash words that had incited his knights to perpetrate the deed by a signal penance and severe chastisement in the crypt beneath the Trinity Chapel where the martyr's bones then lay. The murderers sought by penitence, crusadings, and pilgrimage, to wipe out the stain of the martyr's blood. The monks of Christ Church dedicated to the king the great collection of Thomas' miracles by their brother monk William,¹ feeling confident that it would be a pleasing offering to the royal majesty.

¹ *Materials for the History of Thos. Becket*, i., 137 et seq.

The very ministers of the baffled tyrant were foremost among the champions of the martyr. Richard of Lucy, the justiciar, who had been involved in Thomas' broadcast sentences of anathema, renounced the world and retired to a house of Austin canons, founded by him in honour of St. Mary and Thomas of Canterbury, saint and martyr, and there at Lesnes he died in that black habit which Thomas had worn during all his later years. Lukewarm friends become eager partisans. The half-hearted pope made the man he had snubbed in life a canonised saint within three years of his death. The timid bishops of the province, who had checked him at every stage, were now the most loyal of the worshippers of the new saint. Gilbert Foliot of London, one of the most inveterate of Thomas' episcopal enemies, recovered from a grievous sickness by vowing that if he recovered he would visit the tomb of the martyred Thomas.¹ The few faithful friends rejoiced in his fame, and glorified his sufferings. John of Salisbury, called within a few years to become ruler of the church of Chartres, styled himself "bishop by the grace of God and the favour of St. Thomas the Martyr". There were no two opinions now about Thomas' merits and sanctity. He was now in very truth the martyr who had laid down his life for the freedom of Holy Church. All England worshipped his memory, believed in the countless cures worked by his relics, and went forth on pilgrimage to his shrine. The live Thomas had ploughed his lonely furrow amidst the indifference or hostility of the mass of Englishmen. The dead Thomas was acclaimed on all sides as a saint and a martyr. Yet the substantial continuance of the "customs" against which Thomas had protested showed that even the saint and martyr was not omnipotent. The only important article of the Constitutions of Clarendon which altogether missed fire was the one forbidding appeals to Rome without the sanction of the crown. But here, at least, the king was the innovator, and so trenchant an attack on the liberty of the church universal failed because every good Christian believed with all his heart that the supreme and unlimited ecclesiastical power was inherent in the pope, the vicar of Christ on earth, the "universal ordinary". Accordingly while Henry evaded in making his submission to the pope any formal renunciation of the Constitutions of Clarendon, he was constrained to agree that appeals to the pope should be allowed.

¹ *Miracula S. Thomae in Materials*, i. 251-252.

The results of the swift revolution of feeling following on the martyrdom of St. Thomas were conspicuous for the rest of the middle ages. At last England had produced a saint of world-wide reputation, whose tomb rivalled the shrine of the three kings and the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne, or the burial place of St. James the Apostle at Compostella in Spain. The most holy of pilgrim resorts, the threshold of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, nay, the sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem itself, could hardly boast of a greater affluence of the faithful than that which sought help from, or returned thanks to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Not only did the pilgrims throng, as Chaucer tells us, from "every shire's end of England". The steady rush of pilgrims from beyond sea compensated in some fashion for the outflow of British pilgrims to foreign sanctuaries. They came high and low, gentle and simple. The pilgrim records of three centuries include kings of France, such as Louis VII and John, who visited the shrine on his release from captivity in 1360. Kings and princes deemed it a privilege to lay their bones hard by the sacred dust of the archbishop. Edward the Black Prince ordered his burial at Canterbury in a space adjacent to the tomb of Thomas the "true martyr". Henry IV, the clerically minded king, chose the same place of sepulture. Neither of these princes thought that they were in anywise abdicating their sovereign claims in this association with St. Thomas. He was the saint of all good Englishmen. And not of Englishmen only. Western emperors, like Sigismund of Luxemburg and Charles V, eastern emperors, like Manuel, could not complete a visit to England without the Canterbury pilgrimage. There is no need to labour these points. The literature, the social life, the language, the very oaths of Englishmen reflect the power of the dead Thomas over the mind of the everyday man. The extraordinary splendour of St. Thomas' shrine, glittering with gold and silver, with jewels and precious stones, bore testimony enough to the mightiness of the saint whose bones were thus so honourably interred. All over Christendom relics of St. Thomas were in the highest request.

Three illustrations may be briefly given of the posthumous influence of St. Thomas upon the western church. Two shall be general, and one local to his own church of Canterbury. The general illustrations are founded on the extent of territory over which his miraculous powers were reputed to be exercised, and the wide diffusion of the dedication

of churches and monasteries in honour of his memory. The local illustration shall be the extent to which the imitation of St. Thomas was an abiding principle to his successors in the church of Canterbury.

The long catalogues of miracles wrought by the intercession of St. Thomas are for the most part rather monotonous and unprofitable reading. But they have their value, and that a many-sided one. For us their interest must be limited to the proof they afford of the widespread cult of the saint. The first marvels happened, naturally enough, at Kent, and notably at Canterbury. But if we turn over the two lists of miracles, drawn up within a few years of Thomas' martyrdom by Benedict and William, both monks of Canterbury, we shall see how little the saint's wonders were limited to his own locality. We read of cures wrought on a clerk of Orleans and how a blasphemous clerk of Nantes was condignly punished. The burgesses of Bedford send to the church of Canterbury a well-attested list of miracles wrought by St. Thomas in their midst. A knight of Pontefract has his son restored to life; a moribund canon of Beverley was restored to health; a Warwickshire nun was cured of epilepsy. There were cures in Wales and in Ireland, in Normandy and in Poitou, in Hainault and in Artois, in Flanders and in Périgord, at Piacenza and at Genoa, in Slesvig and in Sweden, in Germany and in Russia, in the Holy Land and on the Mediterranean. Not only men and women, but brute beasts profited by his potent intercession. St. Thomas restored to life a gander near Canterbury, and a sucking pig, drowned in Norfolk, was brought to life on being devoted to St. Thomas. Nay, well-established saints showed a rare delicacy of feeling in declining to perform their accustomed miracles and in advising the afflicted to give a chance to the new saint. Thus patients to whom our Lady of Rocamadour in Quercy and the great Saint Denis of France would afford no relief, obtained the hoped-for cure by St. Thomas' mighty intercession.

For all these benefits a pilgrimage to Canterbury was not a necessary preliminary. Many pilgrimages were in recognition of favours already received. A general means of cure was the "water of St. Thomas," a fluid which contained some of the martyr's blood. It was taken away from Canterbury by pilgrims in small leaden bottles, the bearing of which became the characteristic mark of the pilgrim of St. Thomas.

Dedications to St. Thomas soon became very frequent. One of

the first was Richard of Lucy's abbey of Lesnes in Erith, which has been mentioned already. Other religious houses dedicated to St. Thomas include Beauchief near Sheffield, Woodspring near Weston in Somerset, Bec in Norfolk, on the pilgrim's road to our Lady of Walsingham, and the Eastbridge hospital in Canterbury, sometimes said to be founded by Thomas himself. All these were convents of some sort of regular canons, mainly of Austin canons, whose black habit St. Thomas himself wore, though never formally a member of any order. They were largely devoted to eleemosynary and hospital work, a circumstance which enabled the most famous hospital, dedicated to St. Thomas, to survive the Reformation and continue its beneficent work to our own day. This is the great London hospital at St. Thomas, "refounded" by Henry VIII after his unique fashion of getting glory from other people's money, but luckily still preserving its original dedication, though few Londoners know that it is dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury and not to St. Thomas the Apostle. The same is the case with a great multitude of parish churches, now simply called after St. Thomas, and sometimes specifically called from St. Thomas the Apostle by reason of a change of dedication in the reign of Henry VIII. Indeed it may well be true of the great majority, for the doubting apostle was no favourite in mediæval England, and apart from post mediæval dedications we may claim the mass of early Thomas churches for the saint of Canterbury. Besides individual dedications a whole order was established under Thomas' invocation. This was the only English order of crusading knights; the order of St. Thomas of Acre, founded in the Holy Land when the saints' memory was still fresh. Its London house in Cheapside was established on the site of the home of the saint's parents, where Thomas first saw the light. It was conveyed to the order by St. Thomas' sister. But the community never greatly flourished. It lost its *raison d'être* when in 1291 Acre fell to the infidel. It dragged on only an obscure existence until the Reformation. To these dedications we must add altars, chapels, commemorative pictures and the like, rare now in England, thanks to Henry VIII, but still found abroad where Thomas' memory was almost as famous as at home. There is an early mosaic of St. Thomas in the cathedral of Monreale, near Palermo, set up by William, the good king of Sicily, who married a daughter of Henry II.

Canterbury naturally remained the focus of the cult of St. Thomas. Let us therefore revert again to our local illustrations. Its cathedral was in popular belief "the church of St. Thomas,"¹ though it seems certain that it was always officially styled Christ Church. Just as Thomas had braced himself up to martyrdom by the example of his predecessors Alphege and Anselm, so his successors at Canterbury found in his career an incentive to duty, notably to stand for the freedom of the church and especially for the church of Canterbury. This did not prevent archbishops quarrelling with the monks of Christ Church, where excessive privileges made them almost independent of their diocesan and nominal abbot. But the wealth that St. Thomas brought to Christ Church made the monks' position against the Archbishop even more impregnable than ever. This Archbishop Baldwin found to his cost when compelled to desist from his attempt to set up a rival secular college, which might become his cathedral, first at Hackington, then at Lambeth. There was little that smacked of truth in the allegation of his proctor at Rome that St. Thomas had initiated this undertaking.² St. Thomas, who quarrelled with all men, never quarrelled with the monks of Christ Church. And of how few mediæval archbishops could this be said?

The influence of St. Thomas on his successors came out first in the case of Stephen Langton, who when involved, like St. Thomas, in hostility to the king, consoled himself for his exclusion from England by seeking a refuge at Pontigny amidst the scenes hallowed by Thomas' abode in exile. Returned to England, Langton procured that famous translation of 7 July, 1220, whose seventh centenary has recently been celebrated. The vast concourse of the faithful, their lavish entertainment by the archbishop and his own sermon on that occasion afford the best of testimonies to the influence of Thomas' career on the mind of his distinguished successor. A very different archbishop to the great theologian and statesman was the pious and gentle Edmund of Abingdon, who, finding the business of ruling the English church in troublous times too much for his sensitive and scrupulous temper,

¹ Erasmus, in describing his famous "peregrinatio religionis ergo" to Canterbury, does not scruple to call Christchurch "templum divo Thomae sanctum" and "quod nunc appellatur sancti Thomae," *Colloquia*, p. 312 (Amsterdam, 1754).

² Gervase, ii. 401.

abandoning his charge in despair, ended his life at Pontigny, meditating on the example of his predecessor and emulating his ascetic practices. He had his reward in the honours of sanctity, being the only archbishop since Thomas admitted into the canon. Behind the high altar of the great church of Pontigny, in which Thomas and Stephen had prayed, the sanctified body of St. Edmund can still be seen enshrined, having escaped the iconoclasm alike of sixteenth century Calvinism and of modern Jacobinism.

The example of a fighting saint like Thomas appealed with even more force to archbishops of combative instincts than to a man of the type of St. Edmund of Abingdon. Archbishop John Peckham, the Franciscan friar, who was always on the verge of a great conflict with Edward I, but whose prudence, combined with that of the king, prevented at the eleventh hour more than the mere preliminaries of strife, declared that when he came to Canterbury he set before himself to follow in the footsteps of the glorious martyr Thomas and to defend with all his might the freedom of the Church, which was, he believed, in his days more trodden under foot by the world than had even been the case when Thomas laid down his life in that sacred cause.¹ Far less saintly archbishops than the high-minded and excellent Peckham followed the same policy. Peckham's successor, Robert Winchelsea, who fought for the freedom of the baronage as well as of the church, and succeeded in imposing real checks on the power of Edward I by wresting from him the most complete confirmation of the Great Charter, was inspired by the same exemplar of devotion. And worst of all, a self-seeking worldling like John Stratford, who had won high office in the church by the most questionable means and whose place in history is purely that of a statesman, when driven by Edward III from office, shut himself up in Christ Church, Canterbury, and preached against his enemy the king in a series of sermons in which he compared himself with St. Thomas. There is some declension here from the mediæval ideal.

Mediæval traditions were now rapidly losing their hold over men's minds. Thirty years later another archbishop, Simon of Sudbury, dared to tell a throng of Canterbury pilgrims who were making their way to the jubilee of 1370 that the plenary indulgence they

¹ Peckham's *Letters*, i. 22, "proponens gloriosi martyris Thomae sequi vestigia"; cf. i. 243, "martyrem non facit pœna sed causa".

sought for was of little avail to those that did not approach the shrine with clean hands and a pure heart. Not only the piety but the vested interests of the Kentish inn-keepers and shop-keepers that profited by the pilgrimages, bitterly resented this saying. The cruel death of Archbishop Simon in 1381, at the hands of the Kentish mob that followed Wat Tyler to London, was looked upon as the vengeance of St. Thomas upon the impious archbishop that spoke lightly of the spiritual benefits of the Canterbury pilgrimage. Yet the poet Gower prosily compares the death of Simon and the death of Thomas :—

Disparilis causa manet et mors una duobus.
Immerito patitur justus uterque tamen.¹

Worse was now to come. The gentle satire that underlies Chaucer's immortal framework of the Canterbury pilgrimage shows how the journey to St. Thomas' shrine was now to most men a holiday junketing rather than a week of earnest piety. The famous pilgrimage of Erasmus and Colet, which Erasmus has so brilliantly described, showed both in the scoffing of the humanist sceptic, and in the hot indignation of the earnest theologian who accompanied him, that St. Thomas' reign over men's minds was coming to an end. The huckstering spirit that spoilt the jubilee of 1520 because the Christ Church monks and the Roman curia could not agree upon the sharing of the spoils shows a further stage of declension. The final act came when Henry VIII destroyed Thomas' shrine, erased his name from the service books, and bade all men cease to worship "Bishop Becket," because he was neither a saint nor a martyr, but a false knave and a traitor. Then to the scandal of all old believers, Henry's creature, Archbishop Cranmer, openly ate meat in his palace on the eve of the feast of the most famous of Canterbury saints. It remains for us to draw the balance between the blind enthusiasms of the twelfth century and the vulgar iconoclasm of the sixteenth.

Nowadays there is no need to dwell upon the strain of superstition, credulity, imposture, money-making, and mere holiday junketing that in all ages had their share in the cult of a popular mediæval saint like St. Thomas. There is as little occasion to overstress the fanaticism, one-sidedness, and mere greed for worldly wealth and power that inspired much of the imitation of St. Thomas, and were not altogether

¹ *Vox Clamantis* in *Works*, i. 52, ed. Macaulay.

absent in the career of Thomas himself. But these excesses lay outside the root of the matter, and it is beside the mark to treat these exuberances as if they were the essence of the whole thing. With all his faults Thomas was a great, an appealing, and a human figure, and if his posthumous worship soon smothered up the man, and replaced him by an abstract image of devotion to ecclesiastical liberty, both St. Thomas, as he really was, and St. Thomas, as he appeared to be to posterity, have their place in history, and that not an altogether unhonoured or discreditable one. Unshrinking courage and devotion to an ideal are none too common, whether in St. Thomas' days or since for it. It was no ungenerous instinct that led twelfth century Englishmen to the worship of St. Thomas, for the cause, as it seemed, of freedom against tyranny, right against might, the spiritual and moral law against the forces of the world. There was not only sympathy for his cause. There was genuine pity for his sufferings. Rude and cruel as mediæval man commonly was, he was capable of great outbursts of genuine emotion. And nothing moved him more profoundly than a tale of a piteous end, and of a great career cut short by profane violence. Many worse men than St. Thomas excited compassion by reason of the tragedy of their fall from greatness. There was a cry for the canonisation of such men as Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and his cousin and rival King Edward II, men whose lives were evil, selfish, and purposeless, and whose enmities were based on little save personal animosities of a low kind. There were pilgrimages to the chapel outside Pontefract when Earl Thomas' headless corpse lay buried, and the tomb of King Edward in Gloucester Abbey threatened to attract a confluence of votaries as lucrative to St. Peter's at Gloucester as the cult of St. Thomas was to the convent of Christ Church at Canterbury. The good sense and moderation of the papacy saved England from the scandal of the canonisation of such men. Alexander III had shown politic moderation in mitigating the tempestuous violence of Thomas in his lifetime. He was swept off his feet by the wave of feeling excited by the cruel deed of the four knights, and canonised Thomas with a haste only paralleled by the canonisation of St. Francis within two years of his death. Thomas was no beautiful character, no pervading spiritual influence, no faithful imitator of Christ, as was Francis. He was, however, a much more characteristic man of his times, and because he was, so to say, a glorification of a

common type, it was the easier for his claims to sanctity to satisfy the somewhat exacting yet rigid standards of the papal curia. It is almost as difficult to regard him merely as an ambitious priest grasping after power as it is for most moderns to believe in the miracles wrought at his shrine, well attested as many of them are.

Whatever be Thomas' claims to sanctity, there is no doubt as to the great part he played in history. The first of our great chancellors, the most famous, though not the greatest, of our archbishops of Canterbury, the most strenuous of vindicators of the freedom which the middle ages best knew, the freedom of the church, the most piteous of victims of a cruel deed of blood, and finally, by far the most universally reputed and widely famous of English saints, St. Thomas of Canterbury claims a high place not only as among the conspicuous figures of his own age, but as one who made his influence felt and strongly felt in English history. If his power has passed away for centuries, there is still one little abiding influence of Thomas that can be felt by all who still date the latter season of the Christian year by Trinity Sunday and the innumerable Sundays after Trinity. It was Archbishop Thomas, we are told, who first in England set apart the octave of Pentecost for the special worship of the Holy Trinity,¹ choosing the day not so much because it was the date of his episcopal consecration, but because it was the day of the first mass which the newly priested primate had ever sung. England from his example at once took up the new feast. It only gradually became general, but at last Thomas' device of a Trinity Sunday was ratified for the church universal by Pope John XXII, 170 years later, when the Sunday after Whitsunday was universally appointed as the day for the celebration of this feast. But to this day the Roman calendar reckons the Sundays between Whitsunday and Advent as Sundays after Pentecost. Post Reformation England in still describing the summer and autumn Sundays as Sundays after Trinity is, all unconsciously, showing that the will of St. Thomas of Canterbury still exercises some special sort of influence in St. Thomas' own land.

¹ *Gervase Cant. Cont.*, i. 171 (1162) "consecratus autem . . . Cantuariensis archiepiscopus instituit festivitatem principalem sanctæ Trinitatis singulis annis in perpetuum die octavarum Pentecostes celebrandam, unde et ipse eadem die missam celebravit."

NOTE ON THE AUTHORITIES.

The chief original sources for the history of St. Thomas are collected by Canon Robertson and Dr. Sheppard in the seven volumes of *Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, published in the Rolls Series. This collection includes the chief biographies, the contemporary accounts of the miracles reputed to be worked by his remains, and a large collection of his letters. The modern literature devoted to the subject is more conspicuous for its bulk than for its value, much of it being inspired by controversial rather than historical motives. Perhaps the best of the formal biographies is the second edition, written from the Catholic point of view, by the Rev. Canon J. Morris, styled *Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket* (1885). There is also a good account of his early life in the Rev. L. B. Radford's *Thomas of London before his Consecration*. Among the not very edifying controversial literature produced by Thomas' career is the polemic of E. A. Freeman against the well written but unsatisfactory studies of J. A. Froude, reprinted in his *Short Studies*, vol. iv. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, vol. i., and Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, vol. i., expound with great moderation and scholarship two rather different points of view. To these Maitland's article on *Henry II and the Criminous Clerks*, already referred to, must be added. There is a good short biography by the late Miss Kate Norgate under Thomas in vol. lvi. of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A glimpse into some of the contemporary records can be obtained from W. H. Hutton's *St. Thomas of Canterbury* in the series called *English History from the Contemporary Writers*. Canon A. J. Mason's *What became of the Bones of St. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1920) is an interesting and valuable contribution to the saint's fifteenth jubilee, and also includes a study of the narratives of the passion, a history of the tomb and shrine, as well as of the supposed discovery of the bones in 1888, copiously illustrated from original sources. The late Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral* give a vivid and picturesque but not too scholarly an account of Thomas' last days and posthumous reputation.

GIAMBATTISTA VICO : AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PIONEER.¹

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THE man of whom I am about to speak, Giambattista Vico, was born in 1668, the year after the publication of *Paradise Lost*, and died in 1744, the year of the death of Pope. He was almost unknown during his life ; he remained unknown for nearly a century after his death. Michelet, the great French historian, was the first scholar to form any just estimate of his importance : to comprehend, even remotely, the significance of the ideas which he flung upon the world, of the vast fabric of learning and criticism which he built upon them. Close on a century has passed since Michelet (1828) rediscovered the man who already had lain for nearly a century in his grave ; and I doubt whether, even now, more than a handful of scholars, beyond the bounds of Italy, are aware of what the world owes to him : of the manifold directions in which he anticipated the most fruitful developments of modern thought, the most pregnant results of modern criticism and research.

He was above all things a pioneer. He opened a new page in political philosophy, and incidentally in the study of Greek and Roman History. He founded the study of Comparative Mythology and the kindred subjects. He was the first to attempt what has since been called a Philosophy of History. He was the herald of that movement which, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, gave a new birth to European poetry.

How, in the short time before us, can I hope to justify this estimate ? to convey to you any notion of the vast field which this obscure scholar made his own ?

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 9 March, 1921.

Let me begin by recalling to your mind the general trend of thought and feeling in Western Europe at the time when he was growing to manhood : the broad outlines which the inner world, the world of thought and imagination, presented to a man whose life covered the last third of the seventeenth century and nearly the first half of the eighteenth.

In the field of poetry, of imaginative thought and temper, we all know the main features, the prevailing atmosphere, of the time. It was the age of Dryden and Pope, in England ; of Boileau and his dearly prized "good sense," his "legislation of Parnassus," in France ; of a tribe of forgotten poetasters who feebly followed in the tracks laid down by Pope or Boileau, in Germany, Italy and Spain. It was an age, that is, when Poetry was coming more and more to renounce its own nature ; to forget its true task which is to create, to "body forth the forms of things unseen" ; and to content itself with reproducing, still more with analyzing, material avowedly given to it from without : in a word, an age when Poetry, in the higher and nobler sense of the word, was for the moment sunk in a deep sleep.

Turn to the field of speculative thought, and we can trace the working of much the same forces ; though, for reasons which will suggest themselves to every one, with far less fatal results. It was the age of Hobbes and Locke, leading on, with inexorable logic, to the age of Hume and the sceptics, of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. It was an age, once again, in which reason came more and more to renounce, or rather flatly to deny, its creative faculty : more and more to resign itself to the humbler task of registering and analyzing the material given through the senses from without : an age, therefore, of materialism, first veiled then exultant, as regards the sources and scope of man's knowledge ; of pure hedonism or utilitarianism, as regards his active existence, his motives and purposes as a moral being.

Now, against all this Vico was, by instinct, in stark rebellion. It is his historical importance to have raised, to have been the first to raise, the standard of revolt against it. Others, no doubt, eventually followed in his steps : some of them, perhaps, of a genius yet greater, all of them with an influence much more powerful and far-reaching, than his. But the earliest of these, Rousseau, did not begin to write until five years after Vico's death ; he did not reach the full height of his powers until a dozen years later (1762). In other words, Vico, whose

chief work (*La Scienza Nuova*) was first published in 1725,¹ forestalled the earliest of his followers by at least a generation. And if we take the more special achievements of his genius, his work as pioneer in Comparative Mythology, his work as interpreter of early Roman History, his work in Homeric criticism, we see that he forestalled Niebuhr by at least three-quarters of a century, Wolf by much the same interval, and Jakob Grimm by more than a century. All these men, apparently in complete ignorance of their forerunner, were engaged in exploring the mines of thought and learning which Vico had laid open a hundred years, more or less, before they entered on their task. In the whole history of literature I know of nothing quite parallel to this.

If anything could increase our surprise at so strange a portent, it is the surroundings in which Vico was born and bred. He was an Italian: an Italian of the days when Italy, once in the vanguard of thought and imaginative creation, had sunk to compete with Spain for the place of the most corrupt and nerveless race of Western Europe. More than that: he was a Neapolitan; and of all the Italian States, Naples—overrun by brigands, its sovereignty divided between a race of alien degenerates, the Spanish Bourbons, and a native rabble of sturdy beggars—was the worst governed and the most backward. Who could have supposed that such a community was capable of giving birth to the most independent thinker of his time? to the man whose mission it was, as we can now see, to revolutionize the intellectual and imaginative temper of all Europe?—

Via prima salutis,
Quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.

Yes, here, in the very backwash of an outworn civilization, lived and died the author of the *New Science*: an obscure professor of Rhetoric, eking out his scanty pittance by giving private lessons in grammar and composing fulsome eulogies of Popes, Cardinals and Arch-Duchesses.

I. Such were the surroundings of the worker. Let us now turn to see him at work. And first—for that is the main purpose of the *New Science*—at work as reformer of Political Philosophy. What

¹ The Second Version, which is an entirely new book, was published in 1730. A revision of this Version was published in the year of Vico's death (1744); it is this which forms the text of the Second Version in Ferrari's Edition (6 Vols., Milan, 1854).

had been the leading ideas, what the outstanding results, of those who had toiled in this field during the century or so before Vico ? of Hobbes and Locke, on the one hand ; of Spinoza, on the other ?

The practical conclusions of these men were widely different. All, however, were agreed on at least one point : they all accepted the theory of a Social Contract. They all assumed, that is, an original "state of nature"—a state in which every individual was wholly independent of all the rest ; then a contract between these isolated individuals : a contract providing for the establishment of civil society and a settled government. But, as you are doubtless aware, the theory of Contract, like most other theories which for a time find general acceptance, was a theory which lent itself to the most motley interpretations. It was a blank form, which could adapt itself to the most diverse assumptions and be made to yield the most contradictory conclusions. In the hands of Hobbes, it led to pure despotism, the most unmitigated despotism that the wit of man has ever conceived. In the hands of Locke, it was a charter of freedom, of freedom based upon the natural rights of the individual. In the hands of Spinoza, finally, it became the pure gospel of utilitarianism, the theory which regards civil society as formed and sustained solely by the play of individual interests.

Yet all these theories have one assumption in common : the assumption that the natural state of man is a state of individual isolation. All of them, therefore, are at bottom markedly individualist. This is so even with Hobbes whose individuals are, in the state of nature, more completely isolated from—indeed, more hostile to—each other than in any other form of this Protean theory ; and for whom, even after civil society, the great Leviathan, has taken shape, they still remain equally isolated : herded, rather than held, together only by common terror of the tyrant's sword and, because isolated, destined to succumb all the more helplessly before the tyrant's unlimited power. It is so still more obviously with Locke and Spinoza : with the one, in virtue of his individual rights—the fountain-head of modern individualism ; with the other, in virtue of his insistence upon the all-sufficiency of individual interests.

Now to all these theories, alike to their form and to their matter, alike to their Contract machinery and to the ideas which lay behind it, Vico was in violent hostility. And his main ground of complaint

is that all alike—machinery, ideas, assumptions—are flagrantly un-historical.

And firstly for the machinery. The state of nature, with all its apparatus of natural rights and individual isolation ; the contract concluded by men who, from the nature of the case, cannot be supposed to have known what a promise means : all these things manifestly belong to the realm of fiction : they have no relation to the realities of history or to any thing remotely resembling the realities of history. They are not only against all the evidence available, but against all probability. We may go further : we may say that they are not only improbable, but impossible.

And what about the ideas behind the machinery ? At this point we part company with Hobbes. His conclusions were too extravagant ; and Vico, very wisely, does not hold them worth powder and shot. He concerns himself solely with Locke and Spinoza, assailing them, as before, mainly on historical grounds.

We begin with Locke and his theory of natural rights : that theory which did not die with Locke and his disciples, but is still the theory of popular philosophy at the present day. It is true, Vico admits, that men are often moved to fight for their rights. But, if you ask what those rights were in the early ages of recorded history, you will find that they are precisely *not* the rights of the individual—rights the same always, everywhere and for all—but the rights of a class : the rights, for instance, of the Patricians as against the Plebeians, of the Plebeians as against the Patricians. And even in our own day, we may add, are things so very different ? Now, the rights of classes stand in the sharpest contrast with the rights of individuals. So far from being the same for all, they necessarily involve a conflict of claims ; and the rights of one class are often, truly or falsely, taken to be the wrongs of another.

The truth is that the idea of natural rights, common to man “ as he is man ” is not in any sense a part of man’s original heritage. It is not a spontaneous outgrowth of man’s instincts, of his practical reason ; it is the creation of the philosophers. It is not the gift of what Vico calls *sapienza volgare*, the wisdom of the crowd, but of *sapienza riposta*, the recondite wisdom of the sages. It was first invented by the Stoics and the Roman Jurists. It played no large part in human affairs, it had no wide influence upon human conduct, until the ap-

proach of the seventeenth century. It did not finally establish itself until, at the end of that century, it was crystallized by Locke and made current by his great authority.

We pass now to Spinoza, whose political treatises were well known to Vico, and whose theory was a predestined target for his arrows. Rejecting the doctrine of Rights, Spinoza threw himself wholeheartedly upon that of interests : working out, with extraordinary power and thoroughness, that utilitarian theory of Politics which, from three-quarters of a century to a century later, was to be restated by Hume, Helvétius and Bentham. "A company of shop-keepers, a city of hucksters" is Vico's contemptuous verdict upon this conception of the State. And I am afraid we must say it was well merited. For if experience shows anything it is this : that, if men are often governed by their interests, they are much more often, and much more tyrannously, governed by their passions, by their duties, by the traditions—social, moral and religious—in which they have been nurtured and which, subject to modification in the present, have come down to them, doubtless with many changes, from an incalculable past. The utilitarian theory, when you come to consider it, is hardly less abstract, hardly less unhistorical, than the theory of Rights. The world is peopled not by calculating machines, but by men of flesh and blood.

Against both these theories, therefore—against the champions of utility hardly less than against the champions of natural Rights—the weapon employed by Vico is the appeal to History : the appeal to the history of ideas in the one case ; the appeal to the universal experience of civil communities in the other. And when we turn, as we now do, to consider the rival and more tenable theory which he built up for himself, it is once more the same story. It is the historical method—the historical method still more rigorously applied—that he follows. In so doing, he gives an entirely new turn to Political Philosophy ; he opens the vein of inquiry which was afterwards to be deepened and widened by Montesquieu and Burke.

Pioneer as he was, it was only to be expected that he should have occasional relapses : that he should sink back now and again into the realm of fiction from which he was struggling to escape. But these blemishes are rare and, when he is once fairly started on his way, they are a thing of the past. In the sketch that I am now about to give of

his political theory, you will doubtless recognize the marks they have left ; and I will leave it to you to discount them, as you think fit.

What, he asks, are the facts that meet us in the early history of the race with which we are most familiar ? in the political organization, and in the Family life, of primitive Rome ?

On the one hand, we are confronted with two alien races, a race of masters and a race of dependents, almost of thralls : a superior race, with exclusive powers, exclusive customs, exclusive gods of its own ; and a subject race, more than half conscious of its own inferiority, with no Family organization such as the dominant race saw fit to recognize, with no powers and no rights as against their masters, and either excluded from the religion and worship of their betters, or admitted only upon sufferance. And a like state of things is revealed by what we know of the early history of Greece : by the Helots of Sparta and the vast slave population of Attica, on the one side ; on the other side, by the existence of Families who called themselves Eupatridæ, Patricians, who, like the Patricians of Rome, held the monopoly at first of all the offices, and until comparatively late times of all the priestly offices, in these and other States of primitive Greece. It is to be paralleled, in all probability, by the early records of the Hebrews : by the herdsmen of Lot and Abraham, by the retainers who followed the wanderings of Jacob—"With my staff I passed over Jordan, and now I am become two bands"—and, at a later age, by the Gibeonites, admitted as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Children of Israel, and by "the stranger that is within thy gates" of the Ten Commandments.

On the other hand, we are confronted with a very startling form of Family life, reproducing on a small scale that sharp conflict of alien elements which was exhibited on a large scale by the State. To each of the dominant Families, that is, was attached a large number of dependents, or Clients, whom Vico appears to identify with the Plebeians, or subject race, of the State considered as a whole. Whether so identified or no, these were at any rate for many purposes under the jurisdiction of the Head of the Family and were regarded as making up, together with the Patrician element, the Family in that wide sense which, as the word *famulus* shows, it habitually bore to the Romans. There is the further peculiarity that, as is implied in the above statement, each Family was largely independent of the community and

of the laws accepted by the community, as is shown by the *patria potestas*, the right of life and death possessed by the Head of the Family over its members : one of the strangest phenomena, surely, in the early history of mankind. It is to be paralleled possibly by the sacrifice of Iphigenia among the primitive Greeks and of Jephthah's daughter among the Hebrews : certainly by the Phœnician practice of making their sons and their daughters pass through the fire to Moloch :—

Et Pœnei solitei sos sacrificare puellos,

in the indignant cry of Ennius.

From these undoubted facts of historical ages Vico argues back to two successive stages which must, in his view, have preceded them—which are, as he holds, presupposed by them—in the prehistoric development of man. The earlier of these stages is that which gives us the first emergence of man from utter savagery : the first rude beginnings of what, for want of a better term, we may call civilization. The latter gives us the period, long or short, which intervened between those first origins and the foundation of civil communities : that is, of the historical State.

His account of the former stage, like all other attempts to solve the riddle of origins, is necessarily a web of fictions ; and it would be idle to follow him through all his labyrinth of surmises. It is enough if we pick out his most salient results : those which have the closest bearing upon the vital problems of Political Philosophy.

He infers, then, that the dominant race of early Roman and other records must have been descendants of those who first tore themselves from the life of “lawless vagrancy,” the “bestial communism of goods and women,” which he assumes to have been the lot of mankind during the age which immediately followed the Flood : a life in which, save for his outward form, there was nothing to show that man differed from the beasts. These earliest ancestors of the dominant race, these pioneers of all subsequent progress, must, Vico supposes, have been more delicately framed, more sensitively organized, than the common herd of mankind. Thanks to this favoured nature, they were capable of feeling awe and shame before the manifestations of a higher Power ; capable of recoiling in horror from the degradation in which they had allowed themselves to lie sunk ; capable, therefore, of wrenching themselves from it and becoming—or rather, of taking the step which would

eventually lead them to become—for the first time reasonable beings and men. Accordingly, each of them, as the new light was flashed upon him, withdrew from the state of lawless vagrancy, to live apart from his former miserable companions, each with his own chosen woman, in some cave or clearing of the primeval forest ; leaving the rest to wallow in the slough of bestiality from which he had escaped. This was the first beginning of the Family and, with it, of all that upon which the subsequent progress of mankind has been providentially built. This too, according to Vico, is the true “state of nature” for man : this, and not the life of promiscuous wandering which he had shared in common with the beasts. With this, therefore, we pass to the second stage of man’s prehistoric existence, as conceived by Vico, which is essentially the age of the Family.

What, we ask, are the characteristic marks of the Family thus first established. Outwardly it was monogamous ; it was a complete unit in itself, utterly unconnected with any other Family and, still more, with any larger, more inclusive, community such as the Tribe, the City, or the State. In Vico’s emphatic language, it was “monastic, Cyclopean and monarchic”. Inwardly—and this is yet more important—it was bound up with a strict code of religious observances, with a strict code of moral duties : both of them enforced by the Head of the Family, the Father, who declared the will of the Gods, conducted the sacrifices and rigorously, not to say cruelly, punished all offences whether against the religious, or against the moral, tradition : who was, in short, to use Vico’s language, at once Prophet, Priest and King of his own household. It is upon the moral discipline of the primitive Family, upon the essentially religious character of the primitive Family, that Vico never ceases to insist ; and that for reasons which will at once suggest themselves to you and which, moreover, will abundantly appear in the sequel. Relics of this state of things, it must be added, are to be found on the one hand in the *patria potestas*, of which I have already spoken ; on the other, in the Family Gods, the Lares and Penates, of historical Rome ; or again in the conception of Jehovah, as the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob in *Genesis* and *Exodus*.

From what has been said, it is clear that, in the beginning, the “monastic” Family rested purely upon ties of blood : it was the Head of the household and his blood-descendants, and it was nothing

else. But the historic Family, as we have seen, included—at least in Rome and perhaps elsewhere also—an alien element : an element of dependents, clients, serfs or thralls, as the case may be. Whence was this alien element drawn ? and in what manner was it incorporated ?

As for the answer to the first of these questions, there can be no manner of doubt. The only possible source of such dependents, Vico urges, is from the “lawless vagrants” who were left to wander promiscuously through “the vast forest of the earth,” after their betters had escaped. But how were they brought to heel ? In the abstract, there are two possible ways : either by conquest or by voluntary surrender. The former must at once be rejected. The war between the settled Families and the lawless vagrants must have been a war to the knife ; any prisoners taken by the settlers must have been sacrificed on the spot in cold blood : *Saturni hostiæ*, according to the grim phrase of Plautus. There remains nothing but the way of voluntary surrender : sporadic surrender on the part of these self-accused outcasts to those whom they felt to be their betters, and on terms dictated solely by the pride or avarice of their new masters. So accepted, they were gradually embodied as an integral part of the Cyclopean Family : but, once more it must be insisted, on conditions of utter dependence and subjection.

What facts, we ask, can be brought in confirmation of this hypothesis : the hypothesis of the independent Family, on the one hand ? of its two distinct elements, a dominant race and a subject race, upon the other ? In support of the former, we might appeal to two things : firstly to what the Old Testament actually records of the Fathers of the Jewish race : which, though not (in the strict sense of the term) prehistoric—for there are the records—refers at least to the period before the foundation of the Jewish State. I speak of the wanderings of Abraham and his household, the like wanderings of his son and grandson, the fact that none of these had either a settled home, or acknowledged any human authority above their own. Or we might appeal, as Vico does, to the tradition which lingered among Homer’s Greeks concerning the Cyclopes : a tradition which is used both by Plato and Aristotle in support of the same inference as Vico’s :—

θεμιστεύει δε ἕκαστος
παίδων ἢδ’ ἀλόχων, οὐδ’ ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.¹

¹ *Odyssey*, ix., 114-115. See Plato, *Laws*, III., iii. ; Aristotle, *Politics*, I., i.

Of the latter hypothesis—the existence, in prehistoric as in historic times, of two separate and hostile elements in the Family—he found many confirmations in the primitive Greek myths : for instance, in the story of Cadmus, his interpretation of which I hope to give in another connection. To these may be added one furnished by a famous passage of the *Odyssey*. When Ulysses, in the world of shadows, hails the shade of Achilles as “prince among the dead,” Achilles answers that even the meanest earthly life is a better thing than death. And what is the lowest depth of misery that he can think of ? It is the lot of the “landless master’s serf” :—

Rather I choose ingloriously to bear
 A load of ills, and draw the vital air,
 The slave of some poor hind that toils for bread,
 Than reign the sceptred monarch of the dead.¹

So much for Vico’s inference as to the character of the prehistoric Family : or rather of the prehistoric age which, to him, as we have seen, was nothing more nor less than the age of the Family. How, then, was the next stage of human progress—the passage from the Family to the civil Community—brought about ? and what were the marks which distinguished it from what Vico regarded as the state of nature ? On the former question we are left entirely to conjecture ; and it is hardly worth while to follow Vico through the maze. One thing is clear : that, as their size increased, the monastic Families must have been thrown more and more into occasions both of intercourse and of collision ; and that either of these causes may readily have prompted them first to make fleeting alliance with each other, and then finally to join in some kind of lasting and organic union—the germ of the civil community, or the State. Such an union between already organized bodies, like the Families of Vico’s state of nature, is manifestly a thing very different from the individualist hypothesis of an union between previously isolated individuals ; and it is free from nearly all the objections to which that individualist hypothesis is exposed. For the members of a Family, especially of a Family so Spartan as Vico pictured, have already gone through a long discipline of joint action and mutual forbearance ; they have already, as Hume

¹ *Odyssey*, xi., 489-491 (Pope’s Translation).

was acute enough to see, had their "rough corners and untoward affections largely rubbed off" in the process.¹

With the second question, we stand on firmer ground. The effects, though not the causes, of the change to Civil Society are writ large upon the whole subsequent history of mankind. They are matters not of conjecture, but of every day experience and of history. It is enough if we pause for a moment upon two of them. The first of these explains itself: it is simply that involved in the change from the narrower to the wider unit; from the community of blood-kinship to the community based upon similarity of religious and moral traditions, upon similarity—which does not exclude occasional, and more than occasional clashing—of interests, upon the pride men take in common memories and the maintenance of common ideals. So much for the spirit of the new creation. As for its outward form, we need say no more than that it carries with it, and necessarily carries with it, a change from monarchy to aristocracy. The head of each Family, hitherto king within his own petty realm, now takes his place on equal terms with the heads of all the other Families, in the government of the wider community, the State. On this point—and he was the first to insist upon it—Vico is positive. The assumption that Monarchy was the earliest form of civil government is, in his eyes, a pure delusion. The *Iliad* alone is enough to prove that the form prevailing in primitive Greece was Aristocracy. And the same is true of primitive Rome. Even when under titular kings, Rome, like Poland in later times, was a manifest Aristocracy. The King was no more than an elected Doge; the substance of power was in the hands of an hereditary caste of nobles: in other words, of an Aristocracy.

Thus we are back at the point from which we started: at the historical State, as revealed by the earliest records. A State composed of still largely independent Families; a State further composed of two distinct, not to say hostile, Orders or races: one dominant, the other subject. The "rights" of such a community, as the early history of Rome remains to prove, are the rights of the governing caste, the aristocracy, the Patricians; the subject caste, the Plebeians, have no rights at all. And the subsequent history of the community is one

¹ *Treatise of Human Nature*, Book III., Part II., § 2 (Vol. II., p. 260 of Green's Edition).

long struggle between the two Orders : a struggle in which the ruling caste is compelled to strip itself, one by one, of its exclusive privileges, to admit the Plebeians to one after another of the rights which, in the beginning, it had kept jealously to itself : a sacred heritage which, in the name alike of religion and morality, it was bound to guard against profanation by the " swinish multitude ". Thus rights, which in their origin had been the exclusive privilege of the few, are, after ages of conflict, extended to the community at large : not, however, until the idea of Right, of moral and religious obligation, on which such rights are founded, has been previously accepted by the many, as well as by the chosen few ; not until the subjects have qualified themselves for enjoying the rights of their masters by previously embracing their code of Right.

Henceforth, the rights of birth, of race, of caste are swept away. Their place is taken by those of talent, of knowledge and of virtue : the only rights which can justify themselves to reason ; the only rights which confer a claim to a share in the government of any well-ordered, of any reasonable, State. And if it be asked what outward machinery is best adapted for securing their due influence to such qualities, then Vico, a born conservative, is at once ready with his answer : the establishment of a property qualification, as in the palmy days of the Roman Republic. For that is the only means of confining political power to the leisured classes ; and it is in the leisured classes alone that, with due allowance for exceptions, these indispensable qualities are to be found. In this, as in all else, Rome is the type and pattern of the well-ordered State.¹

That, in Vico's view, is the third and last revolution which marks the upward movement of human progress. All the changes that follow are but successive steps in the inevitable process of decay. The common people, having once obtained their rights, soon begin to abuse them ; the property qualification is swept away ; equality leads to licence ; and monarchy—perhaps despotism—is invoked as the only barrier against anarchy. Monarchy, in its turn, leads to luxury and effeminacy ; and that leaves the degenerate weaklings an easy prey to invaders more manly, more sober, more God-fearing than themselves. The ancient civilization is overthrown—overthrown by its own weak-

¹ *Scienza Nuova* (Second Version), p. 568.

ness, rather than by the strength of the conqueror ; and chaos comes again :—

So she whom mighty nations curtsied to,
Like a forlorn and desperate castaway,
Does shameful execution on herself.

So it has been from the beginning. So it will be to the end. Founded on religion and virtue in its first crude beginnings, the community must continue to base itself on religion and virtue, or it will miserably perish. That is the inexorable law of History. That, and not the unmeaning clash of interests, is the eternal lesson which History—which Philosophy interpreting the facts of History—relentlessly drives home.

II. This must serve for a sketch of Vico's work as political philosopher. With his work in other fields we can deal more briefly. And first, for his work in Comparative Mythology and all kindred studies. A good deal of what might be said on this subject has been virtually anticipated in my account of his political philosophy ; and from his handling of Greek and Roman History you will be able to see how original was his treatment of such matters : what I meant when I said that he must be regarded as the founder of Comparative Mythology and Anthropology ; that the *Scienza Nuova* is the fountain-head to which Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* and a hundred other works, down to *The Golden Bough*, ultimately go back. A few words only need be added as to the methods which he followed and the sources from which he drew.

The method he follows here offers a curious, but very instructive, contrast to that which he adopted in Political Philosophy. In Political Philosophy—so far, that is, as he is concerned with the question of origins—his method is rigorously deductive. Starting from the undoubted facts of the earliest recorded era—facts, however, which he was the first to interpret correctly—he reasons back to the facts which they compel us to presuppose in the prehistoric era. In Comparative Mythology his method is necessarily entirely different. Here it is mainly a matter of interpreting facts. Here, therefore, induction and deduction are inseparably blended, fused in a kind of intuition, which but too readily passes into pure divination. This method, with its attendant dangers, seems to be inherent in the study. For good or for evil, they both reappear in all the capital works written on the

subject ; and Vico, as pioneer, is perhaps more exposed to the dangers than the best of his successors. In particular, he may be thought to fall too willing a slave to the idols of the lecture-room : to press everything too eagerly into the service of his own favourite studies. Yet even here, in the light of subsequent caprices, his errors are instructive. If he is apt to torture all myths into a political meaning, his successors are equally ready to clip and pare them into allegories of natural history. King Arthur has been made a solar myth ; Samson has been made a solar myth ; I know not what man or thing has not been made a solar myth. Under these circumstances, each may serve as a useful corrective to the other. Neither makes allowance enough for what Grote, with a touch of pedantry, calls the "mythopœic faculty" : the pure delight in telling a story for the story's sake. Both—each in the interest of his own pet study—expose themselves to the retort of Sganarelle : "Vous êtes orfèvre, M. Josse."

As a sample of Vico's method, both at its best and its most risky, I quote his interpretation of the myth of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth. The slaying of the serpent symbolizes the clearing of the "vast forest of the earth," the feat so often attributed to Hercules. The teeth of the monster, sown in the virgin soil, stand for the teeth of the plough with which the land was broken up. The stones cast by the hero typify the hardened clods which his serfs would fain have seized and ploughed for their own behoof. The armed men who sprang from the furrows are the heroes, or nobles, who band together to defend their own against the robbers ; fighting not, as the legend vainly declares, against each other, but against their revolted serfs. The furrows are the "orders," the disciplined ranks of the nobles, the foundation on which the whole fabric of aristocratic, or feudal, authority was based. Finally, the serpent into which Cadmus was transformed is an image—the recognized image in primitive ages, as it still is in China and Japan—of that rightful authority, whose outward sign is the ownership of the soil : *Cadmus fundus factus est*, as the Latin phrase, in the most archaic form of the language, must assuredly have run. Thus "the whole legend is seen to embalm within it many ages of poetic history" : to be an imaginative summary of a contest, the most fateful of all contests, which, in truth of literal fact, lasted for generation after generation. Was there ever anything so ingenious ? Was there ever anything that suggested more formidable doubts ?

How other votaries of the Great Dragon may regard this interpretation, I tremble to think. Perhaps he and they may be left to settle the quarrel between them.

To ask from what source Vico drew in this field of his inquiry is to raise several curious questions. On the travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth, though not (I think) of the eighteenth centuries, he makes occasional drafts: yet, perhaps from his apparent ignorance of any modern language beyond his own and Spanish, not so many as was to be expected or desired; and his reference to such sources are, it must be confessed, commonly of an obvious nature. To the popular customs of his own country he is more heavily indebted: he notes, for instance, as Boccaccio had done before him, the Neapolitan and Florentine practice of throwing incense on the fire on Christmas Eve, and connects it with the peculiar sacredness attached by the Romans to fire and water. This was to open a wholly new—as Grimm and others were to show, a marvellously rich—vein of inquiry. In the main, however, he confines himself to the mythology of Greece and Rome: setting himself to prove, and proving, how great is the light which they throw on each other; or rather, how great is the light which Greek mythology throws upon the political history, the primitive political conditions, both of its own country and of Rome.

There is one source of material—available, indeed, not so much for Comparative Mythology as for the kindred subjects of Comparative History and Anthropology—which he pointedly neglects. This is the primitive records of the Jewish race, as embodied in the early Books of the Old Testament. Of all storehouses of primitive history and primitive custom this is the richest. Why, then, did Vico not put it to better use? The answer is simple: piety forbade. In the name of the Church—he was of the strictest sect of the orthodox—he steadily refused to make use of his opportunities—the few illustrations I have given from this source, for the sake of clearness, have in fact been supplied mainly by myself—steadily insisted that, between Jew and Gentile, between a supernatural and a purely natural development, there cannot, from the nature of the case, be any common measure. Yet, obdurate as he was, there are moments when, in spite of Pope and Cardinal, he cannot refrain from breaking into the forbidden preserve: just enough to show what he might have done, had his lot been cast in kindlier circumstances; but unfortunately, no more. We

must be grateful for these occasional lapses, and only regret that his vigilance did not allow them to be more frequent.

III. Vico has also been hailed as the founder of what is called the Philosophy of History. What is the meaning to be attached to this term? Is there any sense in which it can be said to represent an ideal within the reach of human limitations? It is a question which has been hotly debated; and being neither historian nor philosopher, I approach it with great uneasiness.

There are, I suppose, three senses which may conceivably be given to the term. The Philosophy of History may be regarded as a study which enables us to foresee the future: the "Science of History," as it used gaily to be called some fifty years ago. Or it may be regarded as the study which offers a reasoned explanation of the past: a theory consistent at once with itself and with the dominant facts ascertained from the authentic records of the past. That is the sense in which the term is perhaps most commonly understood: the sense which it bore to Hegel and his contemporaries and which is elaborately worked out by Hegel himself in his *Philosophy of History*. Or lastly—coming down to a much humbler, a much more modest, conception—it may be taken to mean no more than the sum of conclusions which competent inquirers have drawn from the facts of History: generalizations, more or less wide, which they have built—each of them with regard to his own special field of study—upon the records of History. It is manifest that this is a far more limited conception than the other two: so limited that the champion of those more ambitious conceptions would doubtless repudiate its claim to be called a Philosophy of History at all.

What are we to say of each of these rival conceptions? The first, the "Science of History," must, I think, be rejected without ceremony. To suppose that it is, or can ever become, possible to predict the great revolutions of human affairs is to misunderstand the whole character of History, to misinterpret the whole nature of organic growth, which is the essence of man's History. An astronomer can predict the return of a comet with absolute precision. But a biologist cannot predict the next stage in the development of animal life; nor can a historian or philosopher predict the next stage in the progress of humanity. History never repeats itself; and to suppose that it does so is the wildest of delusions.

For the second conception, that elaborated by Hegel, there is much more to be said. But it has to meet two formidable objections. Given the large element of accident, of personal caprice, which belongs to human action and human character, is it possible to reduce the whole course of human history to the rigid laws of philosophical necessity? And given the limitations of human frailty, is it conceivable that any one man should combine in himself on the one hand that living knowledge of all the material facts and conditions, and on the other hand that speculative genius, both of which are indispensable to the Hegelian ideal?

The third conception, that which limits itself to generalizations closely drawn from the facts, is more modest and therefore less open to objection. It is indeed the conception tacitly adopted, the method actually pursued, by every historian who aspires to be more than a mere chronicler of events. He selects his facts, he draws conclusions from his facts, he generalizes, more or less widely, from his facts. Doubtless, the standard of fidelity in these matters is much higher now than it was a hundred, or even fifty, years ago; and that means that we now demand both greater accuracy in ascertaining the facts and greater strictness in generalizing, in drawing conclusions, from the facts than was at all common in the past. This has been one of the great achievements of historical scholarship in our own day: this, and the zeal with which historical scholars have thrown themselves into the task of exploring and sifting the vast mass of material which had too long been allowed to moulder in the Record Office and other public and private archives. The first result of this immense labour, and very properly, has been to make men more distrustful of such reconstructions as Hegel attempted now a century ago. But, as time goes on, it is possible, and even likely, that the more cautious generalizations obtained by the new methods will be found to have more points of contact than may have appeared in the first instance. It is even possible that we may at last arrive at the scattered limbs—I cannot think it will ever be more than the scattered limbs—of the vision which hovered before the mind of Vico: of “that ideal and eternal history which runs its course in time”. That is for time to show.

The memorable phrase I have just quoted is of itself enough to tell us where Vico stood in this matter. The truth is that all three conceptions of the Philosophy of History—but above all, the second, the

Hegelian, version of it—are reflected in his book. His general theory of the course of History may be described as a blend of the first two forms of the conception. It unites the conviction that the long roll of events from the beginning to “the last syllable of recorded time” forms one providential, and therefore intelligible, whole with the conviction that the past is the faithful mirror also of the future, and therefore that the future may be foreseen from the past. And if we ask how this may be, his answer is very simple. It is that, at certain intervals, the continuity of the world’s progress is violently broken; that the order established at such cost is hurled back into chaos; and that the new order, as it rises slowly out of chaos, faithfully reproduces all the stages—the monastic Family, the aristocratic State which grows out of it, the Democracy of virtue, the Democracy of licence, the Monarchy of restraint, the Monarchy of luxury and, finally, the general dissolution—which had marked first the growth, then the slow decline and fall, of the old order. Such a breach of continuity took place at the fall of the Roman Empire and the coming of the barbarians. It will take place again, at intervals more or less regular, so long as man remains upon the earth. The recurrence of such periods Vico describes as the “ebb and flow,” the *corso e ricorso*, of human history. And we see at a glance that it is nothing more nor less than Aristotle’s theory of cataclysms furbished up again, under a thin disguise, for the occasion. The only difference is that, to Aristotle, the cataclysm is a physical disaster, the deluge of a wide-spread tradition; to Vico, on the contrary, it is a moral catastrophe, brought about by human agency, by the gradual corruption to which all things human are providentially foredoomed.

It would be idle to criticize this theory in detail: its weaknesses are too obvious. I will content myself with two general remarks. The conclusion fails, because it is built on premisses far too narrow: upon nothing, in fact, but the circumstances attending the fall of the Roman Empire; as indeed, from beginning to end of his inquiry, the whole world is forced into the mould which Roman History had put into his hands. It is not the first, nor the last, time that the dead hand of Rome has been invoked to stifle the living growth of the present. On the other hand, it would be unjust to deny that Vico’s theory, feeble though it is in general outline, is full of fruitful suggestions in detail. As we have seen, he throws a flood of light upon

the early history both of Rome and Greece: his, in fact, was the first rational word spoken on the subject. And no one can read the *Scienza Nuova* without feeling that his interest in ideas had at least as much to do with this as his interest in facts. In his mind, the two things were inseparable.

IV. We come now to the last achievement of Vico: his work as herald of the great revolution which, years after his death, swept over European poetry.

Vico's theory of Poetry is coloured throughout by his general outlook upon life: if we choose to say so, by his philosophy of life. And just as his political speculations were largely determined by opposition to Locke and Spinoza, so his view of life and poetry was, in great measure, the outcome of hostility to Descartes. It has often been said—and I think, with justice—that the abstract nature of the Cartesian Philosophy was greatly responsible for the abstractions, the consequent bloodlessness and nervelessness, of European poetry in the age of Boileau and of Pope. It is precisely this characteristic of Descartes' system, and of the poetry which went hand in hand with it, that roused the wrath of Vico: this, and the craving for distinctness, for sharply defined analysis, for clear-cut precision, which was closely bound up with it.

On the side of Philosophy, Vico argues as follows. It is misleading to say that the distinctness of ideas is the surest evidence of their truth. On the contrary, it is the surest sign of their incompleteness, or even of their falseness. In the more abstract fields of knowledge—in mathematics and physics, for instance, such distinctness may be a useful test enough. But in all other fields of experience—above all, in those relating to the moral, political, imaginative and religious life of man—it is a pure delusion: "it is the vice, rather than the virtue of man's reason". It is to be attained only by forcing within finite limits what is illimitable and infinite. The ideas so arrived at may be distinct; but, for that very reason, they are radically false. "When I suffer, for instance, I cannot recognize any form in my sufferings, nor set any limit to them. My perception of them is infinite and, because infinite, is proof of the greatness of man's nature. It is a vivid perception, and bright beyond all others: so bright indeed that, like the sun, it can be observed only through darkened glasses."¹

¹ *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* (1710): Opere di Vico, II., p. 85.

Were these words written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, or the beginning of the nineteenth? Are they from the hand of Vico? or from Carlyle, or one of the German romanticists, philosophers or otherwise, by whom Carlyle was so largely inspired? If we did not know to the contrary, we should probably say the latter. Curiously enough, there is a poem of Wordsworth's in which you will find precisely the same illustration, used to enforce precisely the same truth:—

Action is transitory, a step, a blow,
 A motion of the muscles, this way or that:
 —'Tis done; and in the after solitude
 We wonder at ourselves, like men betrayed.
 Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark,
 And shares the nature of infinity.¹

On the side of Poetry, the revolt of Vico has perhaps a yet deeper significance. What enraged him, as two generations later it was to enrage Alfieri, was the prosiness and the bloodlessness, the effeminacy and the nervelessness which afflicted the poetry composed under the legislation of Parnassus. What he pined for was the "immersion in the senses and passions," the flesh and blood, the vividness, the speaking imagery which springs unsought and unbidden from the inmost heart of the poet, the "ferocity" (to use Alfieri's word) which he found in Dante, in the poetic myths and legends of primitive Greece: above all, in Homer. It was Achilles hurling defiance at Apollo. It was Achilles melted to pity as he listened to Priam suing for the body of Hector and, in the very moment of relenting, blazing out once more into ungovernable fury at the first word that displeased him. It was Ulysses biding his time under wrongs and insults and, when his hour was come, leaping upon the threshold, stripping off his rags, and aiming the bitter arrow of vengeance at the heart of the wrong-doers and the scoffers. It was Ugolino, gnawing the head of his murderer in the frozen pool. Could he but have known them, it would have been Gunnar and Hogni harping, to scorn their conqueror, in the pit of serpents. It would have been Lear maddened, heart-broken, helpless, yet "every inch a king". It would have been Othello casting himself upon the bed beside his murdered wife, that his last breath might fall upon her lips. It would have been Gastibelza crazed by

¹ *The Borderers*, Act III.

the mountain-wind, crazed yet more hopelessly by the sting of a woman's treachery. It would have been Gilliatt wrestling alone against wind and wave and the monsters of the deep. It would have been Cimourdain, livid as ashes, passing sentence upon Gauvain.

It was this passion for the great things of poetry that led Vico to the critical study of Homer : to those theories about the authorship of the Homeric poems which are often wrongly supposed to have originated with Wolf (1795). He was early led to the conclusion—a very sound one, I suppose—that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* could not possibly be by the same author : the difference between the social conditions painted in the two poems is too great, the geographical and other discrepancies are too serious, to allow of any other conclusion.¹ In his later years he was led much further : led, as I cannot but think, on to much more questionable ground.² He came to think, as Grimm and others have thought since, that neither poem can be assigned to any one author ; that each is the creation not of a single poet, but of the whole race. That in both poems—particularly in the *Iliad*—there are interpolations, amounting in some cases to long episodes, I suppose no one would now dream of denying. But the doctrine of spontaneous generation is surely calculated to stagger even the stoutest faith. Neither the character of Achilles, which runs like a thread of gold through the whole texture of the *Iliad*, one of the greatest imaginative achievements of all time, nor the vengeance of Ulysses which fills exactly one half of the whole *Odyssey*, can well have taken shape except in one supremely gifted mind. To suppose otherwise is to go against all probability : to go against all that we know of the working of poetic inspiration.

But after all, the importance of such critical questions may easily be overrated. The real "Homeric question" is not a question of authorship, nor of social conditions, nor of geography, but a question of poetic appreciation : the one essential thing is that we should open our minds to the supreme imaginative power of these two magical creations. And, with all his critical instincts, Vico was the last man in the world to question the truth of this assertion : the last man in the world to allow his antiquarian interests to get the better of his sense

¹ So far he went in his Latin Treatise, *Jus universum*, of 1720.

² See Book V. of the Second Version of *La Scienza Nuova* (1730-1744): *Il vero Omero*.

of poetry. It is because he never sacrificed the more to the less important in these matters that I have claimed—and I am convinced, justly claimed—for him the distinction of having been the first to herald the great poetic revival of the eighteenth century : the first to demand that Poetry should be released from the gilded cage in which Pope and Boileau had imprisoned her : that she should be restored to the freedom of her native earth and heaven. In this sense, he was the herald of Goethe in Germany ; of Victor Hugo in France ; and in our own country of a whole “ nest of singing birds ” : of Wordsworth and Coleridge, of Keats and Shelley, of Byron and Walter Scott. Add this to his other services, and you will admit that he was the very prince of pioneers.

“ He wrote in the eighteenth century,” as Michelet says, “ but he wrote for the nineteenth.” Yes ; and we may add—for the world has not yet done with him—he wrote for the twentieth century also.

MARCION'S BOOK OF CONTRADICTIONS.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

DR. HORT, to whom I am personally more deeply in debt than to any other of the great scholars whom it has been my privilege to know, disagreed with me strongly in the estimate which we made of the value of Tertullian and his writings. He disliked Tertullian, thought him unfair in his arguments, which was one thing that Hort, with an almost morbid sense of justice, could not forgive ; I, on the other hand, adored Tertullian, not so much for his power of putting a nascent theology into crystalline form, as because of his wit and his epigrammatic power ; it was like the newly-invented artillery in the battle in the heavens in *Paradise Lost*,

“That whom they hit, none on their feet might stand” ;

and my own temptation is still, to sell my soul to the devil for a good epigram, just as Mr. Chesterton is reported to have sold his for an unlimited and unequalled power of Paradox. Dr. Hort, however, cared nothing for epigrams, even when they were used in the service of Truth ; he distrusted them, and this distrust made his own work often to be lacking in colour and in contrast. I do not think, however, that he liked Marcion, who was Tertullian's butt, and was commonly, but erroneously, supposed to be almost as stupid as Tertullian was witty, and as wanting in colour as Tertullian, who was almost like Turner the artist in this respect, was surcharged with it. There again we differed, for I could not help thinking that Marcion's portrait is one of the standing injustices in ecclesiastical history, and that he was and is one of the most misunderstood of men. Perhaps he shares this misrepresentation with his contemporary Valentinus, who appears to have been a very Johannine type of Christian, if the shade of Irenæus will allow me to say so without protest. I think Dr. Hort dreaded what is now imminent in certain theological circles, a return to the Marcionite attitude

with regard to the Old Testament. Here again, I did not share his fears. The Old Testament can take care of itself : Christianity is not yet nearly detached from Judaism. On the contrary, it is always gravitating back into it again. A great war is a powerful stimulus in that direction. It is sure to make us either Jews or Moslems.

But to return to Marcion. What do we really know of himself or his works, except from the hands of his unfriendly critics ? I have often searched both East and West for that lost book of *Antitheses* or *Contradictions*, in which Marcion expounded the fundamental want of accord between the Old Testament and the New. He could not have been the dull dog that he is commonly taken for, when he drew the two companion pictures, one of Elisha sending the she-bears to eat up forty-two naughty children, who had called him an old gentleman ; and the other of Jesus, extending arms of welcome and saying "Suffer little children to come unto me". So I made some unsuccessful quest for the lost book, which had these two pretty pictures of infant life on opposite pages. If all the book was like that it would have been worth finding, but this is the proper point to use the language of the fox in the fable and say that "the grapes are sour". For they are still out of reach.

If, however, we cannot predict a great harvest of striking contrasts between the Old and the New, we can pick up here and there many scattered instances, and we may at least be sure that a great movement such as the Marcionite propaganda must have had behind it the driving power of great ideas, with some adequacy of expression. It won't do to repeat the Church calumnies and say that there was once, far away in uncivilized Pontus, a stupid shipmaster who was the first-born of Satan. For Marcion divided the allegiance of the Church of his day and of many days after. There was, in that age, no "quod ubique, quod ab omnibus" ; his company were just as much a Catholic Church as any other, for they were commensurate in extent with, and rivalled in intensity the Christian communities of the great cities, and that is a sufficient proof that there has been a campaign of misrepresentation on the part of those who appropriated and ran off with the title of Catholicism.

Is there any way in which we may arrive at a more just idea of Marcion and his work ? Let us try if we can add something to the existing knowledge of the theologian and the ecclesiastical historian.

One of the most interesting and important of the anti-Marcionite works is that which goes under the name of the *Dialogue of Adamantius*. Attention was early drawn to it on account of a fallacious identification of the Adamantius who appears in the *Dialogue* with Origen himself. The name might be his, but the arguments and involved beliefs are certainly not his, and the Origenian identification has long been abandoned. All that we know of the Adamantius referred to is that he is the orthodox protagonist in a great debate with a certain follower of Marcion named Megethius, and that he turns like Plato in the *Republic* when he has despatched Thrasymachus to dispute with a second Marcionite named Marcus, who acts the part of Glaucus in the Platonic *Dialogue*. Marcus is a somewhat harder nut to crack, but presently he also is disposed of. A third disputant appears who is said to be a follower of Bardesanes; his name is Marinus (probably a Syrian) and he raises the whole question of the origin of evil and of human free-will. When Marinus is despatched a fourth heretic enters the arena; his name is Droserius and he says that he comes forward to defend the dogma of Valentinus.

Valentinus, whom he describes as a most orthodox person, will be able to tell us convincingly whence the devil came and how evil arose. The judge who has been arbitrating in the previous cases encourages Droserius (who, by the way, is not a fictitious person) to go into the arena and have it out with Adamantius. We at once are introduced to some very important matter, professing to be Valentinus' own statements, and commonly supposed to come from a lost work of that great heresiarch. This matter is what we want to draw attention to. The rest of the *Dialogue* contains, in its fifth dispute, a confutation of the Docetists, who deny the reality of the Lord's appearance, and especially of His passion. With this part we are not concerned at present; what arrests the attention is the statement of Valentinus, which is officially read in the debate. It is *not* presented as an oral statement; the judge says definitely, "Let the dogma (*or* opinion) of Valentinus be read". Droserius then undertakes the defence of the Valentinian writing. It must be clear, to any one who is interested in ancient documents, that unless the *Dialogue* has misrepresented matters, we have here some pages of a lost book, ostensibly of Valentinus. Certainly it is no ordinary writer that has produced the

document which is supposed to be read in the debate : nor is it surprising that an attempt has been made to identify the book quoted with a lost *ōpos* (or *definition*) of Valentinus. Before we come to the actual quotation, we may at once get rid of this last supposition. The supposed "definition" is only the way in which the author of the *Dialogue* introduces the matter : he had used the same trick at the beginning, when he was describing the struggle with Megethius the Marcionite ; Megethius must make a "definition". This is, however, a mere critical trifle ; for it appears that the whole of the supposed extract from the works of Valentinus has been transcribed from the treatise of Methodius on the *Freedom of the Will*, which is also a *Dialogue* between an Orthodox Believer and a Valentinian. So we can replace, as far as the supposed Valentinus doctrine goes, the authority of Adamantius, who is a post-Nicene writer, by the authority of Methodius, who is an ante-Nicene writer. The extract is acquiring a flavour of antiquity.

The next thing we notice is that the Adamantius *Dialogue* has only transcribed the latter part of the quotation in Methodius. We might have guessed something of the kind, for it opens with a reference to what went on yesterday, and does not tell us what really occurred. With the aid of Methodius we restore a whole section, evidently the beginning of a book, be it of Valentinus or whatever it may be. It does not seem to be Methodius himself ; the suggestion at once arises that he, like Adamantius, has been borrowing. He writes the opening section of his *Dialogue*, and then introduces someone who is said to be Valentine or a Valentinian, who speaks in another style, if we may judge of styles and of men by their styles.

We are not yet at the end of the preliminary questions of Authorship ; for the section which follows in Methodius on *God and Matter* is said by Eusebius to come from Maximus, and to have been written, therefore, in the last ten years of the second century. This difficulty is commonly got rid of by assuming that Eusebius, animated by spite against Methodius for his opposition to the teachings of Origen, has falsified the authorship of the extract which he quotes. For our part, we think nobly of Eusebius, and in no wise approve the suggestion of such treachery. It seems easier to suppose that the extract referred to has been circulating anonymously, or with various ascriptions of authorship. In that case, the treatise of Methodius may very well

contain earlier matter, outside what has been suspected to have a Valentinian origin.¹

Now let us make a brief summary of the contents of this Prologue to an unknown work upon which we have stumbled. The writer begins by saying that it was but yesterday that he was walking on the sea-shore, and contemplating the Divine Power and the Divine Art in the tossing waves. It was like the scene upon which Miranda gazes in the *Tempest*, where the art of her father has put the wild waters into a rage and roar. It was such a scene, says the writer, as is described by Homer, when Boreas and Zephyrus rage together on the main. The waves mount to the welkin's cheek. It seemed as if the whole earth, including the speaker, would have been whelmed (*ἐπικλυσθήσεσθαι*). But when he sought for a safe-standing ground, or tried to descry Noah's Ark in the offing, he saw that the waves did not transgress their proper limits; they were servants who dreaded their master and were under orders.

From this contemplation, the writer passed in thought, after the fashion of the early Christian Apologists, to consider the orderly sequence of the sun and moon, of night and day, and hence to infer the existence of some power which overrules and maintains the order of the world. This power is God² and the writer went on to reflect that there cannot be a second cause, but that there was a First Cause,

¹ Gaisford, in his note on Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, vii. 21 reminds us that Routh, who revised the passage in Eusebius and wrote a comment upon it, thought that Methodius had been borrowing from Maximus. He quoted, however, the protest of Jahn (*Meth. opp.* ii. 125) against the idea that Methodius, that subtle and ingenious imitator of Plato, had been copying from Maximus, and he referred to the fact that "Dr. Armitage Robinson (*Philocalia* xlvi.) and the late Dr. Hort independently suggested that Maximus is the name not of an author, otherwise unknown, but of the interlocutor described by Methodius as *Orthodoxus*". It is difficult to believe that Eusebius would have spoken of Maximus as "a man not undistinguished in the Christian life" if he had only been the lay figure of a dialogue.

Gaisford is wrong in referring the explanation given above to Dr. Hort: as we shall see presently, it was Zahn's suggestion, reported by Hort to Robinson; not quite the same thing.

² We may compare the argument at the beginning of the *Apology* of Aristides: "I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the influence of another, and I understood that he that moveth them is God" (*Ap.*, c. 1.)

one and only. So at the end of the day he went home in peace with the faith in supreme order and goodness established in his mind.

Next day came the backwave of Unfaith. He went out and saw something different from the stormy sea that keeps its Maker's limits. He saw stormy human beings quarrelling and threatening one another ; he saw robbers at work upon graves, exposing the buried corpses to the pariah dogs. Here a man was smiting his fellow with a sword and stripping him, and here was a man who robbed his neighbour of his wife's embraces. At last he came to conclude that all he had read in tragedy of Thyestes and Œdipus and the like might be true. How could such things be consistent with Divine Order and Divine Providence ? How could God be the Author of such things as he had seen ? Had he called such a world into being, and perhaps could not now unmake it ? Did he who made the Lamb make thee ? would be William Blake's way of putting it to the Tiger, the Lamb crossing the stage first. Or is it possible that He once joyed over these evil creations and had now ceased to delight in them ? But this can hardly be. So the writer infers the existence of Matter, out of which God made the world and made it fair ; but from it also Evil arose, as being Matter that had missed the artist's hand, rejected by Him as unsuitable, and so finding itself realized in the evil deeds of men.

Something like this is the argument of the newly found Prologue. It finds God and a world-order ; it then discovers the dissonance of the world from the Divine Order, and discovers Hylē or Matter, and so the way is opened for a reconciliation of the inner lack of harmony of the world with a Divine Idea.

I believe this passage has been styled rhetorical in some quarters, and Eusebius speaks of it and of all such speculations into the origin of evil as being the favourite occupation of heretics ;¹ we cannot think that such serious speculations are either rhetorical or that they

¹ So does Tertullian, cf. *adv. Marc.*, i. 2 : "Languens enim (quod et nunc multi, et maxime haeretici) circa mali quaestionem 'Unde malum?' etc." The origin of evil must have been at the beginning of the Marcionite doctrine. Tertullian says that the heretics (to wit, Marcion and his contemporaries in the first instance) have a morbid interest in it. The language of Eusebius in *H.E.*, v. 27, describes the supposed Maximus passage as, *περὶ τοῦ πολυθρύλητου παρὰ τοῖς αἵρεσιώταις ζητήματος πόθεν ἢ κακία καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενητῆν ὑπάρχειν ὕλην*, upon which Fabricius remarked that the talkative heretics referred to are either the Marcionites or the Valentinians.

are necessarily heretical. If, however, they should chance to be heretical, to what heretic shall we refer them? Methodius says it is Valentinus: and Adamantius who follows him says expressly of the latter part of the Prologue that it is the *Doctrine of Valentinus*. But this is not any fresh evidence. Eznik the Armenian also transcribes Methodius. Eusebius, on the other hand, seems to refer it to Maximus, who sets up the figure of heretical speculation in order that he may have the pleasure of knocking it down again.

We are going to suggest that the author is Marcion. There is no preliminary difficulty in substituting Marcion for Valentinus, for they are known to be closely related, and their theological systems have a common root. Let us see if anything can be said in support of the suggestion.

The passage to which the author refers from Homer's description of the storm-driven sea is at the beginning of the ninth book of the *Iliad*. It runs as follows in Derby's translation:—

As when two stormy winds ruffle the sea,
Boreas and Zephyr, from the hills of Thrace
With sudden gust descending; the dark waves
Rear high their angry crests, and toss on shore
Masses of tangled weed: (such stormy grief
The breast of ev'ry Grecian warrior rent).

The sea upon which the winds play is called by Homer the Pontus; and no doubt he means the Thracian Pontus, from which Boreas and Zephyrus come in the twenty-third book to fan the flames of the funeral pile of Patroclus (*Il.*, 23, 230). It was, however, a word susceptible of misunderstanding; its most natural meaning is the Euxine, and we suspect that no less a person than Tertullian has thought of it as being the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, about which he has so many epigrammatic touches in his books against Marcion. For, in his first book, after impaling Marcion on the horns of a dilemma, he says, "Marcion, *you are caught in the surge of your own Pontus*. The waves of truth overwhelm (*involunt*) you on every side. You can neither set up equal gods nor unequal gods."

The sting of the retort is evident, if Marcion had, to Tertullian's mind, represented himself as walking by the storm-tossed Euxine and imagining that he would be engulfed in the waves. "The very thing,"

says Tertullian ; " you are so, and the waves are the waves of truth breaking over you " (Tert. *adv. Marc.*, i. 7).

When Tertullian comes to discuss the *Antitheses* or supposed *Contradictions* between the Old Testament and the New, he suggests that if we are going to search for contradictions, we shall not be limited to the two Testaments. Nature is full of contradictions, man is a bundle of them. Must we try to assign the inharmonious parts to separate Authors and Origins ? Tell me, Marcion, " Why have you not reckoned up also the *Antitheses* which occur in the natural works of the Creator, who is forever contrary to Himself ? Why were you not able to reflect (*recogitare*) that the world, at all events, *even amongst your people of Pontus*, is made up (unless I am mistaken), out of a diversity of elements which are mutually hostile ? " (*adv. Marc.*, iv. 1).

The suggestion of the Pontic discords, about which he professes to have some knowledge, is at once explained by the Prologue which we have been studying, if that Prologue be really Marcion's. For it is clear that the people on the shores of the Pontus have a very black picture drawn of them, whatever Pontus may be meant by the writer. We think it is natural to explain the Prologue by Tertullian, and Tertullian by the Prologue. In that case, the Prologue is Marcion's.

A difficulty now arises as to whether the views of the supposed Prologue are really Marcion's views. Is it true that Hylē or Matter is one of his fundamental conceptions ? and if it is with Hylē that the Creator operates, where is the good God of Marcion, who is really supreme over both Matter and the Creator that operates upon it ?

Tertullian makes great play with the Marcionite conception of the ingenerate Matter which is co-eval with God, to the credit of which evil is to be reckoned : (*contra Marc.*, i. 17), and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, iii. § 3) explains that those who belong to the School of Marcion regard Nature as evil, having been produced from evil Matter by a just Demiurge.

If we turn to the account of the doctrine of Marcion given by Eznik the Armenian, we shall find great prominence given to Hylē in the Marcionite cosmogony. For instance, " Marcion wrongly introduces a strange element in opposition to the God of the Law, positing with him also Hylē, by way of essence, and three heavens. In the one (they say) dwells the Stranger, and in the second the God of the

Law, and in the third His armies ; and in the earth Hylē, and they call her the Power of the Earth.”

Eznik has much more to say about this Hylē ; but we are advised by the students of Church History that Eznik needs to be used cautiously, as representing a later stage of Marcionite teaching. Harnack, for example, in his *History of Dogma* (Eng. Trans., i. 167 note) says, “the later Marcionite speculations about matter (see the account of Eznik) should not be charged upon the Master himself, as is manifest from the second book of Tertullian against Marcion”.

This may readily be conceded, but the later speculations about Matter spring from an initial doctrine as to the existence of Matter and its co-existence with God, which is all that is required in our argument.

As to the great Marcionite doctrine of the good God of the New Testament, who is other than the just God of the Old Testament, we have not in our extracts reached the point where he comes upon the scene, so that his non-appearance does not affect the argument nor prevent us from believing that our Prologue really comes from Marcion himself.

Tertullian certainly found the doctrine of the co-existence of Matter with God in his copy of Marcion, for he makes sport of it, and suggests that if it be true, we shall have to erect space into a third co-existent entity, containing the other two. “Si et ille mundum ex aliqua materia subjacente molitus est, innata et infecta et contemporali Deo, *quemadmodum de Creatore Marcion sentit*, redigis et hoc ad majestatem loci, qui et deum et materiam, duos deos, clusit” (c. *Marc.* i. 17). It will be observed that Tertullian is quoting Marcion’s own statements, probably in the Latin translation, and the terms used are those which are employed by the supposed heretic in Methodius and Adamantius, as that something co-exists (συνυπάρχειν) with God, which we may call Matter, and that this matter is unwrought and unformed, ἀπόιου καὶ ἀσχηματίστου, (cf. the “innata and infecta” of Tertullian) and note that the orthodox opponent in Methodius sums up the heretic’s doctrine in the words that “God created these things from a certain underlying substance,”¹ viz. matter, which is

¹ ὑποκειμένης τινὸς οὐσίας, clearly both Tertullian and Methodius are discussing the statements of Marcion.

almost exactly what Tertullian says above "ex aliqua materia subjacente".¹

The terms employed are Platonic, and in that sense it might be urged that they were more proper for Methodius to use, than for Marcion. It will be easy to decide the writer to whom (after Plato) the language is to be referred, if we take another witness to Marcion's teaching who is earlier than Methodius. In the summary of heretical teaching which Hippolytus makes at the end of his *Philosophumena* he tells us that "Marcion of Pontus and his teacher Cerdo also define the existence of three principles, the Good, the Just, and Matter; some of their disciples add a fourth, the Wicked. All of them say that the Good One made nothing at all, but that the Just One (whom some call the Wicked One, but others simply Just) made everything out of the underlying matter (ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὕλης): and he made it, not well, but irrationally. Needs must the things made resemble their maker; for this reason they employ the evangelical parable that a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit (Matt. vii. 18). This summary shows us again the ὕλη ὑποκειμένη, and it also tells us the next thing that was to be argued from the fact of an imperfect creation. It is well known that Marcion found a point of departure in the good and evil trees of the Gospel. Hippolytus shows us how to connect this with the preliminary metaphysical speculation. In the Dialogue of Adamantius, Megethius says (i. 28): "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, etc. You see you have here the two masters and the two natures." One sees the steps which Marcion is going to take, from the two trees to the two gods.

As to the Platonism of the opening passage on God and Matter, it is clear that Marcion must be counted a Platonist as well as Methodius. For we traced to Marcion through Tertullian the statement that Matter was ἄποιος and ἀσχημάτιστος and co-eval with God. But this is Plato's doctrine; when Hippolytus sums up Plato's doctrine, he tells us that Plato assumes as principles, God, Matter, and Pattern (παράδειγμα). Matter was subjacent (ὑποκειμένη). Matter was also unformed (ἀσχημάτιστος) and unmade (ἄποιος). Thus Matter is a first principle and synchronous with God, σύγχρονον τῷ Θεῷ. The language of our Prologue is Platonic language.

¹ Cf. *adv. Marcionem*, v 19: "Collocans et cum Deo Creatore materiam, de porticu Stoicorum".

Platonic scholars can fill in the references to the proper dialogues ; what we are concerned with is the popular summaries of Greek philosophy, such as we find in early Christian writers. It is clear that Marcion is a Platonist ; we do not think any the worse of him on that account, but we are surprised at the discovery.

We have already pointed out that Marcion is ridiculed by Tertullian for his morbid interest in the question of the origin of evil, and as the reference on the part of Tertullian to this favourite inquiry of the heretics occurs at the opening of his book (*adv. Marc.*, i. 2), we may infer the probability that it also stood at the beginning of Marcion's book. This is exactly what we suspected of the author of the passages transcribed by Methodius : in these passages Methodius is Marcion.

In order to examine the question more closely, we will now make a free translation of the chapters which we have been speculating over, and see if any further clue can be obtained to their origin.

Before doing this, however, we are called to a halt by the appearance of Harnack's great work on Marcion, in which he collects all that has ever been preserved and all that has ever been said on the person or the teaching of the great heretic : (if we must call him a heretic who was really only a great spiritual leader). Harnack does not suspect that any extended passages of the *Antitheses* have been preserved, though there is an abundance of selected contradictions between the Old and New Testaments that can be recovered ; but he thinks he has found in an Armenian text, said to be translated from Ephraim Syrus, the opening sentences of the *Antitheses*. The homily in question was first translated by Schäfers in 1917, and contains an outburst of wonder at the way in which the Gospel is neglected : it runs as follows :—

“O what wonder upon wonder, what amazement, and overpowering astonishment it is, that people have not a jot to say about the Gospel, that they do not think thereon, nor that aught can be compared therewith !”¹

This is somewhat obscure ; but it surely does not refer to the *Antitheses*.² The writer says that it comes from a Pro-Evangelium

¹ Schäfers' translation is as follows :—

“O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, dass man gar nichts über das Evangelium sagen, noch über dasselbe denken, noch es mit irgend etwas vergleichen kann.”

² Does it not really mean, “that one can say nothing beyond the

of Marcion ; i.e. as we should say, the Preface to the Reader at the beginning of Marcion's *Gospel of Luke*. Harnack, however, beset by the idea that Marcion never wrote more than one book, fails to see that as he is known to have published a Gospel, he was therefore at liberty to write a preface to it. We conclude that what has been recovered is the opening of the Marcionite *Evangelium*. We are free to look further for the opening of the *Antitheses*.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS OF MARCION'S "ANTITHESES".

[Yester-e'en, dear friend], as I was walking on the shore of the sea and gazing upon it with some closeness of attention, I observed an excess of Divine Power and the art of a wise intelligence, if indeed we ought to use the word "Art". [My experience yesterday was in this wise.] It was something like the lines of Homer :—

As when two stormy winds ruffle the sea,
Boreas and Zephyr, from the hills of Thrace,
With sudden gust descending ; the dark waves
Rear high their angry crests, and toss on shore
Masses of tangled weed :

for I saw the waves running mountains high and almost touching the welkin, nor did I expect in consequence any other result than the submergence of all the land, and I was devising for myself mentally a place of refuge, and the very ark of Noah. But my expectation did not happen, for where the sea broke it relapsed again into itself, not passing beyond its proper location, but acting, if one may say so, as if in fear of a Divine injunction. Just as oft-times some servant constrained against his will to carry out a command of his master, obeys his injunction through fear, but does not venture to say what he suffers through his unwillingness to obey, but is inwardly malcontent and filled with spleen, so it seemed to me that the sea, empassioned as it were and yet restraining its wrath within itself and controlling itself, was unwilling to disclose its ire to its lord and master. While I was observing what took place I began to scrutinize, and would have measured mentally the heaven and its orb, and wished to know its commencement and its cessation, and what motion it has, whether one

Gospel, that they cannot think higher than the Gospel, that they can compare nothing with the Gospel" ?

of transference from place to place or a circular motion, and how it comes also to have a permanent foundation. Yea! it seemed proper for me also to investigate the sun's path, the turning point of its position in the sky, and what the period of its race, and whither it presently goes, and how not even so does it transgress its proper path, but it also, as we must say, keeps a command given by one superior to itself, and appears to our sight when it is allowed to do so, and moves off when it is called away. As I made my investigation into these things, I observed the solar splendour to fade and the light of day to fail, and darkness to rush on, and the moon to follow after the sun, coming up lesser at the first, but as she holds on her way presenting the appearance of a greater light. Nor did I quit inquiring into her, and investigating the cause of the waxing and waning, and how she too observes the appointed circuit of her days. And from thence I inferred the existence of a Divine Providence and a Power Supreme, which comprises all things, and which also we may rightly call God. So at last I set on praising the Creator, as I viewed His firm fixed earth with the diversities of living creatures and the varied blooms of plants.

Nor did my mind call a halt over these things only, but I went further and began to ask whence they had their composition, whether from somewhat that ever co-existed with God, or whether of Him and from Him and Him alone, with whom nought else co-existed. For the existence of things from nothing seemed to me quite a wrong point of view, such an argument being to most people altogether unconvincing. For things that become are wont to have their constitution from things that are. So also it seemed to me that it was truth to say that nought is forever with God but God Himself, but that from Him all things that are have come into being. To this point, then, of conviction I was brought by the orderliness of the elements, and the fair array of nature in regard to them.

So I went home, under the supposition that somehow all was well explained, and the following day [i.e. to-day] I came and saw two men (human beings of the same race), battering and insulting one another, and further, the second of them was trying to tear off his neighbour's garment. Some, too, were aiming at more shocking ventures. One of them was stripping a dead body and the corpse which had already been laid in the ground he now displayed again before

the sun, and he did despite to a form like his own, leaving the dead for a prey to the dogs. Here a man had drawn his sword and was going after a man like himself ; he, on his part, sought safety in flight, but the other ceased not to pursue him, nor would he control his rage. And what shall I say further ? Except that when he got at him he promptly struck him with his sword ; the other became a suppliant to his neighbour and stretched out appealing hands, and would have given him his very raiment, asking only for his life. But his persecutor did not repress his passion, nor pity him as one of his own race, nor would he see himself in the image of the other, but like a wild beast began to ravine with his sword ; and now, beast-like, he had his teeth in the corse of the other (for his rage was like that) and you might have seen how the one now lay prostrate, and how the other ended by stripping him, nor would he cover with earth the body which he had made bare of raiment. Following on these there was another who would make sport with his neighbour's wife, robbing a fellow-man of his marriage rights, and in hot haste to turn to an impious union, not wishing that the wedded husband should be father of his own children. After that I began to believe even the Greek tragedies ; the banquet of Thyestes appeared to have been a real occurrence ; I could believe in the lawless incest of *Ædipus* ; nor did I discredit the sword-strife of the two brethren. Having been spectator of such dreadful things I began to inquire into their origin, what it was that set them in motion, who it was that engineered such things against men, whence came the invention of them, who was their teacher. For I dared not say that God was their Maker, nor certainly that they had their constitution from Him, nor even their subsistence. For how could we imagine such things of God ? He the good one and the Maker of things more excellent, to whom nothing base attaches itself ; He who has no natural joy in such things, but forbids even the inception of them, and rejects those who take pleasure therein, and draws near to those who flee therefrom ! And how unreasonable to call God the Creator of such a state of things, when we know that he execrates them ! For He could not have wished them to cease to be, if he had been their initial artist. For those that come to Him He wills to be His imitators ; and that is why it seemed to be irrational to attach such things to Him, or to regard them as due to Him, or even with the outside concession as to the possibility of things arising out of

nothing, could one say that it was He who was the Author of evil. For if He had brought evil out of non-being into being, He would not again have withdrawn it from existence ; or if so, we should have to say that once upon a time God delighted in evils, but now He does so no more, which is an impossible statement to make about God : one could not make such a discord to fit His nature. For this reason it seemed to me that somewhat must co-exist with Him (let us call it Matter), from which as Artificer He wrought existing things, with the discrimination of wise Art and the beauty of fair Adornment ; and from this Matter even things evil seemed to come. For since Matter was in itself unfashioned and unformed, and besides that was also under disorderly impulses, and so in need of Divine Art, the Creator with no ill-will and with no desire to abandon Matter to irregular impulse, began to create therefrom, as wishing to turn the worst into the very best. This was, then, His Creative Art ; but such parts of the compound as were, so to speak, the mere lees of Matter, and altogether unsuitable for Creative Art, He left as they were : they were no concern of His. It is from such a quarter that I suppose the irruption of evils among men to have come.

It is clear that the foregoing chapters are, like Methodius' work generally, cast into the form of a Platonic *Dialogue*, but it may be suspected that they did not originally come from such a *Dialogue*, but from something more nearly approaching to a history.

The second section explains that the events recorded took place on *the next day*¹ which is explained as being *to-day*, so as to bring the argument down into the present, and put it in line with the *yester-e'en* with which the first chapter opens. The addition, no doubt, makes the *Dialogue* more vivid ; but it is superfluous, and when it is removed, for which reason we have bracketed it, we may

¹ Dr. Armitage Robinson has misrepresented the situation in his *Philocalia*, p. xlii. He says, "A speaker . . . describes how on the previous afternoon he had observed the beauties of nature in sea and sun and moon, and had been led to praise their Maker. *On his way home* he had been startled by witnessing the most fearful crimes ; robbery, bloodshed, adultery : and had been led to ask whether God could possibly be the Maker of these as well." The *Dialogue* does not say anything like this. The sea was not beautiful to the writer, the events related did not occur on the same day.

remove at the same time the *χθὲς δειλιόν* at the beginning of the first section, and the *ὦ φίλε* which recurs again at the end of the supposed Valentinian speeches and is clearly Methodius' own language in imitation of Plato, introduced for the sake of making the story into conversation. The manner of Methodius, is, as we say, borrowed from Plato: we may compare the opening of the *Republic*: "*Yesterday I went down to the Piræus with Glaucon*"; and the opening of the *Charmides*: "*Yesterday evening I returned from the Army at Potidæa,*" or we may compare the opening of the *Symposium*: "*The day before yesterday I was coming from my own home*".

There is, however, no need to emphasize the Platonism of Methodius; the question is whether his sources were also Platonic in form; for it seems probable that we are dealing with borrowed matter, even if it is superficially Platonized. The opening chapter of Methodius on *Free-Will* is in quite a different style from the sections which follow, and which we have been discussing. These sections appear to be labelled as Valentinian, and when Adamantius copies the second section from Methodius, he introduces it as the written dogma of Valentine, which suggests that he found it so described in his copy of Methodius.

At this point, then, we are up against an ancient controversy (caused by Eusebius' reference of part of the Methodius *Dialogue* to Maximus), which was re-opened by Dr. Armitage Robinson in his *Philocalia*, pp. 41 ff., under the heading "*Maximus or Methodius?*"

His conclusions are that Methodius and Methodius only is the author of the *Dialogue on Free-Will*, for the following reasons:—

- (1) An author of such power as Methodius would not have cared to borrow from an earlier writer without acknowledgment.

The answer to this lies in the very first statement made by the Orthodox opponent (who is certainly Methodius himself), that there have been many capable persons before yourself and myself who have made the closest inquiry into this problem (the origin of evil); and have treated the matter just as you have done;

*καὶ γὰρ πρό σου τε καὶ ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ τινες ἄνδρες
ἰκανοὶ περὶ τούτου τὴν μεγίστην ζήτησιν ἐποίησαντο·
καὶ οἱ μὲν ὁμοίως διετέθησαν σοι κτέ.*

We have, then, Methodius' own admission that the treatment in

the opening sections was not original. He borrowed with an indirect acknowledgment.

- (2) The Platonic character of the passage which Eusebius refers to Maximus is in keeping with all the known writings of Methodius.

This would certainly be true if Methodius had borrowed a passage and superficially Platonized it. But we shall have to reckon with the possibility that Methodius annexed a writer who, like himself, had Platonic affinities.

- (3) The strongest argument of all for the authorship of Methodius is said to be the general harmony of the Eusebian extract with the rest of the book, which is thus seen to be the work of a single author.

This is really the main argument on which Robinson relies, and we must pay close attention to it. If it can be maintained, there will be no place for a Maximus extract or for a Marcionite base. The problem will be changed into an inquiry as to how Eusebius came to make such a mistake as to write Maximus for Methodius, and not to know either the exact author or the approximate date of the work he was quoting. When we come to examine Dr. Robinson's method of proof for the single authorship of Methodius without quotations, extracts, or interpolations, we are surprised to find that his procedure is fallacious, and that his most striking cases of similarity of language are a misunderstanding of the thing to be proved. We proceed to give some examples.

The good-tempered heretic (Valentinian or whatever he was) who was distressed by the domestic discords of the people among whom he dwelt, expressed a longing (*πόθος*) to investigate (*ἀναζητεῖν*) what is the origin of evil; and his orthodox emendator observes that "since you have a longing (*πόθος*) to enquire into (*ζητεῖν*) the origin of evil, etc". Obviously the one sentence is the reproduction of the other, and if Methodius wrote the first, then he also wrote the second; but he may have written the second, having previously incorporated the first. The coincidence of language proves nothing: it is *ignoratio elenchi* if not *petitio principii*, to say that he who wrote the second wrote also the first.

The heretic explains that he resolved the perplexity of the situation

in which he was intellectually involved by concluding that "there must be somewhat co-existent (*συνυπάρχειν*) with God (let us call it Matter)," and his friendly opponent remarks that "he does not think he is ignorant of the fact that two ingenerates cannot exist together (*ὑπάρχειν ἄμα*) however much he may seem to have prejudged the case and set it down so in the argument".

Here again the reply of the orthodox is conditioned by the statement of the heretic, but the coincidence does not prove that the orthodox and the heretic are, from a literary point of view, the same person. When the heretic says that the Matter whose existence he has been led to assume is "unwrought (*ἀποίου*) and unformed (*ἀσχηματίστου*) and the subject of irregular impulses" (*ἀτάκτως φερομένης*) the orthodox observes that "you said, did you not, that Matter was unwrought and unformed"? The heretic admits the charge. The Creator Himself, says the orthodox, from his close association with Matter will turn out to be the subject of irregular impulses (*ὁμοίως αὐτὸν τῇ ὕλῃ ἀτάκτως φέρεσθαι*).

Dr. Robinson sets this down as a proof of unity of authorship! What does all this prove as to authorship? If A quotes B, does it prove that he is the author of B?

The heretic who found his faith in the settled order of a Divinely governed world, by observing the fixity of the earth and the obedient motions of the heavenly bodies, says, "I *saw* that the earth was *firmly set* (*πεπηγυῖαν*)". "If you talk of the heavens," says the other, "and the sun, and if you *see* that the earth likewise is *firmly set*," etc.

Obviously the language of the heretic is again on the lips of the orthodox, but this does not prove the language of the heretic to be the creation of the orthodox.

"I wanted to find out," says the heretic, "what was the invention of these evils, and who was their teacher: (*τίς ὁ τούτων διδάσκαλος*)"; and the orthodox replies that "the teacher of evil (*ὁ διδάσκων τὸ κακόν*) is the Dragon". How does this prove that Methodius is both the heretic and the orthodox? We may still regard it as an open question whether there is any interpolated matter in the treatise on *Free-Will*.

We may also leave it as an unsolved problem whether Maximus is Methodius. Zahn, who wrote on the subject in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (ix. 228 ff.) suggested (i) that ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΥ had been misread in uncial script as ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ which seems to me to be

bad paleography ; or (ii) that Maximus was the name of the orthodox opponent in the *Dialogue*, and that the real title of the work was "Maximus, or on Freewill," just as a Platonic *Dialogue* might be named Gorgias or Philebus from its principal interlocutor. Dr. Robinson makes the same suggestion on his own account, without knowing what Zahn had written. It is not easy to believe that Eusebius, who was well acquainted with Methodius and his writings, would have made such a mistake as to replace Methodius, who was a contemporary of his own, by one of his *dramatis personæ*, or to express his admiration of the Christian character of a merely artistic creation.

The real question for us is whether this Methodius-Adamantius matter is of the same kind as would make a proper Prologue to the fundamental opposition between the Old and the New Testament. It might be urged that the Demiurge, as distinct from the Unknown God does not appear in our extract, and that the problem of the Origin of Evil has not been commonly recognized as occurring and occupying a large place in the Marcionite thought. We have, however, sufficient patristic Testimony that the heretics, especially the Marcionites and the Valentinians, were closely occupied with this problem. If, then, any such discussion goes back to Marcion, it must be in the *Antitheses* that it finds a place ; it cannot be found in the Prologue to the Marcionite Gospel : nor can it have occurred in the main body of the *Contradictions*, for we know that this main body is occupied with Biblical internal dissonances. If, then, Marcion discussed the problem of the Origin of Evil, the Prologue to the *Antitheses* is the place to look for it.¹

But suppose someone says that the Supreme Being in the Methodius passage is not wholly detached from the work of Creation, as the Marcionite theology is held to require, for He uses the Hylē where he can, drawing off the eligible vintage, and leaving the lees, will it not follow presently, as the argument develops, that these Unfathered and Unfactored parts of Hylē will acquire an artificer of their own, if not exactly an artist, and so the way will be open for

¹ See the quotations from Tertullian and Eusebius on p. 294. Remark especially that they are at the very beginning of Tertullian's *Treatise against Marcion*.

the affirmation of the Unknown Good God, the Knowable Just God, and the unformed matter out of which the Universe arises ?

We do not think that further confirmation of our theory regarding the Marcionite Prologue is necessary. We do not, however, know finally how much Methodius has added to what he borrowed, nor how much he may have dropped. We can detect a few Platonic touches by which a narration is turned into a *Dialogue*.

As to the passages which we have been working on, they have a beauty and a style of their own. They would be likely to be detached by literary and theological collectors ; and whatever be their origin, some such detachment would explain how it comes about that they turn up under diverse names, and are incorporated in various works on religion and philosophy.

It may, perhaps, be said that our argument requires that the Homeric quotation with regard to the "ruffled Pontus" should be referred to Marcion himself, whereas it is far more likely to be the work of the erudite Hellenic scholar Methodius, than of the Pontic shipmaster. The answer to this objection may be found in the consideration that Homer was as much read in the countries that border on the Black Sea as the Bible is in Scotland or in Wales. Here are some references from my *Homeric Centones*. "Who would have expected that a Jewish proselyte would, in translating the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, have gone out of his way to employ Homeric diction ? Yet it is demonstrable that Aquila of Pontus did this ; nor is it easy to avoid the double conclusion (i) that Homer was a part of the common-school education in Pontus ; (ii) that the Rabbinical protests against Greek learning were, at least in the second century, mere *fulmina bruta*." ¹ "Dion Cassius tells us of the passion of the Borysthenitae for Homer." ²

So it seems that Homer was just as much in demand at Sinope as at Patara.

Even if the quotation should be claimed for Methodius, it will still be possible to remove it as an interpolation, and the storm will remain, to which Tertullian alludes, when its literary illustration has been withdrawn. We prefer to believe that the whole narration, including the learned comment, is Marcion's.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6 n.

It may, perhaps, be suggested that the Creator in the passages which we have been discussing, is definitely a good and artistic being, and that we ought not therefore to imagine that he would be displaced by another good God, and only allowed the title of the Just One. It may be as well to guard ourselves against too rigid a use of the terms Good and Just, as though they were exclusive or contradictory. Harnack points out that Marcion's Creator is really a good being, but his goodness is of an inadequate character : both the Creator and his Law are good, in a relative sense, but it is a lower rank of goodness than that which is the mark of the Supreme Being. Any objection on this score may therefore be eliminated.

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AILRED OF RIEVAULX AND HIS BIOGRAPHER WALTER DANIEL.

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AMONG the manuscripts recently acquired by the John Rylands Library is a volume which was written at the end of the twelfth century in the Cistercian Monastery of Rievaulx, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The first few pages are missing, though the manuscript is still protected by its mediæval covers of board joined by thongs of leather. When he came to catalogue it M. Robert Fawtier found that it was the *Centum Sententiae* of Walter Daniel, monk of Rievaulx, a prolific writer whose works, known to Leland and Bale, have almost entirely disappeared. After the dissolution of the monasteries, when monastic libraries were scattered, the manuscript came into the hands of the Thorntons of East Newton, a manor not far from Rievaulx. In the reign of Charles II. it passed, with East Newton, to the family of Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham. Nearly a century later it was presented by another Thomas Comber to Thomas Duncombe, on whose estate at Helmsley the ruins of Rievaulx lay.¹ During 600 years this book, written at Rievaulx by a monk of Rievaulx for the edification of his brethren, never wandered more than a few miles from home. Other Rievaulx books went further afield. The Rievaulx copy of the Sentences of Peter the Lombard, came to University College, Oxford.² A twelfth century manuscript of the Apocalypse, glossed, is in Lincoln College, Oxford ;³ Rabanus Maurus on St. Matthew, also in a twelfth century copy, is

¹ Rylands Latin MS., 196.

² University College MS., 113.

³ Lincoln College MS., 15.



in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,¹ and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, possesses an interesting fifteenth century manuscript, originally given to Rievaulx by Abbot William Spenser.²

The *Sentences* of Walter Daniel was only one of many Rievaulx manuscripts which must have lain neglected, until destruction came, in the manor houses and farms of the neighbourhood. We have to thank the Rev. Thomas Man, M.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the preservation of at least one more. Dr. Man, who was a younger contemporary of Dean Comber, was Vicar of Northallerton. He was a collector of books, and in this land of ancient abbeys he found many manuscripts which had escaped the vigilance of previous antiquaries. His collection, which is now in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, contains books from Durham, Hexham, Rievaulx, Kirkstall and other places, but especially from Durham.³ Two of them, one from Rievaulx, the other from Durham, are of peculiar interest to students of the great monastic movement which began at Rievaulx in 1132, and spread throughout Yorkshire into Lincolnshire and Northumberland, into Galloway and the Lowlands and as far south as Bedfordshire. The Rievaulx book is a miscellaneous collection, preceded by a catalogue in a thirteenth century hand of the Rievaulx library.⁴ The Durham book contains, among other items, a copy of Walter Daniel's most important work, the life of his master Abbot Ailred.⁵

I am indebted to the Master and Fellows of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the loan of this last manuscript, which they have allowed me to examine in the John Rylands Library. M. Fawtier, who first introduced me to Walter Daniel, has kindly placed at my service his

¹ James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, i. 172, No. 86.

² C.C.C. Oxford MS., 155.

³ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge*, 1895.

⁴ Jesus College MS., Q.B. 17; James, No. 34. The catalogue is written on the six leaves of the first gathering. It has been printed three times, first by Halliwell-Phillipps in his edition of Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Vol. II. (1843), pp. 180-189, then by Edward Edwards in his *Memoirs of Libraries* (1859), I., 333-341, and most recently and correctly, by James, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-52.

⁵ Jesus College MS., Q.B. 7; James, No. 24: ff. 61-75. I shall refer to this as the *Vita Ailredi*.

careful notes upon the *Centum Sententiae*, now in the Rylands Library. In the following paper I propose to describe these two extant writings of this twelfth century monk of Rievaulx and, so far as I can, the circumstances under which they were written.

I.

WALTER DANIEL.

“For seventeen years I lived under his rule,” writes Walter of Ailred, “and during the whole of that time he expelled no one from the monastery.”¹ Ailred died in January, 1167. Walter, therefore, entered Rievaulx about 1150, during the Abbot’s third year of office. Daniel, his father, was at that time a monk of Rievaulx, and had played his part in the administrative business of the house.² From Daniel his son heard stories of the years before he had known the abbey, the story in particular of a young monk who had caused Ailred much trouble. Like Walter himself this young man was a clerk who had left the life of study for the life of the cloister. He found the change very hard to bear. Ailred, then master of the novices, nearly lost him, so great was his longing to return to the world. Later, when Ailred went out to form the daughter house of Revesby in Lincolnshire, founded by William de Roumare Earl of Lincoln in 1142, he took this unstable monk with him. The trouble returned, and to the abbot’s intense grief, the monk again tried to leave his vocation. He returned with Ailred to Rievaulx. On one occasion he was sent with Daniel and others on a mission to Swineshead, and, on the day before the little company returned, Ailred, who must have had him constantly in his thoughts, dreamed that he would shortly die. Soon after, as the monk lay dying in the abbot’s arms, Ailred told Daniel and two others of his dream.³

¹ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 b. In these references the letters a, b, c, d refer to the four columns, two on the recto, two on the dorso, of each page.

² *Ibid.*, f. 61 b, f. 69 b. Daniel was alive in 1151, for he was present at a gathering of abbots and monks in which Ailred gave judgment in the dispute between the Abbeys of Savigny and Furness about the control of Byland Abbey. See the Byland narrative in the *Monasticon*, v., 353, and for other references to the settlement, *English Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1921, XXXVI., 23.

³ This story is not told continuously by Walter, but his references show that the various incidents belong to the life of the same monk: *Vita Ailredi*, ff. 67 c, d., 68 c, d., 69 a, b.

Daniel is one of the two or three monks to whom Walter gives the title *dominus*, or more correctly *domnus*.¹ In the monastic literature of this period the title was not given to monks, even if they were in priest's orders, as a matter of course. Walter's practice, though not quite consistent, is clearly not arbitrary. When he speaks of Lord Daniel, Lord Gualo, Lord Gospatric, he means to imply that they were more than monks and priests. An abbot or prior was *dominus*, and it is possible that Daniel, Gospatric, and the rest became Cistercian prelates; but there is no evidence of their promotion. We are forced to conclude either that Daniel was a personage of importance in the domestic life of Rievaulx, or that Walter, when he gave him the title, was recalling his secular status. Rievaulx, like Clairvaux, had attracted men of high and low degree, and contained many monks of knightly and noble origin. Ailred himself, his friend Simon, whose death he laments so bitterly in the *Speculum Caritatis*,² Waldef, the son of Earl Simon of Northampton and step-son of King David of Scotland, were fellow-monks of Daniel. The time had not yet come when men of high origin put on airs, and fatigued their brethren with talk of their exalted relatives; the novice who entered Rievaulx was impressed by the total disregard of social distinctions which prevailed;³ but, after all, signs and recollections of good breeding could not be entirely lost. I am inclined to think that Daniel was of knightly origin—"ex militari germine," as Joscelin of Furness describes it—and that Walter lets the truth slip out when he styles his father "*dominus Daniel*".

In the north-eastern parts of England small estates were numerous. The Anglo-Scandinavian thanes had lingered longer, had given way to barons and knights more quietly and gradually than elsewhere.⁴

¹ For the distinction drawn between *dominus* and *domnus*, see Du Cange, *Glossarium*. Cf. Nicholas of Clairvaux, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXIV., col. 829: *dominus nomen est maiestatis, pietatis magister*.

² *Patrologia Latina*, CXCIV., col. 539-546.

³ "et quod me miro modo delectat nulla est personarum acceptio, nulla natalium consideratio"—*Speculum Cartatis*, lib. ii. c. 17 in P.L. CXCIV., 563. For the monks who are always talking about their distinguished relatives, Jocelin, *Vita Sancti Waldeni*, written c. 1210, in *Acta Sanctorum*, August., I., col. 259 d.

⁴ See Farrer in *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, II., 144-146; Stenton, *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (1920).

The dominus of Cleveland or Teesdale was not of necessity a distinguished person of foreign extraction, for the social steps between the potentate and the freeholder were numerous, and it would not be easy to draw hard and fast lines in the use of titles of courtesy. After some investigation I venture to suggest that Walter Daniel, Walter the son of Daniel, came from the Balliol fief in Cleveland, that his father was the Daniel son of Walter who was in the company, and attests at least one charter of the great Bernard of Balliol, Lord of Bailleul-en-Vimeu in Picardy, of Bywell in Northumberland, of Marwood, later Barnard Castle in Teesdale, and of Stokesley in the Cleveland district of Yorkshire.¹ This is merely a hazardous suggestion, due to the fact that the name Daniel seems to have been unusually common in the Balliol manors in Cleveland,² combined with the probability that a Walter son of Daniel had a Walter for his grandfather. It should be remembered, on the other hand, that the people north of the Humber have always been fond of the more uncommon Biblical names. In twelfth century deeds, one may find Absaloms, Jeremiahs, Gamaliels, and scores of others; and, if one is set on the discovery of Daniels, Daniels spring up at every turn. There was a Daniel of Newcastle, rather an important person, in Henry II.s' time. In the middle of the century a Daniel the steward owned land in St. Giles' Gate at York.³ A Daniel witnessed the grant to St. Mary's Abbey, York, of Myton-upon-Swale,⁴ and later we find a William son of Daniel among the monks of the same abbey.⁵ Walter Daniel had a contemporary with the same name as his own, in Cumberland.⁶

Mr. Stenton shows that peasant holdings in Lincolnshire might have to be described in terms of feudal origin, pp. cxxxi-ii.

¹ Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Vol. VI. (1902), p. 14 ff.; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I., 438. Rayner of Stokesley (Bernard's steward) and Daniel son of Walter attested a confirmation by Bernard of a grant by Gui of Balliol to St. Mary's, York; Farrer, I., 440, No. 561.

² William son of Daniel (*Cartularium de Whiteby*, Surtees Soc., I., 53-54, 60; Farrer, I., 447-448, No. 569), Daniel of Kirkby (*Cart. de Whiteby*, I., 54; Farrer, I., 459 note), Jordan, son of Daniel of Ingleby-Greenhow (Farrer, I., 451 note). And compare Daniel of Yarm, the little Cleveland port on the Tees (*Cart. Prioratus de Gyseburne*, Surtees Soc., I., 97, 264; II. 43).

³ Farrer, I., 216, No. 277. ⁴ *Ibid.*, II., 133, No. 791 (1100-1106).

⁵ *Cart. de Rievaille*, Surtees Soc., p. 170.

⁶ J. Wilson, *Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, Surtees Soc. (1915), pp. 52-3, 83-4.

Daniel was dominus Daniel. Walter was magister Walterus. He had been to the schools, and knew his Porphyry and Isidore. His *Sentences* do not suggest that he had been very far afield, but the *Sentences* are not a fair guide. He may have been to Oxford or Paris before he got his licence to teach and become the Master Walter remembered by the monks of Rievaulx.¹ But I do not think that he went much further than York or Durham, and at York or Durham he could have acquired a greater variety of intellectual interests than he would seem to have possessed.² Whether like that Master Walter, to whom St. Bernard wrote a famous letter, he had ever been tempted by prospects of the fame and dignity which in the twelfth century came to the successful teacher of the cathedral schools, we do not know. I doubt it. "You may glory in your fame, wrote Bernard, and men may call you Rabbi, and you may bear a great name so long as you are upon the earth: what will these things avail you afterwards?"³ In the circle to which our Walter's father belonged, these words must have been familiar. Abbot William of Rievaulx, who had been St. Bernard's amanuensis, may have been the first to write them down. Walter had his faults; he was too impulsive and excitable to be a perfect monk; but, as we shall see, he agreed with St. Bernard that the search after knowledge, whether for its own sake or for one's own glory, is vanity. He shows little sympathy with that other "clericus scholaris" who entered Rievaulx and whose periodic longings for the world caused Ailred such distress.

Ailred himself has left an impression of Walter Daniel in his *De Spirituali Amicitia* written towards the end of his life, when Walter was one of his closest companions. Walter gives us the clue, for he says definitely that two of the characters in this dialogue were Ivo, afterwards a monk of Wardon, a daughter house of Rievaulx in

¹ The catalogue of Rievaulx mentions the *Sentencie Magistri Walteri*, and the *Psalterium Magistri Walteri*: James, *Catalogue of MSS., of Jesus College*, pp. 49, 50.

² I shall return to this point in the last section of the paper.

³ Saint Bernard to Master Walter of Chaumont, *Opera Sancti Bernardi*, ed. Mabillon, I., col. 108, ep. 104. The date is uncertain: Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard* (1895), I., 139-140.

Bedfordshire, and himself.¹ The second book opens with a personal conversation between Walter and the Abbot :—

AILRED : Come now, brother, why did you sit apart from us, all by yourself, while I was talking with those business men just now ? You were the picture of vexation, turning your eyes in all directions, rubbing your brow, tugging at your hair, darting angry looks.

WALTER : Who could sit patiently all day, while those casual servants of Pharaoh wasted your time, and we, who have a right to it, could not get in a word with you ?

AILRED : We must bear with such people. They can be of service to us, and we also may have reason to fear them. But they have gone now, and after the tiresome interruption, we can find all the more pleasure in our solitude.²

Walter apparently took no interest in monastic economy : perhaps this is why he has so little to say about it in his life of Ailred, one of the busiest and most sagacious men of his time. Moreover, he was not able to control his feelings—a trait which finds frequent expression in his writings. We get a more favourable glimpse of him at the beginning of the third book of the *De Spirituali Amicitia*. In the course of the second book a certain Gratian has been introduced. Gratian lives to love and be loved. He is a devotee in the temple of friendship (“*alumnus amicitiae*”). When the dialogue is resumed, he begs a brief delay, for Walter has not arrived, and Walter’s presence is necessary—“He understands more quickly than I do, is better informed in argument, and has a better memory”. “Do you hear that, Walter ?” says Ailred. “You see, Gratian is more friendly than you thought.” But, though intellectually gifted, Walter is not magnanimous : “And how should he—the friend of all—not be a friend to me ?”³ Here again, Ailred’s delicate criticism is confirmed by the *Vita Ailredi*.

¹ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 b.—“*edidit tres libros de spirituali amicitia sub dialogo. In quorum primo luonem supradictum se interrogantem introduxit et me in sequentibus loquentem secum ordinavit.*”

² P.L. CXCv., col. 669 b.

³ *Ibid.*, 672 a, 679 b. Ailred makes it quite clear, in the *Speculum Caritatis* and in the *De Spirituali Amicitia*, that he depended during his monastic life on two particular friends, who died before him. Walter does not refer to them.

Walter was devoted to Ailred, but his devotion was not quite generous. He was too full of himself, quick to resent criticism, an irritable, perhaps a jealous man. One feels that Ailred felt a peculiar tenderness towards the "clerici scolares"—they were so quick, bright, sincere, loyal, and yet so touchy, so impulsive, so self-centred.

If we can trust the evidence of Leland and Bale, Walter Daniel was a prolific writer. Leland saw the Rievaulx manuscripts shortly before the dissolution, and his account of Walter and his writings deserves careful attention. Walter Daniel, he says, was the deacon of Abbot Ailred. He was worthy of his master, and, almost his equal in learning, wrote on the same philosophical and theological subjects. A list of his writings, Leland adds, is the best proof of this; they deserve publication after the long period of neglect in the library of a few obscure monks.¹ Bale, who copies Leland's note, adds that Walter lived about the year 1170 and died at Rievaulx. He gives the same list of writings with slightly different incipits:—²

Centum sententiae [*Ferculum sibi fecit salem* ³].

Centum homiliae, *Adventus Domini* [*sanctum tempus* ⁴]. Bale : *Adventus Domini nostri in carnem.*

Epistolae, justum volumen, *Mandasti mihi.* Bale : *Mandasti mihi ut hoc supra vires.*

De virginitate Mariae, *Crebris me Gualterum* [*provocas* ⁴].

Expositio super "Missus est angelus Gabriel".

De honesta virginis formula, *Inprimis huius* [*inprima huius operis particula* ⁴]. Bale : *inprimis huius nostri operis.*

De onere iumentorum austri libri ii, *Animadvertens* [*mi Gualter* ⁴]. Bale : *Animadvertens in Esaiae 30 cap.*

¹ Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britanniae* (edit. Oxford, 1709), I., 200-201, chap. clxx. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748), p. 218, copies Leland. See also Selden's preface to the *Decem Scriptores* (1652), pp. xxvii-viii.

² Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae catalogus* (Bale, 1559), p. 213. Bale is followed closely by Pits (Paris, 1619), p. 234.

³ The incipit is omitted by Leland, probably because he saw the mutilated MS. now in the Rylands Library, from which the opening folios are missing. It is given in the Rievaulx catalogue, James, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴ The words enclosed in brackets are found in Leland's *Collectanea* (edit. Oxford, 1715), III., 38.

De vera amicitia libri V, *Quasi in biuio*. Bale: *Quasi in'biuio iamdudum spaciato*. [Pits: *spaciatur*.]

De concepcione beatae Mariae contra Nicholaum monachum libri ii. *Contra Nicholai* [monachi¹]. Bale: *Contra Nicholai de S. Albano quon*. [Pits: *quodam*.]

The life of Ailred escaped Leland's notice. He was also unaware that Walter was the author of a work on the scope of philosophy, to which reference is made at the end of the *Centum Sententiae*.² This, with most of Walter's writings, is lost.

As Leland observes, Walter's interests were very similar to Ailred's. The five books on friendship recall Ailred's *De Spirituali Anicitiae*, the two books on the burdens of the beasts of the south (Isaiah xxx. 6) were presumably suggested by Ailred's famous sermons *De oneribus Isaiæ*, while in his writings on the Virgin he chose a theme dear to the followers of St. Bernard, and frequently made the occasion by Ailred of his devotional discourses. But in at least one respect Walter's interests were more theological than Ailred's. The abbot's writings were either historical or ascetical. He seems to have had no inclination, he certainly was not led by the influence of the schools, to indulge in theological speculation. Now, if Leland and Bale were well informed, Walter wrote a treatise in two books against Nicholas, a monk of St. Albans, on the subject of the immaculate conception. He plunged into one of the vexed questions of the day. As is well known, St. Bernard, though he did so much to inspire the Church with veneration for the Virgin, did not accept the dogma of the immaculate conception. He used his influence to arrest the movement which was making headway, especially in Lyons, for the observance of the feast of the Conception.³ In England this feast had been observed for some time. It had been observed in several places before the

¹ The words enclosed in brackets are found in Leland's *Collectanea* (edit. Oxford, 1715), III., 38.

² *Centum Sententiae*, f. 41^r: "Hic huic sententie sententiarum nostrarum ultime finem pono, quare de his omnibus in libro nostro de perpropriis philosophie secundo sufficienter dissertum recolo." Walter may be referring, however, to the second book of Isidore's *Etymologiae*.

³ Ep. 174 in *Opera S. Bernardi*, I., col. 169-172. See especially Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, II., 78-96. Some early Cistercians seem to have accepted the doctrine; see the sermon attributed to Oglerio da Trino, Abbot of Locedio in the diocese of Vercelli, in *Opera S. Bernardi*, II., col. 653 d.

Norman Conquest, and early in the twelfth century it was revived in many of the great Benedictine houses. Anselm, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, and nephew of St. Anselm, had been especially active in the work of revival, and by 1150 the feast of the Conception was established in Westminster, Reading, Bury, St. Albans, Gloucester, Winchester, and Worcester.¹ A similar movement spread in Normandy.² St. Bernard's attitude, therefore, was not shared by the English Benedictines. Among those who followed Anselm of Bury was Nicholas, a monk of St. Albans, whose treatise against St. Bernard, and two letters on the same subject to Peter de la Celle, Abbot of Saint Rémi, afterwards Bishop of Chartres, still survive.³ As a Cistercian admirer of Bernard of Clairvaux Walter Daniel apparently sought to check the influence of Nicholas of St. Albans.

No more is known of Walter and his activities. Between 1153 and 1157 Bishop Hugh of Durham confirmed land in Allertonshire to Rievaulx, and among the witnesses were Walter, monk and chaplain, and another Walter, a monk.⁴ The first Walter was perhaps the former chaplain of Walter Espec, founder of Rievaulx,⁵ the second may have been our Walter.

II.

THE "CENTUM SENTENTIAE".

Of the writings attributed by Leland to Walter Daniel, only the *Centum Sententiae* has yet been identified. By a curious coincidence it is also the only work of Walter mentioned in the thirteenth century catalogue of the Rievaulx Library. The manuscript, now Latin MS. 196, in the John Rylands Library, is described as follows by M. Robert Fawtier:—

Codex on vellum, 45 leaves and one fly leaf in paper. 252 mm.
× 156 mm.

¹ Edmund Bishop in the *Downside Review*, April, 1886, an article reprinted in his *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), p. 238 ff.

² Vacandard, in *Revue des questions historiques* (1897), LXI., 166.

³ Mr. Bishop identified the treatise of Nicholas with MS. Bod. Auct. D. 4, 18. For the correspondence between Nicholas and Peter de la Celle, see P.L. CCII., col. 613-632, and Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, II., 85, 86, 96.

⁴ *Cart. de Rievaille*, p. 27, No. 49; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charter*, II., 289, No. 952; compare also Nos. 954-955.

⁵ Afterwards prior of Dundrennan (Vita Ailredi, f. 62 c).

Three manuscripts bound together—

- (1) MS. A, 6 leaves (ff. 1-6) signed III (f. 6 v°).
 - (2) MS. B, 8 leaves (ff. 7-14) without signatures.
 - (3) MS. C, 31 leaves (ff. 15-45) without signatures.
- 30 lines to a page.

Written in six English hands (a) ff. 1-6, end of the twelfth century.

(b) ff. 7-14, nearly of the same time, but a little later.

(c) ff. 15-36	}	all of the first half of the thirteenth century.
(d) ff. 37-41		
(e) ff. 41 ^v -42		
(f) ff. 42-45 ^v		

Initials in red and green (MSS. A and C), in red alone (MS. B).

For this reason too late a date must not be assigned to MS. C, green having been used very rarely in the drawing of initials in the thirteenth and later centuries, though very common in the twelfth.

There are rubrics in the margins and in the text.

Numerous notes have been made in the margins by different hands, some being additions to the text written by the copyists, others, by a fourteenth century hand, afterwards erased, and now quite illigible, others, the majority, by the hand of Thomas Comber, of whom below. Except at the end the manuscript is accurately written.

The manuscript is bound in wooden boards once covered with white vellum of which fragments are still left. There are also remains of metallic ornaments on the cover.

The manuscript unhappily is incomplete. Two gatherings and probably the first two leaves of the third are missing, and, as Leland does not give the incipit of the work, they were probably missing in the sixteenth century. In its present form the text begins in the middle of the thirtieth sententia. A leaf which contained the end of sentence 73, sentence 74 and the beginning of sentence 75 is missing between the leaves now numbered 24 and 25, also another leaf, between the leaves now numbered 28 and 29, which contained the end of sentence 81 and the beginning of sentence 82. The sentences end on f. 41^r, and are followed by four homilies (ff. 41^v-45^v). These also were written by Walter Daniel.

After the dissolution of the monasteries, the manuscript seems to have fallen into the hands of the Thorntons of East Newton, a manor three or four miles south-east of Helmsley, in the parish of Stonegrave, Ryedale Wapentake.¹ For the following note is written in the margin of the first folio: "Author hujus MS. vocatur nomine waltheri folio penultimo: forte opus est monachi illius Angli de quo legimus apud Baleum de Scriptor. Anglis"—then comes a quotation about Walter Daniel from Bale—"imo folio antepenultimo reperitur nomen ejus perfectum scilicet Walterus Danielis. ita opinor donec meliora proferuntur. T. Comber, 1676". A reference follows to Selden's note in the *Decem Scriptores*. T. Comber, who thus identified the author of the *Sentences*, was the son-in-law of the last of the Thorntons, and succeeded to the manor of East Newton. He had made William Thornton's acquaintance and joined his household when curate to the rector of Stonegrave. In 1669 he became rector of Stonegrave, and after other preferment of various kinds, was presented to the deanery of Durham. He was in his time a theologian and controversialist of considerable repute. After his death in 1699,² East Newton came to his son and grandson, both of whom were named Thomas. Walter Daniel's manuscript aroused the grandson's curiosity. In August, 1762, he wrote out in the margins translations of several of the sentences and sermons and inscribed a tedious poem of over fifty lines on the fly-leaf. Mr. Comber, who describes himself as curate of East Newton (diaconus Neutoniensis), was impressed, as he well might be, by the contrast between the Rievaulx of Walter Daniel's day and the ruins of his own, with their setting of terraces, Greek temples, and landscape gardens. On his new terrace overlooking the abbey Mr. Thomas Duncombe had recently built two temples, in the style so freely affected in the eighteenth century. "At one end," wrote an observer in 1810 to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "is a circular Tuscan temple; at the other (that nearest the abbey) a porticoed Ionic one. The latter, both within and without, is marked by a chaste elegance. It consists of a single room, the ceilings and cones of which

¹ Robert Thornton, the fifteenth century transcriber of the Thornton romances, was a member of this family.

² Rev. T. Comber, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Comber, D.D., Dean of Durham* (London, 1799); *Victoria County History of Yorkshire, North Riding*, I., 563; *D.N.B.*, XI., 435-437.

are ornamented with paintings by Burnice, an Italian artist, some original, the others from the most admired works of Guido."¹ As Mr. Thomas Comber, B.A., late of Jesus College, Cambridge, soliloquized—

The monk beholds, but with astonish'd eyes,
On Rivalx well-known bank a temple rise,
A temple of Ægyptian form display'd,
While his lov'd convent is in ruins laid.

He reflected that the creator of this elegant retreat had a natural right to own the manuscript which he had found at East Newton, and, if he carried out his intention, the work of Walter Daniel passed with Mr. Comber's poem and translations into the Library of Duncombe Park. It was bought by the Rylands Library in 1914.

The first thirty sentences, as has been said, are missing, and the original incipit—*Ferculam sibi fecit salem*—is only known from the mediæval catalogue of the monastic library. The book does not require—nor does it invite—detailed examination. A list of its contents will show the class of devotional literature to which it belongs.²

f. 1 (end of sentence xxx).

et perseuerantia esse cernuntur. Cum ueteri igitur Testamento uetera transierunt et noua in nouo salubriter subsequuntur. . . . Nempe lege deficiente corporaliter defecerunt Ephod et Teraphim, Euangelio uero subsequente spiritualiter perseuerant Cherubim et Seraphin qui Deum sine fine laudare non cessant. Amen.

XXXI. Duo maxime animam vegetant pinguedine spiritali uita uidelicet et uoluntas bona.

XXXII. Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi domine.

XXXIII. Duo sunt motus anime ira et concupiscentia.

XXXIV. Duo sunt caro et spiritus.

XXXV. Omnis anima aut calida est aut frigida.

XXXVI. Triformis est sanctarum status animarum : probatorius, purgatorius, renumeratorius.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1810, part i., pp. 601-603. The terrace and temples were built shortly before 1758; see John Burton, *Monasticum Eboracense* (York, 1758), p. 560.

² The following transcript is due to Mr. Fawtier.

- XXXVII. Tria omnino necessaria sunt omni anime christiane :
bonitas, disciplina, scientia.
- XXXVIII. Tres sunt anime profectus : primus est penitentie,
secundus consolationis, tertius consummationis.
[in. marg.] primus compunctionis, secundus
indulgentie, tertius purgate conscientie.
- XXXIX. Tres sunt generales anime corruptiones, concupiscentia
carnis, concupiscentia oculorum et superbia vite.
- XL. Tres *sunt* anime hostes : caro, mundus, diabolus.
- XLI. Tria et tria, unum contra unum, bonum contra malum, et
malum contra bonum.
- XLII. Tres sunt prolapse anime reparationes : confessio, precatio,
laudatio.
- XLIII. Tribus pronuntiationibus diffinit apostolus : caritatem vide-
licet ex corde puro, et conscientia bona et fide non ficta.
- XLIV. Tria sunt quibus anima per Dei gratiam pervenit ad per-
fectionem : admonitio, operatio, oratio.
- XLV. Tria sunt oscula : de primo dicitur : osculetur me osculo
oris sui ; de secundo dicit Ysaac filio suo : da mihi osculum
fili mi ; de tertio est illud domini cum Juda : osculo tradis
filium hominis.
- XLVI. Tres sunt panes : similagineus, subcinericeus, ordeaceus. . .
- XLVII. Tres sunt specialiter columbe : prima et principaliter
est que descendit super Jesum in Jordane ; secunda que ad
Noe in archam attulit ramum olive ; tertia cujus pennas petiit
David dicens : quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columba.
- XLVIII. Tres sunt anime affectus quibus adjuncta virtute quam-
plurimum proficit ad salutem. Sunt autem timor, amor, desi-
derium.
- IL. Homo electus tres habet dies. Primus est a nativitate usque
ad mortem ; secundus a morte usque ad carnis resurrectionem ;
tertius a carnis resurrectione usque in, ut ita dixerim, sine fine.
[*corr. finem*].
- L. Judas genuit Phares et Zaram de Thamar. Quatuor horum
significatiua nominum quamplurimum ualent ad modum con-
fessionis et ordinem insinuandum. Judas nempe confitens
uel confessio, Thamar amaritudo, Phares diuisio, Zara ortus
aut oriens interpretatur.

- LI. Quatuor sunt crucis dimensiones, altitudo, latitudo, longitudo et profundum.
- LII. Quatuor sunt uirtutes cardinales multorum philosophorum approbate iudicio necnon doctorum catholicorum autoritate confirmate. Sunt autem : iusticia, prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia.
- LIII. Quatuor sunt cornua altaris thimiamatis.
- LIV. Quatuor militibus qui Christum crucifixerunt quatuor uitia mundi uidelicet amor, elationis timor, carnalis uoluptatis fetor, aliene felicitatis dolor intelligi possunt.
- LV. Quatuor quidam sunt quorum quidem duo habere sub pedibus et duo debet conculcare perfectus. Unde David : super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem. Aspisis est occulta detractio, basilicus est cordis elatio, leo temeraria presumptio, draco perseverans desperatio.
- LVI. Quatuor modis affligitur homo perfectus. Aliquando corporis infirmitate, saepius prauorum persecutione, nonnunquam etiam diabolica temptatione, assidue uero uirtutum exercitatione.
- LVII. Quatuor quedam sunt que beatum Job intra sanctitatis circulum includere uidentur : uidelicet quod uir, quod simplex, quod rectus, quod timens Deum predicatur.
- LVIII. Quatuor sunt uigiliae noctis : nox est uita humana. . . .
- LIX. Quatuor sunt Euangeliste : Matheus, Marcus, Lucas et Johannes.
- LX. Quatuor sunt in favo : cera, mel, dulcedo, artificium.
- LXI. Quatuor sunt genera hominum : perfectorum, uidelicet, pessimorum, minus bonorum et minus malorum.
- LXII. Quatuor sunt genera letitiae : est namque letitia pernicioosa, est superstitiosa, est fructuosa, est gloriosa.
- LXIII. Quatuor sunt in homine uoluntas, mens, lingua, manus.
- LXIV. Quinque pertitus anime sensus in prothoplastis nimis obscuratus est ut ex genesi facile probari potest. Sunt autem ipsi sensus quinque : uisus, auditus, odoratus, gustus et tactus.
- LXV. Quinque quedam sunt sine quibus salutis humane non consistit perfectio. Sunt autem fides, spes, caritas, pax, sanctionia sine qua nemo uidebit Deum.
- LXVI. Sub pennis animalium manus hominis subaudis erat.

Quinque specialiter penne alam extendunt ad uolatum. Sunt autem spiritualiter carnis purgatio, mentis devotio, frequens divine laudationis confessio, recte sursum eleuationis intentio, theorice speculationis contemplatio.

LXVII. Jacob et Esau duo sunt populi, electorum et reprobatorum, de quibus Dominus Rebecce : duo populi in utero tuo sunt et due gentes ex uentre tuo diuidentur. . . .

LXVIII. Duas gentes odit anima mea, tertia autem non est gens quam oderim : qui sedent in monte Feyr et Philistum et stultus populus qui habitat in Sichimis.

LXIX. Multis modis erudit nos magister noster Christus : nunc preceptis, nunc prohibitionibus, nunc monitis, nunc exemplis, nunc etiam argumentis conclusiuis.

LXX. Noe uir iustus fuit in generatione sua. Magnum est inter prauos perfectionem sanctitatis habere, inter iniquos consequi summam iusticie et sine uirtutis exemplo in alio in se ipso arcem puritatis ostendere.

LXXI. Pauci admodum episcopi sex uidelicet seu septem a Nicena sinodo recedentes homouision id est consubstantialitatem patris et filii non receperunt.

LXXII. Erat Abraham diues ualde in possessione argenti et auri. Sunt qui habent argentum et non habent aurum et sunt qui aurum habent et argentum non habent.

LXXIII. Una mulier hebreia fecit confusionem in domo regis Nubugodonsor. Nubugodonsor interpretatur prophetans istius modi signum. . . .

[*One leaf missing.*]

LXXVI. Dixit Ysaïas Ezechie regi egrotanti : dispone domini tue quia-morieris tu et non uiues. Ysaïas interpretatur salus. . .

LXXVII. In diebus illis saluabitur Iuda et Israel habitabit confidenter. In quibus queso illis diebus ? Plane in istis quibus nunc uiuimus mouemur et sumus. Ecce nunc tempus. . . .

LXXVIII. Fauus distillans labia tua sponsa. Sponsus et sponsa se inuicem laudant in reciprocis preconïis alterutram commendant pulcritudinem. . . .

LXXIX. Spiritus meus super mel dulcis et hereditas mea super mel et fauum. Quis hic loquitur ? Deus . . .

- LXXX. Nisi lauero te non habebis partem mecum, ait Dominus Petro. Verum ueritas loquitur.
- LXXXI. Fecit deus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam. Ad imaginem ut secundum modum suum quomodo Deus et rationalis esset et immortalis. . . .

[*One leaf missing.*]

- LXXXIII. Fugite fornicationem dicit Apostolus. Tribus modis fugit homo fornicationem. Fugit itaque ut de muliere non cogitet. . . .
- LXXXIV. Sex quidam sunt : pastor, mercenarius, ovis, canis, fur, lupus. Parabolam istam ita edissero. . . .
- LXXXV. Qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati. Miseranda seruitus seruire peccato quia qui seruit peccato seruit etiam diabolo cui seruire est perire. . . .
- LXXXVI. Tria sunt in oue. Lana, lac, limus. Lana calefacit algentem, lac reficit esurientem, limus humum infecundam uberem facit et fertilem.
- LXXXVII. Tria maxime monacho sunt necessaria : ut uidelicet uoluntatem suam diuine subiciat uoluntati. . . .
- LXXXVIII. Tres patriarche principales : Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, omnes pastores fuerunt. . . .
- LXXXIX. Tria hominum genera sunt. Sunt enim homines prudentes sine simplicitatis innocentia et sunt simplices sine prudentia. Sunt autem simplices et prudentes. . . .
- XC. Cum consummauerit homo tunc incipit. Omni electo homini due sunt uite una in hoc seculo altera in futuro. . . .
- XCI. Venter illius eburneus distinctus saphiris. Venter sponsi fragilitas est humanitatis domini quia uentri nichil fragilius est in homine, nichil tenerius, nichilque facilius ledi potest.
- XCII. Qui timet Deum faciet bona. Non ait : qui timet Deum facit bona quia qui Deum ueraciter timet. . . .
- XCIII. Qui sitit ueniat ad me et bibat. Non hic Christus ad se inuitat sitientem aquam quam bibunt cum hominibus et pecoribus. . . .
- XCIII. Tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te. Si hec sponsi uerba dicta intelliguntur sancte cuilibet anime uel sancte matri ecclesie.

XCV. Mulierem fortem quis inuenietur. Non incongrue per mulierem fortem anima sancta et perfecta que bonis operibus Deum suum. . . .

XCVI. Manum suam misit ad fortia, ait Salomon, de sancta et perfecta anima que Deo ueraciter cum David dicere potest. . . .

XCVII. Quinque monacho maxime sunt necessaria. Oris uidelicet silentium usque ad interrogationem. . . .

XCVIII. Antequam comedam suspiro. Haec sunt uerba beati Job et utinam sint mea, utinam sint tua. . . .

IC. Duo ubera tua ut duo hinnuli capree gemelli. Omnis conatus hominis in rebus arduis florido principio. . . .

C. Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me ait David Deo. Tres hec petitiones David a Deo quasi tres anime sunt substanciales . . . (f. 40^v-41^r) Possunt itaque bonitati discipline et scientie, tres philosophie partes, congrue coaptari, ethica, scilicet, phisica logica, id est, moralis naturalis rationalis. Ethica componit mores, phisica disponit cognationes, logica prudenter profert sermones. Ethica legem destruit que est in membris, phisica contra legem peccati legem defendit que dicitur mentis, logica ratione bene regit statum totius hominis. Ethica propellit a corpore peccata sensualia, phisica excludit a mente peccata spiritualia, logica in animam introducit bona intellectualia. Hic huic sententie sententiarum nostrarum ultime finem pono, quia de his omnibus in libro nostro de perpropriis philosophie secundo sufficienter dissertum recole. Sit omnibus rievallensibus a deo pax et ueritas sine fine et sanctimonia. Amen.

Expliciunt sententie numero centum.

These are not "sentences" in the sense of the schools. In spite of the attempt at systematic arrangement—duo sunt, tria sunt, quatuor sunt—and the play which Walter makes with the traditional division of philosophy into ethics, physics, and logic,¹ the book has no philosophical interest. Scholastic method was painfully achieved in the twelfth

¹ Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, lib. ii., XXIV., §§ 3 *seqq.* On the history of this Platonic definition and its modification in the twelfth century, see Grabmann, *Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II. (1911), 30-54.

century through the compilation and elaboration of sentences by the masters of the schools. These sentences in the first instance were classified collections of extracts, theses and reflections, drawn from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Canons—"flores quos solemus, quasi singulari nomine, sententias appellare". A *sententia* by a slight advance in meaning became a definition or exposition of the true meaning of a passage (*intelligentia textus*) and finally in the *Summae Sententiarum* and *Libri Sententiarum* which appeared in the last period of the century the sentence is, to use the later phrase of Albert the Great, "conceptio definita et certissima". Peter the Lombard's sentences, which can fairly be described as an encyclopædic synopsis of Christian dogma, were of this last type.¹ The great schoolmen of the thirteenth century cleared their minds and developed their systems in commentaries upon the sentences of the Lombard.

Walter's work has no place in this intellectual progress. It is a fanciful exercise in edification, which only in form distantly recalls the sentences of the schools. Like these, it has grown out of the collections of extracts and flowers of speech—the Rievaulx catalogue mentions several such—and doubtless much of it would be familiar to scholars who are versed in the devotional and homiletic literature between the days of St. Isidore of Seville and St. Bernard. But Walter is really influenced by the methods of the preacher. He is arranging sermon headings into neat patterns under the mystical inspiration of Bernard and Ailred. Numerical combinations, especially the triad, have always had a fascination for the mystic. As is well known, this mystical appreciation of numbers developed under the influence of writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, translated in the tenth century by Scotus Erigena, into a precise description of the powers and hierarchies of the universe. But for the needs of every day a knowledge of the Bible and the traditional methods of the preacher sufficed. Solomon had set the example. "For three things the earth is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear." "There be four things which are little upon the earth".² In the writings of

¹ Denifle, in *Archiv für Literatur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, I., 587; Ghellinck, *La mouvement theologique du xiii^e siècle* (1914), p. 131; Grabmann, *op. cit.*, II., 21-23; M. de Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy* (Eng. Trans., 1909), p. 206.

² Proverbs xxx. 21, 24.

the mystical school dominated by St. Bernard, we can find many parallels to the sentences of Walter Daniel. Wood, hay, stubble correspond to three kinds of men. There are four mountains to be ascended, four fountains of the Saviour, four ways of loving.¹ In a *Liber Sententiarum* extracted from the sermons of the time, we have a work which, if its method were not so obvious, might have suggested to Walter his own more systematic and deliberate production. From St. Bernard the anonymous collection takes the three kisses of reconciliation, remembrance, and contemplation.² Another sentence tells us of the three doors through which entrance is made into life—the truth of faith, which is the door behind which Sara laughs, the firmness of hope, which is the door in the side of the ark, the strength of charity (*caritatis soliditas*) which is the door kept by the Cherubim with the flaming sword.³

St. Bernard developed fancies of this kind with a passionate originality and penetration into the experiences of the soul which can still give them life. Ailred wrote with the serenity of the man who is sure of himself and quietly aware of the foibles and difficulties of his hearers. Walter Daniel had neither originality nor serenity. His fertile imagination revelled in these devotional exercises, but he had no literary charm or spiritual force. A few casual recollections of the schools, and a little outburst in praise of the Cistercian rule are about as much as we can glean from his meditations.⁴ He himself seems to have become tired of his plan; the sentences become increasingly homiletic in tone and are at last indistinguishable from sermons. I quote a passage from the beginning of the 96th sentence as a specimen of his style. It is also a good illustration of the difficulties to which the allegorical exposition of the Vulgate was exposed:—

¹ *Sermones de diversis*, XXX., LXI., XCVI., CI., in *Opera S. Bernardi*, Vol. I., coll. 1152, 1199, 1224, 1229.

² These short sentences are printed in the *Opera S. Bernardi*, Vol. II., coll. 788 ff. No. 162 "oscula tria sunt" corresponds to No. 8 in the sentences taken from St. Bernard (I., 1245). Ailred also deals with this subject in his *De Spirituali Amicitia* (P.L., CXCIV., coll. 672-673). His three kinds of kiss, as also Walter Daniel's (*Sententia* No. 45), are different from St. Bernard's.

³ *Liber Sententiarum*, No. 150.

⁴ *Sententiæ*, Nos. 87, 97, 100.

“Manum suam misit ad fortia,¹ says Solomon, of the holy and perfect soul which with David can truly say to God, I will commit my strength (fortitudinem) to Thee. The following sentence must receive a different interpretation in accordance with the preceding moral sense. Manum suam misit ad fortia, he says, et digiti eius apprehenderunt fusum. I ask, what consequence is there in the literal meaning (in littere dumtaxat superficie). . . . For the end of the sentence is concerned with weakness, not with strength. What is the suggestion if a person holds the distaff with the hand, plucks the wool and draws the thread along to the spindle? Do not all these things relate to the labour of weak women rather than the deeds of strong men? If they are not allegorical, why are they read in churches? Why are passages of this kind recited before the people in sacred places (in albis locis quia sacris) if they do not carry spiritual meanings?”²

Four short sermons follow the hundred sentences in the Rylands MS. :—

(a) f. 41^v. Sermo brevis de beato Johanne Baptiste.

Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Iohannes. Ecce quomodo a uerbo substantiuo fuit. Iohannes Euangelista beatum Iohannem Baptistam subito introduxit in seriem theologie sue ut quasi duo seraphin clament aduincem. . . .

f. 42^r. (*Explicit*). . . Infra quorum ambitum murorum precursos domini Iohannis quadrata equalitate uitae suae apicem in medio suspendit ut nulla ex parte in aliquo excedens uel plus uel minus ageret quam deberet per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

(b) Uiderunt stellam Magi. Quemadmodum, dilectissimi, lane species eius colorata substantia tam pretio quam decore mutatur in melius ita quoque ueri assertionem eloquentiae flore uestitam etiam eruditi auditores. . . .

f. 43^r. (*Explicit*). . . Sufficiant uobis haec pauca eruditis corde in sapientia. Nunc autem de eadem apotheca paruulis istis

¹ Proverbs xxxi. 19. The Hebrew “kishôr” translated ἐπὶ τὰ συμφέροντα (LXX) or ἀνδρεία, whence the Vulgate “ad fortia,” is rendered “distaff” in the A.V.

² *Centum Sententiae*, f. 36^v.

micas non panes porrigemus. Solet sic facere sepius Walterus Danielis. Amen.

- (c) f. 43^v. Regnum Dei intra uos est. Quisquis, dilectissimi, uerbo proximum edificare desiderat, metas ingenii et scientie sue uires non excedat.
- f. 44^r. (*Explicit*). . . Est autem omnis ypocrita fictus unde nullus gaudet in Spiritu Sancto quia teste Scriptura Spiritus Sanctus effugit fictum. Spiritu Sancte Deus in te semper gaudeat Walterus. Amen.
- (d) f. 44^v. [D]iscite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, dicit filius Dei. Quomodo, dilectissimi, uita carnis corporeo subtracto alimento periclitatur in mortem, ita quoque uirtus anime uerbi attenuata penuria. . . .
- f. 45^v. (*Explicit*). . . Et quoniam hodierna die sanctorum omnium sollempnia celebramus, demus operam per humilitatis meritum ad eorum peruenire consortium.

In the last sermon Walter compares the three parts (*sectas*) of philosophy to three sorts of bread, and elaborates their virtues in the manner of the passage already quoted from the last of his sentences. A more interesting passage from the second sermon, that on the story of the Magi, is worthy of quotation, for it is the only one which throws light both on the extent of his reading and his attitude to the learning of the schools.

- (f. 42^v. line 12). "It now remains, in honour of the infant Christ, to say something also of the ancient philosophers. They knew God as a Creator, but they did not glorify Him as God or give thanks, but lost themselves in their imaginings. To be darkened, a thing must in some measure be capable of giving light. For example, a black crow or a dead coal is not darkened, but gold, silver, electrum,¹ and such-like can be darkened. In so far, therefore, as the philosophers knew God their hearts were in some degree shining, but in so far as they worshipped idols and offered sacrifices to them, there hearts were darkened. Plato, the greatest of them (*ipse princeps eorum Plato*), both said and wrote that God had

¹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, lib. xvi., 24: "Electrum uocatum quod ad radium solis clarius auro argentoque reluceat".

created all things, yet he used to worship idols and to encourage their worship. His heart was darkened. Moreover, he had very erroneous ideas about creatures, for he asserted both in word and writing that human souls pass into the bodies of beasts. No one blessed with faith (*fide formosus*) has any difficulty in seeing the blackness of this opinion. Apuleius, again, that fine Platonist and scholar (*platonicus nobilis et bene latinus*), affirmed certain demons to be good and called them *eudemones*; bad demons he called lemurs and larvas. I say that no demon can be good. All demons are bad and are unable to change their evil natures, for no demon can be moved by the affection of charity, without which the sweets of goodness cannot be desired or acquired. Hence, all those philosophers perished because of their iniquity. . . . Their books are not read in the Church of God; I say, the Topics of Cicero, Aristotle's Categories, the Introduction of Porphyry are not read in the Church."

And in the last sermon Walter says—"Our Master Christ did not teach grammar, rhetoric, dialectic in his school; he taught humility, pity, and righteousness"¹.

We cannot be certain that Walter Daniel had read Apuleius. He was no John of Salisbury. He could find the Platonic theory of the transmigration of souls, and the Apuleian demonology in Isidore and Macrobius.² The *Topics* and the translations made by Boethius of the *Categories*, and of Porphyry's *Isagoge* were the logical textbooks of the schools.

III.

THE "VITA AILREDI".

Until 1901, the only mediæval life of Ailred available in print was that included by John Capgrave in his collection of the lives of

¹ Rylands MS., f. 45v.—"Magister noster Christus in schola sua non docuit grammaticam rethoricam dialecticam sed docuit humilitatem mansuetudinem et iustitiam." The Schola Christi, and its difference from the schools of the world, were favourite themes of St. Bernard.

² Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, lib. viii., 6, 11. Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, lib. ii., c. 26, for pagan ideas of *daemones*. John of Salisbury mentions Plato's doctrine of transmigration in his *Policraticus*, lib. vii., c. 10 (ed. Webb, II., 134) and frequently quotes Apuleius: see Webb's index.

English saints. This was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. Bollandus reprinted it in the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* in 1643,¹ under the date 12 January. Mabillon and other scholars of the seventeenth century who were interested in Ailred and his writings knew of no other life of the saint. "I have received a letter from Dom Mabillon," wrote the Cistercian J. de Lannoy of Citeaux to Luc d'Achery. "He tells me that the life of the blessed Ailred is in Bollandus. I knew that already, but it is nothing more than that given by Capgrave."² In the appendix to his edition of Wynkyn de Worde's *Nova Legenda Angliae*, published at Oxford in 1901, Dr. Carl Horstmann printed from an important Bury manuscript, now Bodleian MS. 240, a number of saints' lives, including a somewhat fuller version of the life of Ailred. As is now well known, Capgrave had simply rearranged in the fifteenth century the hagiographical material collected by John of Tynemouth at St. Albans in the second quarter of the fourteenth century: this is still extant in a Cottonian manuscript (Tib. E. 1) and is known as the *Sanctilogium Angliae*. The Bodleian MS. 240, which was written at Bury St. Edmunds in 1377 and the succeeding years, also seems to contain materials collected by John of Tynemouth. The life of Ailred in this collection is longer, yet strikingly similar, to the life in the *Sanctilogium Angliae*, afterwards used by Capgrave,³ and the Bollandists have naturally supposed that the latter is a summary of it.⁴ A closer examination of the two versions shows this view to be erroneous. As we shall see, they are both summaries, made independently of each other, of the life of Ailred written by Walter Daniel.

Walter's life of Ailred, though noticed as early as 1865 by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy,⁵ has hitherto escaped the attention of hagiographers. It survives in a manuscript written late in the fourteenth

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, January, I., 749 (1643).

² This letter, which is undated, has been printed in the *Revue Mabillon*, August, 1914-Dec., 1919, p. 135. The writer states later that Mabillon was using Ailred, with other writers, in giving exercises to novices.

³ The texts are in Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, I., 41-46; II., 544-553. For John of Tynemouth's work see the valuable introduction to the first volume.

⁴ *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, Vol. II., *Supplement*, p. 1342, Nos. 2644 b, 2645 (Brussels, 1901).

⁵ Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, II., 292 (Rolls Series, 1865).

century, probably in the monastery of Durham. It was acquired by Thomas Man at the end of the seventeenth century, and came with other manuscripts to Jesus College, Cambridge.¹ The life of Ailred occupies folios 63^v to 74^r. It is preceded by a letter from Walter Daniel to a certain Maurice (ff. 61 a-63 b) and is followed by a lamentation, also a characteristic outburst by Walter (ff. 74 a-75 b). All three works are written in the same clear neat hand. Each chapter begins with a small illuminated capital.

The life was written sometime before the letter to Maurice and the lamentation. In a short dedication to a certain Abbot H. (*uirorum dulcissimo abbati H.*), Walter refers to the recent death of Ailred. There is no definite evidence that any Abbot H., likely to be familiar with Rievaulx, was living in 1167, the year of Ailred's death, but it is possible that Abbot Hugh had already been elected at Revesby and almost certain that Abbot Henry then ruled at Waverley.² Waverley was the senior Cistercian house in England and was doubtless in close touch with Rievaulx; on the other hand, Revesby was a daughter of Rievaulx, and was not very far away. A cryptic allusion in the letter which Walter wrote later to Maurice suggests that this sweet-natured Abbot H. was named Henry.³ If this inference is sound, I am inclined to identify him with Henry of Waverley.

¹ Jesus College, Cambridge, MS., Q. B. 7. For a description see James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 28-29, No. 24. One or two additions may be made to this description. The second item, the *Speculum Religiosorum* (ff. 13-50), is the work ascribed by Tanner to the canonist William "de Pagula," vicar of Winfield (fl. 1350). The summary of the *Historia Aurea* is of course a summary of the chronicle compiled by John of Tynemouth. Both it and the calendar included in this manuscript betray a Durham *provenance*. The work of Walter Daniel is followed by an incomplete copy of Ailred's *De Oneribus* (fo. 75^v).

² The earliest charter, attested by Hugh, which I have found, and which can be dated, belongs to the year 1175 (*Cart. de Rievaille*, p. 82, No. 132; for the date see No. 133). A charter definitely dated January, 1176, is in Stenton, *Documents illustrative of the Danelaw*, p. 215, No. 285. On the other hand, Abbot Philip, who died in 1166, was succeeded by Gualo, so that it is unlikely that Hugh was abbot when Walter Daniel began his work. Henry, third Abbot of Waverley, died in 1182, but as his predecessor Gilbert was elected in 1128, Henry was doubtless elected before the date of Ailred's death in 1167. Gilbert was alive in 1148 (*Annales Monastici*, II., 241, 242, V. 238).

³ "Hinc est illud Henrici dicentis [e] cuius ore sermo melle dulcior profluebat" (f. 62 d).

Ailred had to face a good deal of opposition during his life, and scandals revived, if we are to believe Walter, immediately after his death. It was said by some that he had worked for his own election as Abbot of Rievaulx.¹ When Walter's work appeared, it met with much criticism. His description of Ailred's chaste and ascetic life as a youth at King David's Court, the miracles which he alleged Ailred to have worked, the extravagant language which he used about the brightness of the saint's corpse were especially criticized. A certain Maurice had shown the work to two prelates, and it was as a reply to their animadversions, reported by Maurice, that Walter wrote the long letter which precedes the biography proper in the Durham manuscript. I give this interesting apology in full at the end of this paper, for both the criticisms of the prelates and Walter's reply are excellent illustrations of mediæval habits of thought. The identity of Maurice and of the prelates is as doubtful as the identity of the sweet-natured Abbot H. I have urged elsewhere and still think it quite likely that Maurice was Ailred's predecessor, a learned monk who migrated from Durham to Rievaulx about the year 1138, and was elected abbot after Abbot William's death in 1145. On his retirement in 1147 he continued to live at Rievaulx, except for a brief interval of a few weeks as Abbot of Fountains. He was living in 1163, and, if we assume that he left Rievaulx to end his days elsewhere, he would be as obvious a correspondent and critic of Walter Daniel as we could find.² But when I made this suggestion I was not aware of the existence in 1167 of another Maurice, a few miles from Rievaulx. This was Maurice, Prior of Kirkham, the home of Austin Canons, founded, ten years before he founded Rievaulx, by Walter Espec, Lord of Helmsley. My friend Mr. Craster has called my attention to writings of Maurice, contained in a fifteenth century manuscript now in the Bodleian Library. The earlier and more important is a polemic, which can be dated 1169-1176, *contra Salomitas*, or those who hold that Salome, the companion of the two Marys, was a man. It is dedicated to Gilbert, the famous founder and Prior of Sempringham. This is followed by an epistle, of later

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 69 a.

² See my paper on Maurice of Rievaulx in the *English Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1921, XXXVI., 17-25.

date, to Roger, Archbishop of York, and some complimentary verses.¹ In Maurice of Kirkham we have another likely, perhaps still more likely, critic at Walter Daniel's service. It would be delightful if in Prior Gilbert and Archbishop Roger we could see the two carping prelates who annoyed Walter so much.

A brief examination of the life of Ailred compiled by John of Tynemouth for his *Sanctilogium Angliæ*—the work copied by Capgrave and printed by the Bollandists—shows that it is based entirely on Walter Daniel. The compiler had before him the text both of the life proper, and of the later letter to Maurice; but as he made no distinction between them, and selected his material from them impartially, the original character of the two pieces is obscured. Miracles taken from the letter to Maurice begin and end John's summary. Walter's personal recollections, as well as his rhapsodies, are omitted, his extravagancies are pruned, and his verbose narrative frequently cut down to a few terse sentences.

The other summary of Walter's book, first printed by Horstmann in 1901 from the Bury manuscript now in the Bodleian, has no relation to the better known work. It may have been acquired by John of Tynemouth; it can hardly have been made by him. The author used a manuscript which contained Walter's life of Ailred, and also his later letter to Maurice. He summarized or extracted passages which John of Tynemouth passed over, and he disregarded passages which, in the *Sanctilogium*, John used. He omitted, for example, all references to Ailred's journey to Galloway, and to Walter's strictures on Galloway society. Although he made only one addition to the text of Walter—a reference to the fact that Henry, the King's son and Waldef, afterwards Abbot of Melrose were brought up with Ailred at King David's court²—he had definite views of his own about Ailred. In a short appendix to his compendium he shows himself familiar with the criticisms which had been made against parts of Walter's work. He attempts to prove from Ailred's own writings that the saint's early life was not so spotless as Walter would have us believe.³ He then proceeds to atone for this assertion of his

¹ Bodleian MS., Hatton, 92, ff. 1-37.

² Horstmann, *Nova Legenda*, II., 545. This insertion may have come from Jocelin's *Life of St. Waldef*.

³ *Ibid.*, II., 552-553.

independence by referring his readers to the eulogy upon Ailred delivered by Gilbert, Abbot of Hoilandia (Swineshead).

Abbot Gilbert's eulogy has survived.¹ When the news of Ailred's death reached Swineshead, he was preparing one of his sermons upon the Song of Songs. He had reached the words, "I have gathered my myrrh with my spice : I have eaten my honeycomb with my honey" (v. 1). The abbot meditated upon the abundant nature of his friend. What a rich honeycomb had been taken from the world ! And he slipped into his discourse a little sketch of Ailred.

III.

AILRED.

The Abbot of Swineshead thought of Ailred as a man of serene and modest spirit, equable and unworried, alert in mind, deliberate in speech. He had often watched him in conversation and remembered how patiently he suffered interruption. Ailred would stop until the speaker had emptied his soul and the torrent of words was over, then quietly resume what he had been saying. A similar impression of tranquillity and forbearance is given in the portrait drawn forty years later, by Jocelin of Furness in his life of St. Waldef :—

" He was a man of fine old English stock (*ex ueterum Anglorum illustri stirpe procreatus*). He left school early and was brought up from boyhood in the Court of King David with Henry the king's son and Waldef. In course of time he became first a monk, afterwards Abbot of Rievaulx. His school learning was slight, but as a result of careful self-discipline in the exercise of his acute natural powers, he was cultured above many who have been thoroughly trained in secular learning. He drilled himself in the study of Holy Scripture and left a lasting memorial behind him in writings distinguished by their lucid style, and wealth of edifying instruction, for he was wholly inspired by a spirit of wisdom and understanding. Moreover, he was a man of the highest integrity, of great practical wisdom, witty and eloquent, a

¹ Mabillon, *Opera S. Bernardi*, II., col. 140, in Gilbert's forty-first sermon on the Canticles. Gilbert began his work on the Canticles when St. Bernard had left off.

pleasant companion, generous and discreet. And, with all these qualities, he exceeded all his fellow prelates of the Church in his patience and tenderness. He was full of sympathy for the infirmities, both physical and moral, of others."¹

Rather later than Jocelin of Furness, Nicholas of Rievaulx wrote of Ailred in his metrical eulogy of the Abbots of Rievaulx. Ailred was comparable to St. Benedict, St. Maur, St. Bernard :—

Maurus erat maturis moribus et Benedictus
Exemplo : similis Bernardo, coelibe vita.²

But with Nicholas we already reach the indiscriminate region of legend.

Gilbert of Hoiland and Jocelin of Furness give the salient traits of Ailred's character more clearly than Walter Daniel does. The personality of the abbot is somewhat obscured by Walter's fanciful and exuberant style. Walter's work none the less is the best account which we have of the early history of the Cistercian movement in the north of England, and with the help of Ailred's own writings and of contemporary letters, charters and chronicles, we can get from it an intimate impression of the abbot's life and surroundings.³

He died, says Walter, on 12 January, 1166, that is, in the new style, 1167.⁴ As he was then in his fifty-seventh year he was

¹ Vita S. Waldeni in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 257 d, e. Jocelin wrote the life c. 1210-1214.

² Nicholas wrote early in the reign of Henry III. His verses on the Abbots of Rievaulx, which contain several bad chronological errors, are extant in a manuscript which formerly belonged to the priory of St. Victor (MS. 1030) and is now MS. Lat. 15157 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Extracts were first printed from this by John Picard of Beauvais, Canon of St. Victor, in his edition of William of Newburgh's *Chronicle* (Paris, 1610), pp. 681-683. They were reprinted by Hearne, in his edition (III., 643). The same St. Victor MS. contains five letters of Nicholas (f. 85v). M. Bémont kindly informs me that one letter is addressed to Prior W. of Byland and four to N. of Beverley.

³ There is an excellent life of Ailred, under the name Ethelred, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, written by Dr. W. Hunt. In this paper I shall deal more particularly with the significance of certain aspects of Ailred's life and character.

⁴ Vita Ailredi, f. 73 c. He died about the fourth watch of the night of the day before the Ides of January, 1166. This would be the day which

born about 1110. Walter tells us nothing of his parentage or birth-place, but on these matters we have sufficient information from Ailred's work on the saints of Hexham and from the Hexham chroniclers. His family was well-to-do, well connected, and prominent in the neighbourhood of Durham and Hexham. This strict Cistercian came of a long line of married priests, learned, respectable, conscientious.¹ If there were many such families in Northumbria, it is easy to understand why the movement for a celibate clergy made such slow progress in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ailred's father, Eilaf, son of Eilaf, lived in the period of transition. He was the last of the priests—we may almost say hereditary priests—of Hexham. His position in Tynedale had been a strong one. He had lands and good connections. His father had been treasurer of Durham; the local Archdeacon William, was his kinsman;² and his influence among the English gentry of Northumbria, north and south of the border, was sufficient to secure the favour of the King of the Scots, who frequently held his court across the hills at Roxburgh. But he could not stem the new movements from the south. In his boyhood he had seen the southern monks of Winchcomb and Evesham pass from Jarrow to Durham and had watched the building of the great church and monastery by Bishop William of St. Carileph. He had seen monks from St. Albans come to Tynemouth, where the bones of St. Oswiu were. The turn of Hexham, long threatened, came in 1113, when the lord of the regality, Thomas II., Archbishop of York, sent Austin canons to restore Wilfrid's foundation and guard the bones of Saints Acca, Eata, and Alchmund. Eilaf was strong enough to force a compromise. He retained a life interest as priest of Hexham with the

began at compline on the 11th, and the fourth watch would be in the early hours of the 12th. The Cistercian calendar begins with January, but the Cistercians are believed to have helped to spread the custom of beginning the year on 25 March, according to the Florentine use.

¹ James Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* (Surtee's Society 1864), Vol. I., pp. l-xvii. A. B. Hinds, in the *History of Northumberland*, Vol. III., Hexhamshire, Part I, 119 ff. (Newcastle, 1896).

² Vita Ailredi, f. 61 d. This William son of Thole (Toli?) is doubtless William the Archdeacon named Havegrim, who was present at the translation of St. Cuthbert in 1104: Reginald of Durham *De admirandis Beati Cuthberti uirtutibus*, p. 84 (Surtees Society, 1835). Havegrim is doubtless a misreading of Haregrim (or Arnegrim), for which name see *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, II., 185.

enjoyment of certain revenues. Yet if a story told by Walter Daniel has any basis of truth, he felt very sore. A few months after the canons came to Hexham Archbishop Thomas died at Beverley (29 Feb., 1114). Ailred, then four or five years old, ran home and announced the news. A laugh went round the family and Eilaf replied to the child with polite gravity: "True, an evil liver has indeed died" (*vere ille obiit qui male uiuit*). Ailred's prophesy was confirmed on the third day, when the news had had time to travel north from Beverley.¹

In course of time Eilaf was fully reconciled to the new order. When in 1138 he felt the approach of death, he restored to Hexham all the lands of which he had had the usufruct, and was received by the Benedictines of Durham into their society.² Ailred was already a monk of Rievaulx; a daughter of Eilaf became a nun and there is evidence that other members of the family entered the religious life.³ But his early associations left an ineffacable impression upon Ailred. Their influence explains his significance in the history of northern England in the reign of Stephen and Henry II.

If a spirit of simplicity and lowliness of heart were always sufficient to bring peace, the Cistercian missionaries whom St. Bernard sent from Clairvaux to England could have been only a reconciling element in the conflict between the new and the old ways of life. William, first Abbot of Rievaulx, who at one time had been Bernard's secretary, seems to have found favour everywhere. But, as is well known, the Cistercians inevitably brought discord. They were reformers. They drew the more ardent religious from the older Benedictine houses of St. Mary at York and St. Cuthbert at Durham. They caused division in the houses of canons regular. They set themselves in the church at large against a married clergy, and any suspicion of simony

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 62 a. Walter Daniel gives no names and the attribution of prophetic powers or second sight to saints was general; but if the story is based on any incident in Ailred's childhood, it could only refer to Thomas II.

² Richard of Hexham's history of the church of Hexham in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 55-56.

³ Walter Daniel describes the subcellarer of Revesby (c. 1145), as "proximus uidelicet ei (Ailred) secundum carnem" (Vita, f. 68 c). Laurence, Abbot of Westminster, for whom Ailred wrote the life of the Confessor, was his relative ("cognatus"), f. 70 c.

or subjection to temporal influence. It was William of Rievaulx who took the lead in the agitation against the recognition by the pope of King Stephen's kinsman, William—later canonised—as archbishop of York in succession to Archbishop Thurstan; and it was a Cistercian, the Abbot of Fountains, who in 1147 was finally set up as archbishop in William's stead. How closely the opposition to Archbishop William was associated with the Cistercians was shown by the action of the Prior of Hexham, who, when he heard of William's election forsook his priory, and went overseas to join the community at Clairvaux under St. Bernard.¹ Now Ailred, whose most intimate memories were of the old Northumbrian order at Hexham and of the Benedictines of Durham, gave himself body and soul to the Cistercian rule. He spread its use in new foundations, and interpreted it in his writings. He denounced elaborate musical services and the extravagances of sculpture or wall painting with all the zest of St. Bernard.² Yet he did not turn his back upon the past. He was no partisan. He had found the way of life which satisfied him, and could take his place in the strangely mingled society of the north the more confidently because he was sure of himself. Walter Daniel, writing as a hagiographer, entirely fails to describe the many-sidedness of Ailred's interests and activities. From Rievaulx Ailred exercised an influence which was the measure, not so much of his intensity or enthusiasm, as of his wide sympathies. Like all good Cistercians, he loved to preach about the Blessed Virgin or the ancient rule of St. Benedict, but his favourite saint was St. Cuthbert—the great patron saint of Durham and of all Northumbria, upon whom his father Eilaf had called in times of distress. While he journeyed to the general chapter at Citeaux or visited the daughter houses of Rievaulx in Scotland, he put himself under the protection of St. Cuthbert.³ His memory was stored

¹ John of Hexham in Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 139 with Raine's note. Ailred, in his work on the saints of Hexham (*ibid.*, p. 193) attributes Robert Biset's resignation to his inaptitude for administrative work. The resignation was much criticized.

² *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. i., cc. 23, 24, in Migne, P.L., CXC.V., coll. 571-572.

³ Reginald of Durham, pp. 176-177, for the "prosa rithmico modalumine in Beati Cuthberti honore componenda" by Ailred on his journey to and from Citeaux; pp. 178-179, incidents at Kirkcudbright on St. Cuthbert's day 20 March, 1164-1165.

with tales of the miracles of the saint. The book about St. Cuthbert, written by Reginald of Durham, was inspired by Ailred, and was based upon Ailred's talk.¹ Ailred loved Durham, where St. Cuthbert's bones lay in William of St. Carleph's noble church, and where his father had died as a monk. When a dispute arose about the seat of the prior—one of those disputes on matters of precedence which, as they have a symbolic significance, are always so hard to settle—Ailred was brought in to preside over the board of arbitrators who settled it.² When he visited Godric of Finchale—that famous hermit who had been to Rome and Compostella and Jerusalem and loved to read St. Jerome—he had a young man of Durham with him.³

Just as the Benedictines adopted St. Cuthbert, the Austin Canons adopted the Saints of Hexham. In March, 1154, they celebrated the solemn translation of their relics. It is probable that Ailred was present and spoke as a sermon or address part of the work on the *Saints of Hexham* which he wrote for the occasion. His tract is a skilful and attractive bit of writing. Ailred recalled his old connection with Hexham: "This is my festival, for I lived under the protection of the saints in these hallowed places". He described the work of St. Wilfrid, and did not shirk a reference to the pictures with which Wilfrid had adorned his church at Hexham for the edification of the people. He dwelt upon the zeal of his grandfather—though more sinful than he should have been he was unwearied in his care of the churches of Christ—and claims for his father rather more than his share in the new foundation at Hexham of the Augustinian priory. The canons must have felt that Ailred had performed a difficult task with much tact.⁴

We have seen how the Abbot of Rievaulx retained his veneration for St. Cuthbert and the Saints of Hexham, and through them formed ties with the monks of Durham and the canons whose coming had

¹ Reginald of Durham, pp. 4, 32. This work is dedicated to Ailred, but in its present form dates from the period after Ailred's death; cf. p. 254, reference to events of 1172.

² Greenwell, *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, p. lxi. (Surtees Society, 1872).

³ Reginald of Durham, *De vita et miraculis S. Godrici heremitae de Finchale*, pp. 176-7 (Surtees Society, 1847).

⁴ Ailred's work is well edited by Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 173-203. For the allusions to the text see pp. 174, 175, 191, 192.

disturbed his childhood. But why did he write the life of St. Edward the Confessor? He venerated St. Cuthbert as a Northumbrian. He commemorated St. Edward as an Englishman. And he had realized that he was an Englishman at the court of King David of Scotland. This aspect of Ailred's personality deserves some attention.

Walter Daniel deals at some length, though with his usual provoking vagueness, with Ailred's life at the court of King David. From other sources we simply know that Ailred was brought up by David and had as his companions the King's son, Henry, and his step-son Waldef or Waltheof. We do not know how Ailred was recommended to David. The close connection between Durham and the Church in Scotland would provide a man of Eilaf's influence with frequent opportunities of bringing his son to the King's notice.¹ Nor do we know how old Ailred was, nor how long he stayed with David, nor the precise position which he came to hold at court. His name appears as witness in no surviving charter.² Walter Daniel affirms that, in spite of opposition and foul calumny, Ailred won increasing favour and affection from David, and would in due course have attained the highest ecclesiastical office in the Kingdom—presumably the bishopric of St. Andrews. If the title and functions ascribed to him by Walter can be taken literally, he was David's steward or seneschal; for Walter calls him *economus*, and says that he served in the *triclinium* or hall, and had a share in the disposal of the royal treasure.³ At this time he was probably still a layman,

¹ Turgot, first Bishop of St. Andrews (1107-1115), had been Prior of Durham, and the church had lands in the lowlands, especially at Coldingham, north of Berwick. But communication of all kinds must have been frequent, and apart from his relations with Durham, Eilaf was well connected in Northumbria. Later in the century, a grand-daughter of his, *i.e.* Ailred's niece, married Robert FitzPhilip, a land-holder in Lothian (Reg. of Durham, *De admirandis*, etc., p. 188).

² Earl David succeeded to the throne in April, 1124, when Ailred was about fourteen years of age. Ailred entered Rievaulx shortly after its foundation in 1132—probably about 1134, when still quite young (*adolescens*). A charter of King David (*c.* 1128) is attested by Ailred's companion "Waldef, filio Regine" (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 1905, p. 69, No. 83).

³ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 64 a; *cf.* 64 c, "regales dispensare diuitias". The author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, l. ii., c. 19 (Oxford edition, 1902, p. 151) defines *economus* as seneschal. The *tricornum*, *tricornium*, or *triclinium* was defined by Aelfric as *gereord-hus*, and appears in twelfth century literature, *e.g.*, Orderic Vitalis, in the sense of a refectory (see

or a clerk in lower orders. Ailred was wont to say playfully that he came to Rievaulx from the kitchen, not from the schools.¹

However this may be, Ailred was much trusted by the King, and in his turn felt for his patron an admiration and affection which were never lost. The note of personal regard is a strong one even in his description of the Battle of the Standard, the conflict in which David was opposed by the barons of Yorkshire with Walter Espec, the founder of Rievaulx, at their head. In his later work on the genealogy of the kings of England (1153-4) Ailred speaks with unaffected enthusiasm of this second David to whom he owed so much. And we find in these historical writings—which are the political counterpart of his life of Edward the Confessor—a reflection of the political ideas which prevailed in the Scottish court, and were held by many Englishmen between the Humber and the Forth. They are easily summarized: The Scottish Kings were the true successors of the English Kings. The Normans certainly had the highest of all sanctions; they had set aside the usurper Harold and conquered England by Divine favour; but the line of the Conqueror had greatly strengthened its claim to the allegiance of Englishmen by its union with the West Saxon house, of which David was the chief representative. There was no difference in culture, race or nationality between the people who inhabited the Old Northumbria; when a Scottish King invaded the lands of the King of England he was engaging in a domestic quarrel, about the rights of which even men who lived south of the Tweed might freely differ. What the subjects and vassals of the English King did resent and fiercely resist was the presence of barbarians, of Picts and Galloway men, side by side with the feudal host of Scotland. For Englishmen and Normans, learning as they were to speak each other's language,² were united, whether they Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. *triconus*). As seneschal or steward Ailred would also be *discthequ*, and so could describe himself as connected with the kitchen. In England the steward only gradually acquired large administrative power (Vernon-Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward* (1907). Cf. the remarks in Round, *The King's Sergeants* (1911) p. 69; and Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, I., 205 and *passim*), but in the less elaborate household of David, he would approach in dignity the baronial steward. Ailred was clearly not connected with the chancery.

¹ P.L., CXC.V., col. 502.

² St. Waldef spoke fluently in French and English (Jocelin of Furness in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 260 c.); Gaimer, in Lincolnshire, used

looked to David or to Stephen as their lord, in the task of adapting the old order to the new. The definition of services and tenures in feudal terms, the encouragement of foreign fashions in art and letters, the organization of bishoprics, the foundation of monasteries, the subjection of social life to ecclesiastical discipline, were proceeding as actively in the south of Scotland as in Yorkshire. There was nothing insular or parochial in the attitude of Englishmen like Ailred. The men of the north were conscious not of subjection to the foreigner, but of new opportunities now open to them, recalling the opportunities which had been opened to Wilfrid and Bede and Alcuin. Indeed, the more conscious they were of their past, the more confidently could they join in the welcome to new ideas and new enterprises. Their traditions were living traditions, part of their being, yet not alien to the new age. Ailred, in his description of the Battle of the Standard, enters into the minds of the Norman barons who rallied round Archbishop Thurstan, and puts into the mouth of Walter Espec a speech on Norman history with its record of splendid deeds in Sicily and Apulia and Calabria. When Henry of Anjou became King of England, Ailred welcomed him as reconciling in his person English and foreign traditions. He was the first King since the Conquest who could claim to be descended from Alfred. He had received knighthood at the hands of Ailred's hero King David. He had been merciful and magnanimous during the recent wars. The canonization of the Confessor a few years later, and the translation of his body to the new shrine in the Abbey of Westminster were symbols of the final union of England with the society of western Christendom.

The historical work in which Ailred reveals his attitude to political questions was written in the later years of his life. Henry II. was on the throne and the English border had again—and definitely—been pushed northwards to the Tweed and the Solway. There is indeed little evidence that Ailred, after he left the service of King David, had any share in the turbulent events of Stephen's reign, when David held court at Carlisle and the Scottish border reached as far south as the English books while he was writing his Norman-French poem, "Lestorie des Engles" (Rolls Series, I., 276, l. 6443). A dumb boy who was cured at the shrine of St. John of Beverley, was put to school by his father, and learned to speak French and English (Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, I., 312). All these instances come from the middle of the twelfth century.

cross on Stainmore, and Ailred's old companion Earl Henry ruled in Northumberland and a Scottish vassal was obtruded into the see of Durham. His last service to David seems to have been his last appearance as a politician. He was sent on the King's business to Archbishop Thurstan of York.¹ For many years the claim of the archbishop to be metropolitan of the Scottish bishoprics had met with opposition, especially from John, Bishop of Glasgow. In spite of papal injunctions the bishop was still disobedient in 1135-6.² It was doubtless on some errand arising out of this dispute that Ailred about 1134 made the journey from which he did not return. On his way home he entered the Abbey of Rievaulx. As a disciple of St. Bernard he could have had neither the time nor the inclination for secular interests. His next important mission was concerned with a great controversy which the Cistercians of Yorkshire regarded as of moral rather than legal significance. In 1140 Archbishop Thurstan died and a majority of the canons of York elected William, their treasurer, a nephew of King Stephen. The circumstances were suspicious³ and a protest was made by the minority, on the ground that money had passed. The most important ecclesiastical office in the north was tainted by the sin of simony. The Abbot of Rievaulx, the Abbot of Fountains, the Prior of Kirkham (who was Ailred's friend Waldef) and others took the lead in appealing to the pope (1141.) The case dragged on for several years, and it was not until 1143 that the Abbot of Rievaulx and his companions pleaded their case in person

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 65 b.

² Letters from Innocent II. from Pisa, April 22, 1136, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III., 66-67 (Rolls Series, 1894).

³ John of Hexham in Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, I., 133, 139, 142, etc. It has not, I think, been noticed that a story in Jocelin's *Life of St. Waldef* throws light on the attitude of the opponents of William. Waldef, then Prior of Kirkham, would have been elected to succeed Thurstan, but Stephen interposed his veto on the ground that, as son of the Queen of Scotland and step-son of King David, Waldef would probably support the interests of David, who was the chief supporter in the north of the Ex-empress Matilda. Jocelin adds that William of Aumale (the new Earl of Yorkshire and a leader of Stephen's party) offered to procure the archbishopric for Waldef if the latter would enfeof him with the archiepiscopal lands in Shirburn (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 256 c, d). Waldef indignantly refused. This incident would naturally bring into suspicion the earl's subsequent efforts on behalf of Stephen's nephew.

at Rome ; in the earlier proceedings of 1141, which stayed the consecration of the new archbishop, they were represented by less important people.¹ On this occasion Abbot William chose Ailred as his proctor. William had soon realized the ability of the new recruit. He employed him frequently on the business of the convent, and on his return from Rome made him master of the novices.² In 1142 he was put at the head of the colony of monks sent from Rievaulx to form the monastery of St. Lawrence at Revesby, founded by William of Roumare, Earl of Lincoln. Thus at the age of thirty-two, he became an abbot. For the next twenty-five years, first at Revesby, then from 1147 at Rievaulx,³ his energies, thwarted increasingly by bodily pain, were absorbed in the work of his order, in business, administration, preaching, arbitration, travelling and all the arduous routine of his office.

Yet as the years passed, this intensely human monk, with his keen insight into the bearing of the varied problems in the life about him, seems to have found increasing satisfaction in his memories of youth, of the places where he had once lived, and of the friendships which were, he felt, the most precious thing this world had given him. He wrote of his monastic friendships in his *De Spirituali Amicitia*. He wrote of King David and the young Earl Henry in the tribute to David's memory which he dedicated to Henry of Anjou. In his well-known work, the description of the Battle of the Standard in 1138, he merged his own memories and feelings in the impartial exposition of a dramatic theme. As a piece of historical writing its value is due to the understanding of events rather than to the accuracy of the narrative. Ailred of course must have retained vivid recollections of the year 1138. Two or three years earlier he had been a royal official in King David's hall, and now, a few miles from Rievaulx, David had fought and lost a battle against his new friends and neighbours. He would remember that this was the year of his father's death in the monastery at Durham, shortly after Abbot William and

¹ Headed by William of London, one of the archdeacons who had opposed the election of William (John of Hexham, p. 140). That Ailred was sent to Rome in connection with the disputed election is stated by Walter Daniel (f. 67 c). As he went to Revesby in 1142, his mission must be dated 1141.

² Vita, f. 67 b-67 d.

³ For the dates see the chronological table at the end of this paper.

he had witnessed Eilaf's last settlement with the canons of Hexham. Ailred had probably gone north with Abbot William to arrange the surrender of Lord Walter Espec's castle of Wark on the Tweed to King David.¹ For in spite of the victory near Northallerton Walter Espec and the Yorkshire barons had not been able to prevent the transfer of Cumberland and Northumberland to David. Ailred, indeed, could not regard the war as an uncompromising conflict between England and Scotland, and still less between Englishmen and Scots. It was a war between kinsmen. David's mother, Saint Margaret, was the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, and but for the verdict of God at Hastings, David would have been the claimant of the legitimist party to the English throne.² His sister had been the Queen of Henry I., his niece was wife of Stephen, his wife was the daughter of Waltheof, the great Earl of Northumberland. If he thought it wise to invade England on behalf of his other niece, the ex-Empress Matilda, and to try to resume Scottish possession of the northern shires, he could hardly

¹ Walter Espec, Lord of Helmsley, was also Lord of Wark or Carham. The place was besieged frequently during the campaigns 1135-8 and only consented to surrender in 1138 on the direct instructions of Walter. For Abbot William's mission see Richard of Hexham, ed. Raine, p. 100 and John of Hexham, p. 118. That Ailred was with the abbot is probable from the fact that both of them were present when Eilaf surrendered his lands to Hexham (Richard of Hexham, p. 55). They reached Wark at Martinmas (Nov. 11). Like other barons, Walter Espec doubtless continued to hold his land, but as a vassal of David who carefully observed all the customs of Northumberland (Richard of Hexham, pp. 104, 105). The King and Walter were of course not unknown to each other. About 1132, the year of the foundation of Rievaulx, Walter Espec attested a charter of David in favour of the Priory of the Holy Trinity in London (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 98, p. 78).

² See Ailred's work on the genealogy of the English Kings, with the introductory letters to Henry of Anjou, then Duke of Normandy (*Decem Scriptores*, pp. 347 ff.) The claim is put still more clearly by Jocelin of Furness in the dedication of his life of St. Waldef to King William of Scotland (c. 1210): Jocelin, with reference to William's descent through St. Margaret from Edmund Ironside, is speaking of Edward the Atheling, son of Edmund and father of Margaret—"legitimus heres sanctissimi confessoris Edwardi regis Angliae, jure hereditario Anglici regni per lineas rectas et directas successivae generationis in uos deuoluto, uos sceptrigeros effecisset, nisi Normannorum uiolenta direptio, Deo permittente, usque ad tempus praefinitum praepedisset" (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 248 d, e.). See also the interesting passage in William of Newburgh, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 105-106.

be blamed, though it was doubtless the duty of King Stephen's vassals to resist him. In Ailred's memory the battle of the standard was an unhappy conflict of allegiances—for the Bruces and Balliols and other North-country barons had extensive lands in David's dominions—and incidentally a revival of that age-long racial struggle of Celt and Teuton. King David relied largely on the Picts of Galloway, at this time full of savage exultation after their recent victory at Clitheroe; and no foe was both so dreaded and so despised by Normans and English alike as the men of Galloway. When the battle was won and the barons had wiped out the shame of Clitheroe, the way to peace was open. David was willing to accept a compromise which Robert Bruce and Bernard of Balliol had vainly tried to effect before the fight. King Stephen was easily prevailed upon by the counsel of the papal legate and the prayers of his wife to grant it. Northumberland and Cumberland were ceded, and King David ruled at Carlisle.¹

The tone of detachment with which Ailred describes the Battle of the Standard gives way, in his other historical writings, to a mood of quiet triumph. The old unnatural embarrassments had been removed by King Henry II., the son of Matilda, the grand-nephew of David. In a letter which he prefixed to his book on the *Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor*, Ailred greets Henry as the corner-stone which bound together the two walls of the English and the Norman race.² For Ailred the solemn translation of the body of the Confessor in October, 1163, must have been one of the happiest events in his life. Laurence, Abbot of Westminster, who was his kinsman, and a Durham man,³ had asked Ailred to prepare for the occasion a new life of the

¹ See for all this, in addition to Ailred's tract, the Hexham chroniclers. Ailred's work is in the *Decem Scriptores* and is re-edited by Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc. (Rolls Series), III., 179-199. A good summary will be found in Maxwell, *The Early Chronicles Relating to Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), pp. 147-153.

² *Decem Scriptores*, p. 370: "lapidem angularem Anglici generis et Normannici gaudemus duos parietes conuenisse".

³ He was the Master Laurence who, from the account given by Reginald of Durham, would seem to have represented the citizens of Durham at the election of Bishop Hugh Pudsey, 9 June, 1153. He was then in secular orders. On the way to Rome, where the election, quashed by the Archbishop of York, was to be examined, Laurence left his companions and entered the monastery of St. Albans (Reginald of Durham, *De Vita et miraculis S. Godrici*, pp. 232-233; John of Hexham, pp. 167-168). Walter Daniel calls him Ailred's cognatus, *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 c.

Confessor. Ailred had taken the work of Osbern of Clare, and revised it in the light of official papal letters and of chronicles and such trustworthy information as had come to him by hearsay. He also prepared a homily—which he probably preached in the abbey—on the words *Nemo accendit lucernam*.¹

His ecclesiastical sympathies also were deeply engaged. Since 1159 the Church had been rent by schism. Ailred had never hesitated between Pope Alexander and the schismatic cardinals. If, as was clearly evident, the Church was still a living power, then the power must reside in the majority.² But there had been some very anxious days before King Louis of France and King Henry the Lord of England, Normandy and Aquitaine, decided to acknowledge and support Alexander. Henry is said to have been persuaded by two men; Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, and Ailred of Rievaulx.³ One of the first acts of the Pope after he was recognized by King Henry, was the canonization of Edward the Confessor. The great ceremony two years later, when the body of the saint was laid in the new shrine at Westminster, symbolized religious peace in the West of Europe as well as the union of Englishman and Norman.

Peace did not last long. The prelate who presided over the translation of St. Edward was the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket. His contest with the King had already begun and was soon to be obvious to all men. Ailred must have known all about it, but his letters are lost and we do not know what he thought. Some of these lost letters, especially those which he wrote to the

¹ *Vita Ailredi*, 70 c; *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* (ed. Giles, 1845), p. 98.

² See the interesting passage in the twenty-fourth sermon "De Oneribus Esaie" in Migne, P.L., CXC.V., coll. 460 c-461 a. The Cardinal Octavian was elected by two cardinals only, the Cardinal Roland (Alexander III.) by five cardinal bishops and fifteen or more cardinal priests and deacons. The "uis apostolicae dignitatis" must reside in the latter: "Certe ecclesia Romana non perdit; certe, ceteris reprobatis, ut in illis tribus remanserit, nulla ratio, nullus sensus humanus admittit".

³ *Chron. Petriburgense*, p. 98. This late chronicle is of no great value, but its numerous allusions to Ailred clearly came from some good source. Where they can be checked they are reliable. Henry II. acknowledged Alexander at a great council held at Neufmarché in July, 1160. He and King Louis met him at Chouzy in September, 1162; see Robert of Torigny in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., IV., 207, 215.

King's justiciar, Robert, Earl of Leicester,¹ who attempted the ungrateful task of mediator, might make very interesting reading. I imagine that the sympathies of Ailred—Cistercian though he was—lay with King Henry rather than with the archbishop. His was a peace-loving equable nature, guided by strong common sense. There were capricious, theatrical, extravagant traits in the archbishop's conduct which could not but repel him.² Peace was restored in England, why disturb it? If these were his feelings, he was fortunate in the time of his death, before his faith in King Henry could be shaken by the deed which turned Becket into St. Thomas of Canterbury, and gave him a place even above St. Cuthbert and St. Edward the Confessor in the hearts of Englishmen.

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 70 c.

² Two facts may be noted which tend to confirm this view. Ailred was a friend of Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, the austere high churchman who had opposed Becket's election and steadily refused to support him against Henry. Some time after April, 1163, when Gilbert became Bishop of London, Ailred dedicated to him his sermons on Isaiah (P.L., CXCIV., 561). Again, the archbishop had already asked for the prayers, not of Ailred, but of Maurice of Rievaulx. Maurice's reply, which I have printed elsewhere from Balliol MS. No. 65, betrays some uneasiness about the wisdom of Becket's election; see *English Hist. Rev.*, 1921, XXXV., 22, 26-29.

(To be continued).

p. 452

THE FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTE :

A STUDY OF HAGIOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT.

BY THE REV. D. P. BUCKLE, M.A.

IN a previous No. of the BULLETIN (vol. 5, Nos. 3-4, April-Nov., 1919, p. 219) Professor Tout gave an interesting account of John Mabillon's criticism of Daniel Van Papenbroeck, one of the earliest continuators of the work of Bollandus, and described the pleasing conclusion of the story by relating the Flemish doubter's conversion to the sound judgment of his French critic's better scholarship. The present paper will show, however, that if in that case Papenbroeck was too rash in his charges of the falsification of documents in cartularies he was sometimes at any rate too ready to accept the worst evidence as the best, and to set up "re-made and confected documents" (in Prof. Tout's language) as greater authorities than earlier, simpler, and more probable histories.

His account of the story of the forty martyrs of Sebaste illustrates this uncritical attitude. It is contained in the Bollandist "Acta Sanctorum," Martii, tom. 2, the contents of which are expressly stated to be "a Godefrido Henschenio et Daniele Papebrochio Aucta digesta et illustrata". We there find that the Latin "Acta" are regarded as the older; yet though in the case of the translation of Evodius by John the Deacon of Naples there is an attempt to fix the date, the editors do not give the slightest information about the original provenance or time of writing of the long narratives which they place first.

The great point of difference in the stories is the particular form of punishment, *genus supplicii*, by which the saints were martyred. The Bollandist editors avowedly follow the accounts which represent the martyrs as having been immersed in the waters of the lake of Sebaste on a cold winter night and therein frozen to death, then taken out to be broken and burned. They add that the ashes were thrown into the river, where they were miraculously kept together in one place,

OYCIWE N'IEPOY
 CWTLLAEETEVX
 ΠOΦACIC&WIT
 ΠKINAYNOCE
 POUZNOYPAWE
 YSEITIAKCU
 LIOOYKAZIYN
 NEYZOITE AYNO
 XOYNCABOALL
 LIOOY AYI
 ITIEYOYOEIPAEIT
 AIUNTIETITIT
 ENTEYBOUWITPC
 AYWEAYIWAAC
 NZITTE NEAITTE
 LOOYKOPNOENOV
 XICWNEVAZEPAYOY
 ENTECLWITTE EY
 QIZAITTEKACET
 CAWE EPETEXI
 WNLUNTEXPIC
 TIALOCWYOYE
 XWOVAYNKI
 TOTOYERON
 WTUNTXAW
 PEAANOCWCAW
 BYTOWONITEW
 ITETIENTEFY
 CIGNPCWLE
 WTLLAEZOUNET
 NOYTE NEEW
 PETPCWLEXPW
 LIOOYAMINU
 LIOYETREHITQ

NEKAZEPAYOY
 TCIWITTE
 NIICITINAYETI
 LIDY EYTWBC
 MNEVERIY XE
 LIAPNCWLEFROA
 XEANONZENX
 PHEITIANOC AY
 NEYCWLEFROXII
 POYXEANONZEN
 XPHCTIANOC
 LALANEPETIWA
 NIIYEROLZENPC
 OYZNOYBOOYTN
 LYUNECOLITZN
 TEYTAIPOKATA
 AZICEETBEIEC
 TPITPITTEYCW
 LLUNTINGOIN
 NNEYLELAC EPE
 NEYORSEPWSTE
 XNNEYERIIYZITU
 TTEKACWITXAC
 CATIEXICUNBEA
 TEYCAPZTIPCEA
 CATETKACWITW
 DEFTWUWYXW
 TEEZOYNWANEY
 ANTKEC NIU
 ADITONTIETINAY
 TAPZICTANT
 LINTNOBLITEI
 ZICE BIRANTEIN
 TOYLLAYAY

EPHRAIM TITRA
 PHALLET KACCI
 TEYUHE TUMAY
 PNOGNIASRAY
 NNOYIP OY
 KOYNALIHOCGLIN
 PWHLENACUNI
 KULLIAZELMO
 OYKATAPFYHTI
 WA EISLITTEI
 TOYUAYAY
 KATAGENTAYO
 OCSELTETTPROSI
 WIONLITTEIAGOC
 NEXXICTOC
 TITALLIATEIT
 NAXOY ZAIT
 TPADONIAZELA
 MATENNEYRAN
 ZOLLOAGFEINI
 TNXEFIEICANE
 EYEXADNI LIN
 EYEXDPOCYNII
 EYKULTEZNTAY
 XHEZOYNEROY
 THPOY NOE
 NITAYXOCNBIT
 ITATPIAPXICCEY
 TPOCETRENCAN
 TEK KALICIA RA
 CIAIAC UNPTI
 TPUPIC XFEY
 XETETNITICTEYE

NAICUINILIN
 WAIONOLLAZEN
 NEYRAN WADAY
 PHANENATAY
 XII ETRETCIO
 OYNETLITTEIT
 EROANT MUMI
 NIAVLIIEYENAI
 NXXENTLE
 XEBCNLLYUITE
 NADOPDNNFIOY
 AAK OYZUYOEPDI
 ITWAXEEROC
 ETREXELITTEIT
 ZHTPIK EEPDCEIT
 TITPDI NERE
 TIFYLIEEYETIPY
 ZATLIXEICZTI
 LITTIIEEYUOCTI
 ZPAIZNTALINI
 NTERETIYANZTI
 TOYEDOKZITN
 TETIROYALIL
 ITLIDBOAOC NY
 EIESPAIZNTAL
 NPTINQBOKESDY
 ETCIOOYN AXW
 NYCLOYNEBON
 EBOALLENENBEA
 TICATAYTEI
 XWZEPDCEY
 ITWYBIPRE
 AOCITE KAZI
 ITWAXELITTEITOC

TOAOC XEPCUAN
 OYLLEAOCWONE
 WARELLEAOC
 TUPPYWUNE
 NILLIAY LAA
 UTEIETCOAGEA
 NNETZENENAY
 TTEEWANIXEPI
 NAYEP00YEXAY
 TTEETREITENTAY
 SEEKOA OYAEON
 UTEIKAYIIIIE
 UTEIYZLIEEUCK
 ECWAAATIIIOYA
 LAAAYOYUNN
 RAALITK0YKIK
 AAPIOCEPTPOEICEPO
 OY FARINAYE2ME
 NAGI ENOCEAYEII
 UTECITTEK0AZNT
 UTEPERE2ENKAAE
 NT00I0Y EYCB
 TWTETAYEXN
 TAITENNETOYAB
 ELOYANNAGTEAOC
 KTOYCESPAIETIE
 UNOYKAAE 2U
 ITTPEIENNTAYE
 FROAPDAR2ITNQ
 K0YKES0YNETCI
 OUYN EATEXA
 PICTIITINAE TOY
 AABUE2ITK0Y
 RIKAAPIOCEIIE

~~REZM...~~
 STAYNOXCYNCA
 20ALLI0Y 2U
 ITWTAQNOXIE2
 PAITTAIENIT
 LYWWEK0ANIL
 UAY2NTIIFW
 NNNOYRUTXE
 ANGOYXPHCTIA
 NOC EAYIYU
 TTEWAWUNIT
 AICTHICE2IIMAY
 NTAU20LI0A0GFI
 UTXOFCI2ETIEC
 FOC AYWAWIIT
 UANITCATEPE
 FT0YUXIENEN
 TAYP2WGETIUA
 NEA00AENXIT
 UNT0YE E2I
 UWTIENOYIAPA
 UH0IALENOYCOA
 CEANNEIITET
 OYAB 2AIT
 TPEYXKTIITE
 UTE2UEEBOAKA
 TAITIETUITE2
 UEN200YET0YA
 ARUWENPEYAN
 20TIN0YTEUW
 AYWTIENITAYP
 UAPTPOCEXU
 TTEYDAN

whence they were rescued by Bishop Peter, who was directed to do so by a supernatural revelation and guided by extraordinary lights. The editors give all these details about the martyrdom and many others about preliminary trials and imprisonments, appearances of the Saviour and of the Devil, which have no support in the earliest and best authorities such as Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gaudentius.

This particular volume of the "Acta Sanctorum" was published at Antwerp in 1668, three years after the death of Bollandus. But within forty-five years from the publication of the texts and commentary of the Bollandists two critical works on the subject had not only appeared but also reached their second editions. This seems to show that a considerable number of readers took an interest in endeavours to treat the matters in question with a better sense of the value of evidence. Theodoric Ruinart (1657-1709) calls his work "Acta martyrum sincera et selecta". The John Rylands Library possesses a copy of the second edition published at Amsterdam in 1713. According to Delehaye, who is himself a Bollandist, it is well conceived but not up to modern requirements. Ruinart, who was the pupil co-worker and biographer of John Mabillon, says that the death of the martyrs was not due to immersion but to the bitter cold of the air and also that the "vulgata acta" have not the authority of Basil. He refers to Tillemont, who published the second edition of his fifth volume at Paris in 1702. Tillemont gives his own account of the martyrdom on pp. 518-527, and adds notes on various points on pp. 788-791. Now, whereas the Bollandist editors, who place great reliance upon Gerardus Vossius, assert that his arguments, and what they cite from "Martyrologies," "Menaea," and writers like Petrus de Natalibus and Mombritius, seem to prove the immersion of the martyrs in the waters of the lake, Tillemont is certain that they suffered martyrdom in the middle of the city. He also attacks the notion that they suffered on the lake, *supra stagnum*, which the Bollandist editors thought was intimated by the language of Basil.

It is therefore necessary to quote the exact words which Basil used. They will be found in the fifth chapter of his nineteenth homily. He there says: ἐκέλευσε πάντας γυμνωθέντας ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πηγνυμένους ἀποθανεῖν. After describing the effect of frost on the human body he adds: Τότε τοῖνον αἴθριοι διανυκτερεύειν κατεδικάσθησαν, ὅτε λίμνη μὲν, πέρι ἣν ἡ πόλις κατώκισται, ἐν ἧ ταῦτα διήθλον οἱ

ἅγιοι, οἷόν τι πεδίον ἱππήλατον ἦν, μεταποιήσαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ κρυστάλλου. καὶ ἠπειρωθεισθεῖσα τῷ κρύει, ἀσφαλῶς ὑπὲρ νῶτον πεζεύειν παρείχето τοῖς περιουκοῖς· ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀένναα ῥέοντες, τῷ κρυστάλλῳ δεθέντες, τῶν ρείθρων ἔστησαν.

It is obvious from this last quotation that the lake is mentioned not as the scene of the actual martyrdom, but for the purpose of giving a graphic picture of the keenness of the frost. The relative clause about the sufferings of the martyrs naturally explains πόλις and has no connection with λίμνη. It is joined to the wrong antecedent by Morcelli ("Kalendarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae," vol. 2, p. 68) who says that there was no need to describe the lake if the martyrdom took place elsewhere. But it is not necessary to limit the interpretation of Basil's striking description by such an argument. We find the same reference to the frozen lake as a proof of the severity of the cold in Gaudentius and Gregory of Nyssa. The books of these early writers are easily accessible in Migne's *Patrologia*, but the John Rylands Library is particularly fortunate in possessing among its treasures the enlarged versions of the story given by Petrus de Natalibus (Lyons, 1519), and in the exactly similar accounts (with slight differences of spelling) edited by Vincentius Bellocensis (Strassburg, 1473) and Mombritius (Milan, 1480). These narratives only briefly refer to the first trial before Agricolaus the Prefect, and this is not even mentioned by Petrus de Natalibus, who simply says that he kept them in prison several days in expectation of the arrival of Lysias the Dux.

Here we see how the story began to grow. A further development appears in Lipomanus (Venice: Aldus, 1581), who relates the first trial at some length, describing in detail the flattery of the prefect and the firm refusal of the martyrs to save their lives by apostasy.

The subject of hagiographic texts was discussed by A. Dufourcq in his interesting book "Les Gesta Martyrum Romains" (Paris, 1900-1910). He divides editions into three classes, edifying, scientific, and definitive. His discussion of the question should be compared with that of H. Delahaye in "The Legends of the Saints" translated by Mrs. V. M. Crawford. Delahaye's classification of hagiographic texts is even more analytical than that of Dufourcq. He distinguishes six classes of texts and applies his system to Ruinart's "Acta Sincera". He is more drastic in his criticism than Dufourcq, and gives a useful account of the methods and moralities of hagiographers, and of ancient

ideas concerning history. The dearth of material caused supplementing, amplification, compilation, and adaptation. The hagiographer who was compelled to write by the order of a superior boldly took the only course open to him, and either made a generous use of development as practised in the schools or borrowed from other narratives.

Among the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library there is an Egyptian version of the story, which on the whole follows Basil's narrative very closely, making, however, a few additions. The nine leaves of which this fragment consists were divided into two parts, which Tattam, their original owner, apparently regarded as separate documents. In the Crawford volumes they are numbered 33 and 45. No. 33 has its first sheet both misplaced and reversed: it is entitled "Exhortations to Martyrdom," and the second "Acts of certain Martyrs". Mr. Crum in his useful catalogue has supplied a careful description of the manuscript reproducing the first sheet in its proper order of *recto* and *verso*, and printing a résumé of the remainder in English. The Coptic narrative shows a conflation of two accounts, death by frost and immersion in the water of the lake. A translation as literal as possible of the four pages, specially reproduced in facsimile to accompany this article, is now offered and should be compared with Basil's "Homily," and the narratives in the "Acta Sanctorum".

RYLANDS COPTIC MS. 94 [45].

(Page ρβ). And the order was to cast them into prison till he considered with what penalty he will punish them. And meanwhile when the saints were in the prison Christ appeared to them at midnight. An ineffable light surrounded Him. He said to them, Good is this purpose of yours, good is your resolve. He who shall endure to the end shall be saved. Moreover, in the morning the judge (δικαστής) ordered them to appear in the judgment-hall. He sentenced them to a bitter death.

There is a lake near the city, on which snow and hail were streaming down. They who know those districts testify that not only oil and water are wont to freeze and congeal in those regions, but wine also freezes in the bottle like a stone. So (will it be) with those who suffer in that winter through the deluge of snow falling everywhere. The judge therefore condemned the saints to spend one night, when the frost and hail and snow poured down like a torrent, while the blast of the north wind blew bitterly.

(ργ). But when they heard their sentence they accepted the danger gladly. They hastened, they stripped off their clothes, they cast them from them, they took their way to the lake, they ran with all their might and plunged into it. Its water froze like snow, as they stood in the midst of it and bore the bitter pain, while snow and hail fell on them without ceasing.

O the courage indeed, and patience, surpassing human nature. O the love towards God, when man takes it to himself for Him. They stood in the midst of the lake at that hour, exhorting one another, saying, Let us cry out that we are Christians, and they all cried out: We are Christians. But speech did not go out of their lips distinctly, and it was interrupted in their mouth in its utterance by the shivering of their bodies and the pain of their limbs, while their teeth chattered with the torture of the frost. The snow destroyed all their flesh. The pains of that frost penetrated even to their marrows.

Moreover, who can represent the greatness of that struggle but themselves alone? ($\rho\delta$) as knowing it by experience. So then how greatly increased the frost of that night. No man therefore can praise them according to their desert, as I said in the preface of this meagre discourse. This only will I say, When I merely mention their names I confess to you that I feel a joy and gladness leaping up in my soul towards them all, as the patriarch Severus said about the lights in the Church, Basil and Gregory, If you believe me, as often as I mention their names, my soul rejoices.

I must also tell you about the bath near the lake by which the enemies of truth thought to ensnare the saints, because their hearts did not waver at all, their whole thought was of God in heaven, while they were in the lake. When one of them recanted by the device of the devil, and left the lake and went into the bath and remained outside hope, outside hope indeed, grief seized them because he is their member according to the word of the apostle ($\rho\epsilon$) if one member suffer, all the members suffer with him. But he who consoles those who are in troubles could not tolerate the sight of their grief for the renegade nor did he suffer the number of their forty to remain lacking one.

But he opened the eyes of the *cubicularios*, who guarded them, when he saw forty angels coming down from heaven, with forty crowns in their hands, prepared to be placed on the heads of the saints.

When one of the angels returned to heaven with a crown after he who had fallen out had recanted and entered the bath, the grace of the holy spirit filled that *cubicularios*, he stripped off his clothes, he cast them from him, he ran, he threw himself into the lake. He cried out with them in this one voice saying, I am a Christian. He became one with that thief, who confessed the Lord on the cross, and he is worthy of the full penny, with those who were called to labour in the vineyard at the eleventh hour. He became a comfort and a consolation to those saints, when he completed the number of the forty, according to the number of the forty holy days of our Life-giver the God of Truth, and he became a martyr for His name.

This literal translation shows that the Coptic writer accepted Basil's account of the severity of the frost, but gave other illustrations of its keenness. He follows, however, the other version of the method of martyrdom when he describes the saints as actually immersed in the water of the lake. Now it is remarkable that out of the eight chapters into which Garnier divides Basil's homily the Coptic MS. has distinct

similarities with seven. The 1st chapter in Basil is merely a general introduction and gives no particular information. The 2nd chapter refers to graphic descriptions and pictorial representations, and is therein followed by the Coptic text which transliterates Basil's expression *ζωγραφεῖν*. The Coptic narrative adds to Basil's story in his third chapter the statement that when the impious decree was published the saints went to the shrines of the standards, where there was a golden image of Christ in a niche in the eastern wall and made a covenant to be faithful unto death. This incident does not appear to occur in any other account. It would be interesting to know whether there is any other evidence of Christian soldiers having a shrine in camp at this early date.

That the Coptic story is comparatively early seems to be shown by an apparently liturgical reference. The actual MS. is assigned by Mr. Crum to the tenth or eleventh century. A *terminus a quo* for the time of composition is the quotation from Severus of Antioch (ob., 538). The words which will be found in the translation already given may perhaps refer to the joint use of the names of Basil and Gregory in the Liturgy. They are found together in Giorgi, "Fragmentum Ev. S. Jo." (Rome, 1789), who prints in the Appendix fragments of the Thebaic Liturgy before Dioscorus.

The 4th chapter of Basil's homily describes the flattery and bribes of the governor (*ὁ κρατῶν*). In the Coptic account the answer of the saints to the *δικαστής*, as he is there called, takes the form of a long denunciation of the sin of covetousness, extending over two pages and including six quotations from the Bible and one not identified. The 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Basil are practically identical with the four pages now before the reader of this BULLETIN, and do not disclose any noteworthy difference (omitting the question of immersion in the lake), except the appearance of the Saviour to the saints in prison, and the special name *δυνάμεις* given to the forty angels by Basil. The chief executioner whom Basil calls by the classical title *ὁ δήμιος* appears in Coptic as *κουβικλαριος*.

The occurrence of this curious word furnishes a convenient point of transition to a brief notice of the long Greek, Latin, Armenian, Syriac, and Old-Slavonic versions. It seems hardly likely that an exalted official like a chamberlain should have been chief of the executioners. The Coptic writer may possibly have had some knowledge

of the longer and most probably somewhat later Greek narratives, which gives the forms *καπικλάριος* and *καπηκλάριος*. This is regarded by Sophocles in his *Lexicon* as a corruption of *κλαβικουλάριος*. The Latin "Acta" have *clavicularius*, and the Old-Slavonic of the "Suprasl Codex" (ed. Miklosich, Vienna, 1851) follows the Greek.

The longer Greek narratives will be found in the convenient editions of Gebhardt, "*Acta Martyrum Selecta*" (Leipzig, 1902), and in Abicht's text published in "*Archiv für slavische Philologie*," Vol. XVIII. (Berlin, 1896). Each of these editions has merits and defects of its own. Gebhardt divides the story into thirteen convenient chapters, which make the account easy to analyse, and facilitate reference, while Abicht's text is continuous and indicates the pages of the Paris MS. 520 which he follows, noting carefully passages where its imperfections have been restored. Gebhardt in his preface intimates that in addition to Abicht's Paris text he has used Cod. Ven. Gr. Zan., 359, and Cod. Vindob. Theol. X. His printed text does not, however, indicate which of these MSS. are responsible for the variants which he cites, nor does he supply any information about the MSS. themselves. He notes eighteen references to the Book of Psalms which the author of this particular form of the story seems to have used very freely. In Abicht's Psalm citations the references are made according to the Hebrew numbers, but Gebhardt more usefully follows the LXX. There are two differences between the editors in the matter of citation. At the end of Chapter IV Abicht repeats in a slightly different form a reference to a quotation already used in Chapter I. At the end of Chapter VIII Gebhardt's text adds a clause which is not in Abicht. With the exception of the enlarged beginning and ending in John the Deacon's translation of Evodius, the Latin narratives given in the "*Acta Sanctorum*" from Antwerp and Gladbach MSS., etc., are practically identical with one another, and with Lipomanus: they agree generally with the Greek texts of Gebhardt and Abicht, and with the Old Slavonic edited by Miklosich. A Latin translation of the Armenian version was communicated to Gerardus Vossius when he visited the Bishop of Ervan at Rome in 1601, and is reprinted in the "*Acta Sanctorum*". A German rendering of the Syriac narrative is given by W. Weyh in the "*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*," Vol. XXI. (1912), pp. 76-93.

These narratives supplement the earliest accounts by giving the names of the martyrs that of the local Prefect Agricolaus, and add a second trial of the saints before the Prefect and the Dux Lysias who came from Cæsarea for that purpose. After each trial there was an imprisonment with an appearance of the Saviour.

When the saints were brought into court for the third time it is related that the Devil appeared and said in the ear of Agricolaus, Ἐμὸς εἶ, ἀγωνίζου. Gebhardt's 9th chapter narrates the miracle of the sun shining at the third hour of the night and warming the water. His 10th chapter introduces another appearance of the Devil, this time in human form, bewailing his defeat by the saints, and expressing his plan to prevent veneration of their relics by inducing the tyrants to burn them and throw the ashes into the river. In the 11th chapter the tyrants come and see the *καπικλάριος* with the saints in the lake.

These three chapters contain much additional matter which has no support in the earliest authorities. In the 12th chapter, however, Gebhardt's text reverts to the original story by relating the incident of the mother of Meletius, the youngest of the band. Though aged, she carried her still breathing son, who had been left by the executioners in the hope that he would recant, and placed him on the cart in which the dead bodies of his companions were being taken to the fire.

The 13th chapter narrates the casting of the relics into the river and their miraculous discovery. It is impossible within the limits of this article to give a complete account of the differences and similarities of the various stories, but it is useful and interesting to know that a Coptic MS. in the John Rylands Library, though containing some additions to the original story, on the whole supports the earliest account, helps to show that the later stories were amplified and embellished and assists in establishing the sound critical views of Ruinart, Tillemont, and Ceillier in the beginning of the eighteenth century and of Dufourcq, Delehaye, and Quentin in quite recent years.

NOTE.

The article contributed by the late Wilhelm Weyh to the "Byzantinische Zeitschrift" deserves special attention not only for its German rendering of the Syriac narrative, but also for its careful discussion of the relation of that form of the story to Gebhardt's text. Weyh notes a general agreement which in many sections is quite verbal, but he concludes that neither is a translation of the other on account of their numerous differences. He points out certain

additions and embellishments in the Syriac. He gives two comparative tables of the contents of certain sections in the Greek and Syriac texts proving, according to his judgment, that the Syriac reads smoothly and that there has been a dislocation of the order of incidents in the Greek.

He regards the Greek narrative as the redaction of a clumsy editor, but adds that many details in the Syriac, which are irrelevant to the sequence of the story, seem to show that in its present form it too has been edited and enlarged, while in some points it preserves the original story better than the Greek. He notes one phrase where in his view the Greek writer has misunderstood a Syriac expression, and another in which the Syriac order of words is reproduced in Greek. This seems to imply that the Syriac was the earlier and that the Greek editor made some use of it.

That the longer version of the story was also known in Egypt is proved by the British Museum Coptic MS. No. 1000. Unfortunately this is a very imperfect papyrus fragment. Mr. Crum in his Catalogue, p. 415, reproduces the text of parts of its four pages with some restorations of the numerous *lacunæ* caused by its dilapidated condition. They correspond with the end of the 4th chapter and the beginning of the 5th in Gebhardt's edition.

The traditional stories of the martyrdom received a severe criticism from Pio Franchi de Cavalieri in "Studi e Testi," No. 22, fasc. 3, pp. 64-70. The Italian critic supports his view by the supposed evidence of the "Testament of the 40 martyrs" which is most probably a later invention to expand the idea of the unity in death for which they prayed.

Görres, who has published a special work on the Licinian persecution, strongly asserts the historicity of the martyrdom, and defends his views against Schönbach (*v.* "Zeitschrift f. d. wissenschaftliche Theologie," Vol. XXI. pp. 64-70). He is supported by Keim, Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, and Ritter. The question of Christianity and military service at this period was fully discussed by Professor Calder in the "Expositor," 7th series, Vol. V., pp. 385-408.

HENRY DE CICESTRIA'S MISSAL.

BY FRANCES ROSE-TROUP, F.R.HIST.S.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Guppy, the Librarian, I have been enabled to prove the *provenance* of MS. No. 24 in the John Rylands Library, and as it is too late to insert the information in the forthcoming Catalogue of Western MSS. I have put together a few notes on the subject as likely to be of interest to other bibliophiles and perhaps useful to students.

I have long been searching for books that were formerly in the library of Exeter Cathedral, and a reference in the Rev. J. Wickham Legge's volume on *The Sarum Missal* led me to investigate the history of a copy of a missal mentioned by him on page vi.

It appeared that this had been in the possession of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres; that there was an inscription on the fly-leaf (fol. i.) reading "Memoriale Henrici de Ciscestria canonici Exon. prec. lx^s"; and that one of that name had resigned the precentorship of the Collegiate Church of Crediton in 1264.

I was led to believe that this, with other MSS. had passed from the Earl's collection to the John Rylands Library and this proved to be the case. On inquiry I found that the first word on the "secundo folio" of this *Sarum Missal* was "induantr" and turning to the inventory of Exeter Cathedral treasures, made on September 6, 1506,¹ we find among divers things "que novo scaccario continentur," the first entry, under the heading "Missalia cum aliis libris":—

"1 Missale, secundo folio, Induantur."

Now that there was no doubt about the identity of the two it was easy enough to follow up the clue obtained.

In a list of gifts that has been made in or before 1277 to the Cathedral there is this entry:—

"De dono Henrici de Cicestre: Una capa baudek cum scutis.

¹ Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 350.

Unum missale. Una cuppa deaurata pendens ultra majus altare cum corpore Dominico. Ista cuppa furata fuit et loco suo dedit Episcopus Johannes de Grandissono aliam."¹

No fuller proof is required to identify the MSS. with Henry de Cicestria's gift, and we may not be far wrong if we assumed that it was also the same as the seventh Missal in the inventory of 1327 thus described:—

"Bonum notatum cum tropariis cum multis ymaginibus subtilibus de auro in canone, lx^s."²

for this agrees with the value entered on the fly-leaf.

To the note concerning the donor a little further information can be added. He may, with some degree of certainty, be identified with—

"Henrico, Thesaurario Criditonie et Canonico Exonie,"

the second on the list of those present on December 3, 1242, when Bishop William Briwere granted his right in land called "Mons Jocelini" in his manor of Crediton to the Recluserium he had founded near the Chapel of St. Lawrence there.³ The Treasurer might easily have become—like his confrères at Exeter—the Precentor in later years.

Our next glimpse of him is in 1249 when the Prior of St. James by Exeter quit-claimed to Henry de "Cirencestre," canon of Exeter, a tenement in St. Martin's Lane, the bounds of which are set out⁴ and this, by other evidence obtainable, was on the west side of the lane, next to the tenement of the Vicars of Crediton and not far from the High Street. It was no doubt this same tenement that he gave to the Vicars Choral of Exeter for the support of his obit, subject to an annual charge of 16d. to the Chapeter and another of 9s. to the Hospital of St. John by the East Gate. His ordinance, or as he styles it "carta mea," is recorded in a volume belonging to the Vicars Choral, and from this we learn that each Canon present at his anniversary was to receive 2d. and each Vicar [Choral] 1d.⁵ Although

¹ Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 300.

² *Ibid.*, p. 305, as corrected by comparison with the Dean and Chapter MS. No. 3720.

³ See Hingeston-Randolph's *Transcript of Bishop Bronescombe's Register*, p. 5.

⁴ Oliver's *Monasticon Exoniensis*, p. 195.

⁵ Dean and Chapter MS., No. 3675.

not dated it is evident from the names of the witnesses that it was made in 1264: we find in the calendar that his obit was celebrated on June 16. Although I have found no evidence to support it, Dr. M. R. James' suggestion that he was the Henry de Cicestria who was Chancellor of Lincoln from about 1260 to 1268 may be correct, though the date of his charter falling between those two years and containing no reference to that dignity rather militates against it.

As to the MS. itself we might hazard a guess that at some period it was in use at the altar of St. Edmund the Confessor in Exeter Cathedral as the offices for that saint, and for his translation, have been added to the missal by a fifteenth century hand. If so, this is particularly interesting as Edmund Rich, the archbishop, died in 1242 and his remains were translated in 1247. He was afterwards canonized and known as St. Edmund the Confessor. It is, therefore, quite possible that Henry de Cicestria knew him in the flesh, and it is more than probable that he was present at the dedication of the altar in what was afterwards known as St. Edmund's Chapel at the north-west corner of Exeter Cathedral, and which had been practically rebuilt by Bishop Marshall about the year 1200. We know that there was an altar so dedicated before 1283. Should this surmise be correct this Sarum missal may have been removed to the New Treasury about the middle of the fifteenth century as in 1506 the missal in St. Edmund's Chapel was one *printed on vellum*, the gift of John Major who died in 1447.

The point that is rather puzzling is that a missal of the Sarum Use, which differed from the Use of Exeter, should be entered without comment in both the library inventory and in that of the gifts, especially as we find that in 1391 Bishop Brantyngham presented an *Ordinal* of the Sarum Use to the Dean and Chapter desiring that the Cathedral services should conform thereto, but the Canons would accept it only in so far as it did not differ in the special offices for saints' days and the customs and observances which they had sworn to maintain, so the Dean presented a lengthy list of reservations.¹ Perhaps it was to make it conform to these requirements that the additions were made to our missal in the fifteenth century hand.

There can be little doubt that in the magnificent full-page illumina-

¹ See *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, IV, p. 39.

tion on *14 the figure in ecclesiastical vestments kneeling on the right and presenting a scroll to the Divine Child is intended to be a portrait of the donor.

That he was a person of wealth and position¹ seems indubitable as the value of such an elaborately illuminated missal must, at that period, have been great, and because his gilded "cuppa" was allowed to hang in such a prominent position in the Cathedral.

In conclusion I ought to mention that the spelling of his name varies, even on the same page of the MS. of the Vicars Choral, but it is most frequently that which I have adopted. There can be no question of the identity of the persons differently named, but we have no means of deciding whether he came from Chichester or Cirencester.

¹ He even appears as "Henry the Canon" in Exeter Corporation Document No. 656, dated February 2, 1253-4, as if he were important enough to be recognized by that designation alone.

ON A LOST MS. OF DR. ADAM CLARKE'S.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

IN a recent number of *Notes and Queries* the inquiry was made by Mr. George Horner, the well-known Coptic scholar, as to the whereabouts of a Syriac MS. formerly in the possession of Dr. Adam Clarke, containing a Harmony of the Life and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The inquiry was pertinent enough in view of the description, for a Harmony of Syriac Gospels, such as is here described, could hardly be anything except (*a*) the lost Harmony of Tatian, or (*b*) a copy of the Syriac Gospels containing a Passion Harmony, such as often occurs in the MSS. of the Harklean Version.

The question derives an added interest when we observe that, as will presently appear, Dr. Adam Clarke (who was no mean Orientalist and Biblical Scholar) regarded this MS. as the Gem of all his collection, and attributed to it an age of at least 1000 years.

The first steps in the search for the lost MS. were taken by Mr. Horner, who, observing that Dr. Clarke's MSS. were sold by Sotheby in 1836 (Monday, 26 June and three following days), examined the sale catalogues of the firm in question as preserved in the British Museum, and reported that it was purchased by a buyer of the name of Cochran; the price was £15 15s., as Mr. Guppy reports from an examination of the sale catalogue in question. Mr. Horner was, however, wrong as to the buyer, who is entered, as Mr. Guppy points out, in the Catalogue of the British Museum as Baynes. Apparently he confused the MS. with No. 138 described as the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, which was sold to Cochran for £5 5s.¹ What became of the MS. is, at present, uncertain.

¹ This has an inserted note on p. 408 to the effect that it came from India.

"Codex MS. chartaceus in forma ut vocant 4^{to} continet quatuor Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum idiomate et characteribus Syriacus exaratus.

Mr. Horner writes me the result of his preliminary inquiries as follows :—

“Perhaps you have already seen a copy of the catalogue of Adam Clarke’s books which was published by John Murray in 1835, and compiled by his son J. B. B. Clarke of Trinity College, Cambridge. . . . I have of course asked the authorities at the Bodleian, and you must be well acquainted with all Cambridge Syriac stores. Sotheby can give no help at that distant date and Lawlor, their expert, died, as you probably know, some years past, though he was not an old man and could hardly have given any information.

“I believe that the present Thorp has nothing in common with the former bookseller who was buying Oriental books in the thirties, and I know nothing about the other buyer Cochran, mentioned in Sotheby’s catalogue at the British Museum. . . .”

Mr. Horner’s reference to the possibility of the lost MS. being at Cambridge does not become fruitful. There is only one MS. of Dr. Adam Clarke’s collection at Cambridge, it is a Lectionary in Syriac from Southern India of no greater age than the eighteenth century, and is labelled on the back

Evang. Chald. Malab. 246.

It is described as follows in the Cambridge Catalogue of Syriac MSS. :—

“Add. 1167, a late MS. of the XVIIIth century.

“On f. 6 b is this entry :—

“Baker, *Cat.* 135, No. 882.

311 (p 3·11) 1873.

“This is evidently No. 246 in the Catalogue of the MSS. of Dr. A. Clarke (1835), and No. 14 in the *Cat.* of Baynes & Son (1836), where it is priced £7 7s.”

The MS. came therefore from the Christians of St. Thomas in Southern India, etc., and is, no doubt, the one described in a foregoing note.

Venit ex India Orientali, ubi olim inserviebat usibus Ecclesiae Christianorum qui a St. Thoma denominantur, et in regionibus Malabaricis et Coromandelicis dispersi sunt, quique in sacris lingua Syriaca utuntur, Patriarchamque Antiochenum antistitem habent. Codex sane preciosus, cum hactenus nullos N. Foederis lingua Syriaca exaratos habuerimus codices. Character nostri codicis abludit aliquantulum a characteribus impressorum librorum, quod forsan inde factum quia currente calamo scriptus est.”

Well! this cannot be what we are in search of, for our MS. is No. 447 in the sale catalogue of the Clarke MSS.

On turning to the catalogue in question (I use a copy in the Cheetham Library, Manchester) we find as follows:—

“No. 447. The Life and Passion of our Blessed Lord in Syriac. Imp. 4° in stamped Russia, pp. 368.

“Collected from the four Evangelists: one of the old Evangelistaria: it is *a kind of harmony of the Gospels*, giving our Lord's life in the words of the Evangelists.”

The following is a note in the handwriting of Mr. Edward Ives of Titchfield, Hants:—

“Turkey, July 2nd, Sunday, 1758.

“At a poor Christian town called *Camalisk Gawerkoe*, situated about six hours' journey S. of Mosul (ancient *Nineveh*), this MS. I bought of a Deacon belonging to the old Christian Church there; and the town, he informed me, was once the seat of a Christian Bishop.”

“It is written in the ancient *Estrangelian* (a Syriac uncial) character, in a very bold hand: this MS. was much damaged and in ruins, but it has been most beautifully inlaid and arranged by Dr. Clarke, and now forms one of the best preserved and most ancient Syriac MSS. extant, being probably upwards of 1000 years old. It formerly belonged to Jacob Bryant.”

It appears then, that the list of owners of the lost MS. is a series:—

Edward Ives.

Jacob Bryant.

Adam Clarke.

? Baynes.

Bryant is a well-known scholar of the early nineteenth century, famous for his outspoken scepticism with regard to the siege of Troy, which he believed to be altogether mythical. He need not detain us, for we have a complete account of the journey of Edward Ives, on which the MS. was purchased, as well as some supplementary information concerning it, which will relieve us from the necessity of any further research. The title of the book is as follows:—

“A Voyage from England to India in the year MDCCLIV., etc. also,

“A Journey from Persia to England, by an unusual route, etc. By Edward Ives, Esq. : formerly surgeon of Admiral Watson’s ship, and of His Majesty’s Hospital in the East Indies.

“4° London (printed for Edward and Charles Dilly MDCCLXXIII.)”

The following extracts will suffice us :—

“p. 318. About five o’clock we came to a poor town inhabited by *Christians*, called *Camalisk Gawerkoe*, which, I was told, means *Christian Gawerkoe*. The chief of it informed me that it was once a city, the seat of a *Chaldean* bishop, and larger than Mosul is at present, but that it suffered great persecution, and was almost entirely destroyed, when *Mahometanism* first took place in this part of the world. . . .

“The present inhabitants (as we are informed) speak the original Chaldean languages, as well as the Turkish and Arabian. At a little distance from the town they show you the tomb of St. Barbara, who, according to the *Papas* account, died a martyr by the hand of her own father, a *Pagan*, because she persisted to believe in Jesus Christ. . . .

“Mr. Doidge bought of one of the inhabitants, the *Old Testament*, as he supposed, for the seller called it an history of the *Prophets*, and one of the Deacons sold me an old Manuscript, which on the word of a *Christian* he declared to be the *Gospel*. Of the truth of these assertions neither of us is the least able to judge, we only intended them as curiosities for our learned friends in *England*.”

A foot-note is added to the following effect :—

“A Specimen of the MS. purchased by the author, having been since laid before Dr. *Morton* and Mr. *Ridley* of the Royal Society, they both decisively pronounced it to be the old or simpler *Syriac Version* of the *New Testament*.

“An extract hereof is in the annexed plate.”

From the copper-plate in question it is easy to see that the MS. is a Syriac Lectionary of the usual type. No doubt the Harmony referred to is a description of the Gospels read through the circle of the year *plus* the Passion Harmony of the Harkleian Version (a version with which Mr. Ridley was familiar).

The script as shown in the plate is of no great age, nor need we spend any further time over the MS. and its present location. Mr.

Ives has told us all we need to know on the matter. Dr. Mingana, my colleague, to whom the neighbourhood where the MS. was purchased is quite familiar, knows the Church of St. Barbara quite well ; he has often ministered there and describes it as four hours' journey to the S. of Mosul. The name which Ives gives as Camalisk, Dr. Mingana says is Karmles.

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No. 4

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE 28th of last July marked a new epoch in the history of the University of Louvain. It was on that day that the first stone of the new library building, which is to replace the one so senselessly destroyed in August, 1914, was laid by Dr. Murray Butler, in the presence of the King and Queen of the Belgians, the ex-President of the French Republic, and a large and distinguished company of international scholars.

RE-BIRTH
OF THE
LOUVAIN
LIBRARY.

Dr. Butler, the President of Columbia University, is the Chairman of the National Committee of the United States for the Reconstruction of the Louvain Library, and it was eminently appropriate that he should perform the first public act in the erection of the new building, since the cost of it is to be defrayed by his Committee.

We had the privilege and pleasure of being present at this important function, as the representative of the Governors of the John Rylands Library, and also of the five hundred contributors to the English scheme for equipping the shelves of the new library with the necessary books ; and it is primarily for their information that we have given, elsewhere in the present issue, a brief account of the proceedings, together with some impressions which we formed of the country through which we passed on the journey to and from Louvain.

It was to us an event of peculiar interest and gratification, for in April, 1915, when we made our first public appeal for help under our scheme for rendering assistance to the authorities of the University in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war, we were regarded by some of our pessimistic friends with an air of tolerant pity for daring to make such an appeal when Belgium was still in the occupation of the Germans, and, as they said, was likely to remain so. We were not discouraged, however, incurably optimistic as we were, and persisted in our endeavours, with the encouraging result that books

began to stream in by ones and by twos and by hundreds, from all classes of the community, in all parts of the world, until to-day the substantial figure of 40,000 volumes has been reached, and gifts continue still to reach us. We are sanguine enough, therefore, to believe that by the time the new building is ready for occupation, the English collection will have totalled not less than 50,000 volumes.

Of the books already received 38,000 have been catalogued and transferred to Louvain, where they are in actual use in their temporary home, which serves as University reading-room and library, pending the completion of the building which is now in process of erection.

We invite further offers of suitable books, so that our combined gift may be an acknowledgment not unworthy of our indebtedness to the incomparably brave nation and their valiant Sovereign, who sacrificed all but honour to preserve their own independence, and thereby safeguard the liberties of Europe by frustrating the invader's plans. We owe to Belgium more than we can ever repay, but it is fitting that we should seize such an opportunity as the present scheme offers to repay at least some part of our debt.

Since the publication of our last issue in July, the following gifts have been received, and we take this opportunity for re-
newing our thanks to the following contributors for so
generously and continuously responding to our appeals,
and in that way assisting us to obtain such encouraging results.

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The works added to the shelves of this library during the past year, by purchase and by gift, number 8,264 volumes, of which 2,660 were acquired by purchase and 5,604 by gift.

ACCE-
SIONS TO
THE LIB-
RARY.

The acquisitions by purchase include a number of interesting and useful items which add to the strength of several departments in which the library is already admittedly rich. It has been our endeavour to keep abreast of the times in those branches of literature in which the research students and other readers who make regular use of the library may reasonably expect to find the shelves equipped with the latest or best authorities, but we have not been able to make any specially noteworthy purchases either of manuscripts or of early printed books, in consequence of the financial disabilities under which we, in common with many similar institutions, are suffering.

The files of foreign periodicals and society publications dropped sadly into arrear during the difficult years of the war, but we are glad to be able to say that, with very few exceptions, they have now been brought up to date.

As an indication of the character of the additions that have been made, apart from current literature, we mention a few items taken almost at random from the lists: Ugolino's "Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum . . . in quibus veterum Hebraeorum mores, leges, instituta, ritus sacri et civiles illustrantur," Venetiis, 1744-1769, 34 vols., Folio; "Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie," Marburg, 1881-1900, Heft 1-100, 8vo;

Emil Levy's "Provinzialisches Supplement-Worterbuch," Leipzig, 1894-1920, 7 vols., 8vo ; "Rivista di Filologia Romanza da Manzoni, Monaci, Stengel, etc.," with the continuations, "Giornale di Filologia Romanza," "Studi di Filologia Romanza," and "Studi Romanzi," 1873-1920, 31 vols., 8vo ; "Anuari de l'Instiut d'Estudis Catalans," 1907-1914, 5 vols., 8vo ; "Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Études : Section des sciences historiques et philosophiques," 1893-1915, 22 vols., 8vo ; La Curne de Ste. Palaye, "Dictionnaire historique de la langue française," Paris, 1875-1884, 10 vols., 8vo ; "Bibliotheca critica della letteratura Italiana, diretta di F. Torraca," 43 vols., 8vo ; "Oeuvres complètes de Diderot, revues sur les éditions originales, avec notices, notes et études, par J. Assézat," Paris, 1875-77, 20 vols., 8vo ; Holder's "Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz," 1896-1913, 3 vols., 8vo ; Du Boulay's "Historia Universitatis Parisiensis ipsius foundationem, nationes . . . complectens," Paris, 1665-1673, 6 vols., Fol. ; "La Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Solienne . . . Par P. L. Jacob," Paris, 1843-44, 4 vols., 8vo ; "Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, seu vetera ordinis monumenta recentioraque acta . . . P. A. Fruhwirth," 1893-1920, 28 vols., 4to ; Sir G. F. Laking's "Records of European armour and arms through seven centuries," 4 vols., 4to ; the "Publications of the Cantilupe Society," Hereford, 1909-21, 19 vols., 8vo ; "Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae," Helsingfors, 1842-1917, 47 vols., 8vo ; Boccaccio's "Il Decamerone," printed at the Ashendene Press, 1920, Fol. ; "The Hobby-Horse," 1886-1892, 7 vols. ; "Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique," 1869-1916, 20 vols., 8vo ; "Die Einblattdrucke des XV Jahrhunderts in der Kupferstichsammlung des Hof. Bibl. zu Wien," 1920, 2 vols., Fol. ; Max Lehr's "Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederlandschen, und französischen Kupferstiche im XV Jahrhundert," 4 vols. ; "Rassegna d'arte antica et moderna," Milano, 1914-20, 13 vols., 8vo ; two manuscript copies of the Zend Avesta and the Vendidad, from the library of L. H. Mills, in Sanskrit and Pehlevi, on paper ; The original Registers of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, Yorkshire, 1442-1473.

The following is a list of the donors, to the number of 104, whose appreciation of the institution and its work has found expression in the numerous gifts and bequests by which the library has been enriched during 1921.

GIFTS TO
THE
LIBRARY.

We take this opportunity of renewing and emphasising the thanks already conveyed to each donor individually in another form, at the same time assuring them that these expressions of good-will are a source of great encouragement to the Governors, as well as to the present writer.

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The gifts, which number 5,604 volumes, include many works which it would have been difficult if not impossible to obtain through any other channel. Notably : A collection of books, pamphlets and periodicals connected with the Anti-Slavery Movement, and dating back for about a century, from the library of the late Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., of Sheffield, which has been presented by his executors, Miss Helen Wilson and Mr. A. C. Wilson. This gift also included a number of useful reference works of general interest. Mr. A. C. Wilson has also presented, on behalf of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, a large collection of pamphlet and other literature dealing with the question of Disestablishment, and including a set of the Society's own publications. By means of these two gifts the students of the history of either of these movements have had placed within their reach invaluable research material.

Sir Lees Knowles, Bart., was good enough to present his set of "The Times" for the period covering the great war, which he had had excellently bound in 33 volumes. This is a most welcome addition to the library's collection of war literature, which already numbers about 3,000 volumes.

Reference should also be made to the many collections of the works of modern writers from the library of Dr. Lloyd Roberts, which have been received as part of his bequest during the same period, and which have greatly strengthened the particular department of the library to which they properly belong. These include the works of James Howell, William Morris, Andrew Lang, Richard Le Gallienne, William Hazlitt, Austin Dobson, Lord Byron, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Douglas Jerrold, Walter Savage Landor, W. Leigh Hunt, Charles Swinburne, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, George Henry Lewes, Thomas H. Huxley, George Augustus Sala, Goldwin Smith, Frederic Harrison, and William Watson, to mention only the most important. Then, too, we should

not omit to refer to the remarkably complete collection of Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici," which is said to include every edition from the first to the latest; and also the collection of the fifteen earliest editions of Sir Samuel Garth's poem "The Dispensary," both of which came to us from the same source.

Amongst other gifts to the Library is one of exceptional interest to students of the history of the modern drama, consisting of seventeen volumes of newspaper cuttings, which furnish a complete record of Miss Horniman's courageous enterprise in Manchester, from the time of her taking over the commonplace Gaiety Theatre, which under her effective direction speedily developed into one of the most widely known theatres in the world, down to the time when she relinquished its ownership and management in the early part of last year.

MISS
HORNIMAN
AND THE
GAIETY
THEATRE,
MANCHES-
TER.

For twenty years Miss Horniman faithfully served the interests of English drama in the North of England. More than six hundred plays, by every sort of author both native and foreign, from Euripides to Stanley Houghton and St. John Ervine, were produced at the Gaiety Theatre, which quickly became a training ground for young Lancashire writers, where they could obtain the only training that is of any service to dramatists—the chance to see their plays actually performed on the stage.

The result of Miss Horniman's enterprise was to place Manchester in a position which made it, theatrically, almost unique among the cities of the world, but it has now fallen from its high estate through allowing this home and school of pure drama to degenerate into a picture theatre. Manchester, we have been told, is full of gratitude to Miss Horniman for what she has done for it, and the extent of that debt will become more apparent as time passes. It was prepared to do anything for this courageous lady, except go to her theatre in sufficient numbers to prevent it from becoming a picture palace!

A few years ago Miss Horniman rendered another signal service to the students of the modern drama, by depositing in the Library a similar collection, in ten volumes, of fugitive, but none the less valuable material dealing with the history of the Irish National Theatre, from its beginnings in 1901.

THE IRISH
NATIONAL
THEATRE.

These important sources of information would have been lost, because, through accident of birth, they are buried in the files of the

various newspapers and periodicals in which they appeared, but for the praiseworthy energy displayed by the donor in collecting, and with her own hands preserving, and making the collection available in its existing form.

This Irish National Theatre was a natural outgrowth of the Celtic Revival, which in itself was but a phase of the Irish National Movement, which has met with a good deal of ridicule in this country, because of the extravagances and absurdities in which some of the more aggressive spirits have indulged ; yet, amongst literary people who have looked upon it with unprejudiced eyes it has aroused a real sympathetic interest.

The aim of the little band of enthusiasts who were responsible for laying the foundations of this national drama, some twenty years ago, was to render in dramatic form some of the best of the fascinating legendary tales and traditions which tell of the faith and life of the Irish people, of the deeds of their heroes, and of the glories of their kings, and in so doing to substitute a live national drama worthy of the name, for what Mr. Yeats describes as : " the machine-made play of modern commerce, that lifeless product of conventional cleverness, from which we come away knowing nothing new about ourselves, seeing life with no new eyes, and hearing it with no new ears ".

In the realization of their aims Miss Horniman played a very important part by generously undertaking not only to provide these struggling enthusiasts with a permanent home at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, but also by providing them with a subsidy for five years, so that they might develop the literary and dramatic instincts of the Irish people. Until the advent of this fairy god-mother they had had to write their own plays, and with their very limited resources to produce them, often under the most distressing circumstances, and amidst the most inconvenient surroundings.

Twenty years ago there were no Irish plays except the melodramas dealing with the insurrection of 1798, and similar subjects. To-day there are hundreds of plays dealing with every aspect of modern life in town and country, with characters in Irish mythology, and with life in other lands, written or translated by Irish authors.

The Abbey Theatre artists are now performing in this country and America, and it has its own school of acting under the direction of Mr. Frank Fay, one of the Abbey's first and greatest players.

In the early days of this movement some of the finest productions were played to very sparse audiences, and when Synge's "Playboy in the Western World" was first produced the police had to be called in to quell the opposition and to remove those who protested.

Since those exciting days there has been a great change. The Abbey Theatre has created a taste for sincere and original drama, with an atmosphere which allows of a latitude of expression that would not have been dreamt of twenty years ago. It can now live on its earnings, but it should not be forgotten that in the period of transition Miss Horniman's help was invaluable.

Indeed, when the history of the English and Irish movement during the first quarter of the twentieth century comes to be written, the historian will find that much of his work will have to be written around Miss Horniman, and that he is indebted to her for her foresight in preserving this valuable collection of material for his use.

We are glad to be able to announce the publication of the first two volumes of the long expected "Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library," which may be procured from the Library's regular agents: The Manchester University Press; Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.; and Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, Limited.

CATA-
LOGUE OF
LATIN
MANU-
SCRIPTS.

The first volume contains the descriptive text, whilst its companion volume of plates comprises nearly two hundred facsimile reproductions of characteristic pages of text, illuminations, and jewelled bindings, selected from the manuscripts with which the catalogue deals. These include examples of first-class quality of the art of the great mediæval writing schools of Europe, ranging from the sixth to the nineteenth century, and covering a wide range of subjects.

It should be explained that the present volumes represent the first instalment of the "Catalogue of Western Manuscripts," and deal with the first group (numbering 183) of the Latin rolls and codices, which are almost exclusively written in the book hand.

Considerable additions to this section of the Library's manuscript collections have been made since the present catalogue was taken in hand, many of which are of considerable historical importance, including cartularies, royal wardrobe and household expenses books, chronicles, early papal bulls, briefs, patents, wills, marriage contracts, court rolls, charters, etc. These are being examined and described in readiness

for inclusion in the succeeding volumes of the catalogue, by one of the Assistant-Keepers of Manuscripts.

The present volumes are the work of Dr. Montague Rhodes James, one of the most distinguished authorities in this field of investigation, who has rendered a valuable service, not only to the Library, but to scholarship, by undertaking the work in spite of many other more pressing and more legitimate claims upon his time. By so doing Dr. James has greatly enhanced the value and interest of the manuscripts themselves.

The two volumes, in royal quarto, are published at four guineas net, a price which is much below the cost of production.

It is our intention to print, from time to time, in these pages, hand-lists, consisting of brief descriptive notes of the rarer, and in some cases unrecorded, works which are to be found in the Library's collections of manuscripts.

TEMPORARY HAND-LISTS OF OTHER RARE MANUSCRIPTS.

One of our reasons for adopting this plan is that we find it impossible to proceed with the printing of the full descriptive catalogues, several of which are ready for the press, whilst the present prohibitive cost of printing and book production prevails.

In order, therefore, that students, interested in the subjects with which these manuscripts deal, should not be penalised by being kept in ignorance of their presence in the library, we propose, by this means, to call attention to works of great rarity and importance, which would otherwise remain, at least for the present, buried and unknown.

The present instalment of these notes deals with some of the rarer or unique texts, under the heading Theology, to be found in the collection of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, which comprises upwards of two thousand volumes.

It may not be out of place again to remind students that Sir Harry Mainwaring, Bart., late of Peover Hall, Cheshire, has deposited in this library, on loan for an indefinite period, for the use of students, his interesting collection of manuscripts, which includes many early charters, and other materials relating to the county of Cheshire. The Mainwaring family had been seated at Peover ever since the Conquest, and had the good fortune to possess State papers, diaries, household books, and literary papers of the seventeenth century, besides a vast quantity of deeds and evidences relating to their lands, which cannot fail to be

THE MAINWARING CHARTERS AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS.

of interest to students of the history of the period covered by them. Many of the Peover deeds are of the time of Edward III, whilst five hundred of them are earlier than the reign of Henry VIII, the earliest of all consisting of charters granted, in the twelfth century, by Earls of Chester.

We hope to commence, in an early issue of the "Bulletin," the publication of a hand-list of these interesting and important documents.

We should be glad to undertake the safe custody, under similar conditions, of any other collections of manuscripts, especially those relating to the North of England, or in the possession of families connected with that area, which the owners are either unable or unwilling to dispose of, and for which they are no longer able to provide suitable housing accommodation.

OFFER TO
ACCEPT
CUSTODY
OF LOCAL
MSS.

At the present time, when so many estates are being broken up, and old family residences are being relinquished and the contents dispersed, there is a grave danger lest valuable documents of great historic interest, the importance of which may not yet have been realised, should be lost sight of, and perhaps be accidentally destroyed with the so-called lumber which so often accumulates in great houses, or be stored temporarily, for want of better accommodation, in unsuitable buildings, where they are likely to suffer irreparable damage from damp and neglect.

It is for this reason that we venture to offer not only the hospitality of the Library, but the services of the staff in caring for and arranging such collections, so that they might be accessible to students, under the customary safeguards, whilst they remain in our custody.

We shall be glad to advise owners of such collections in the matter of their transfer and treatment.

It will interest many of our readers to learn that the Assyriological library of the late Canon C. H. W. Johns, D.Litt., D.D., sometime Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, whose death, on the 20th of August, 1920, was a serious blow to that department of Oriental research in which

THE LIB-
RARY OF
THE LATE
CANON
JOHNS.

his pre-eminence was everywhere recognised, has been presented, by his express desire, to Queen's College, Cambridge, where it is available for use by any student of Assyriology visiting Cambridge.

The library contains, in addition to the valuable collection of

books, a mass of systematized notes, card catalogues and manuscript matter, a small number of tablets and squeezes which students will find most useful for practice in reading Cuneiform.

We are also glad to be able to announce that the collection of "Assyrian deeds and documents in the 7th century, B.C.," of which Canon Johns himself published the first three volumes, is to be continued. Mrs. Johns, at the express desire of her late husband, is to edit and see through the press the fourth volume, which Canon Johns left in manuscript and in an unfinished state. The demand for the forthcoming volume is so great, we are told, that it has been decided to double the issue which had been originally proposed.

Mrs. Johns also hopes to publish a second edition of the first volume of the same work, which has been long out of print and in much demand.

We must not omit gratefully to acknowledge two RECENT GIFTS. other important gifts which the library has received quite recently. The first is from Miss Algerina Peckover, consisting of a manuscript, "Missale Romanum," which was probably written for a church in the diocese of Cologne, in the latter part of the eleventh or the early years of the twelfth century, and later passed into the possession of a church in the Netherlands, probably attached to some nunnery. The few ornamental letters with which the MS. is embellished appear to show traces of the influence of the school of St. Gall. It is in a fifteenth century binding of brown stamped leather over oaken boards, and forms a most welcome addition to the library's collection of liturgical manuscripts.

The other gift is of a different, but none the less welcome, character, taking the form of a cheque, and representing the first gift of money which the library has received apart from the benefactions of the Founder. We are grateful to Miss Winterbottom for this helpful expression of her interest in, and appreciation of, the institution and its work.

The present issue completes the sixth volume of the "Bulletin," and we furnish herewith a title page and list of contents for those of our readers who may wish to preserve their numbers by having them bound.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VERGIL.¹

BY R. S. CONWAY, LITT.D., F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

ONE of the most distinguished of living British philosophers once declared that the most which any system of metaphysics could hope to do was to suggest a new point of view. At the moment he was lecturing on the mysterious Hegel ; and though it was twenty-five years ago I still remember the feeling of relief which his declaration produced. Here was a profound student of Hegel, no mean author himself of metaphysical theory, deliberately acknowledging that no philosophic system, however brilliant, could hope to be literally true ; he was content if we recognised that all great systems provided new and fruitful points of view from which the world could be studied. Somewhat in this spirit even those who have no claim to be philosophers may still, perhaps, discern something in a great poet which it is not unreasonable to describe as a philosophy, pervading his mature work. It certainly does not amount to a metaphysical system ; but it does seem to open to us a rather striking point of view. All lovers of Vergil know the lines in Tennyson's address to him, and we all recognise their truth—

Thou that seest universal nature moved by universal mind,
Thou majestic in thy sadness at the doubtful doom of humankind.

Behind and beneath these two conceptions which Tennyson ascribes to Vergil there was a certain mental attitude which I should like to make clear, if I can.

The theory is submitted to criticism with some diffidence, yet in the conviction that it is at least true so far as it goes, and that it co-ordinates and explains many features in Vergil's work, both in his style and in his thought.

The attitude which we are to study is that which I believe Vergil

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 10 November, 1920.

to have held in the maturity of his powers, that is, in the part of his life occupied in writing the *Georgics* and the *Æneid*. Nothing therefore need be said here about the sympathy with Epicurean teaching which, as we all know, marked Vergil's youth. On the other hand his relation to Stoicism will naturally come into view.

Let me begin by remarking a general fact about Vergil which is too little realised. We are apt to regard him merely as what he became, the truest and most complete representative known to us of Roman life. Yet when we compare him with the writers of his own day and of the preceding generation, I think it is true to say that in one respect he stands apart from them all, namely in the depth of his knowledge of Greek writers, and the eagerness with which he seeks to infuse his own account of things Roman and Italian with a spirit drawn directly from Greek sources. A simple example is the deliberate way in which (to the confusion of some modern critics) he has continually coupled Greek and Italian folklore in the *Georgics*. At the outset¹ the Greek wood nymphs, the Dryads, are invited to join the dance of purely Italian deities, the Fauns;² and Pan, the Greek god of the Arcadian hills, is to come and take part with Silvanus, a typically Italian figure. So in the charming passage³ describing the farmers' festival, purely Italian fashions like those of the sacred masks (*oscilla*) hung on fruit trees to swing with the wind, appear side by side with Greek rites in the worship of Bacchus associated with the Greek drama. I need hardly even remind the reader of the countless passages in the *Æneid* where Vergil has adapted to his purpose some incident or utterance of Greek poetry. Let me rather ask attention to one or two more general characteristics of his attitude.

There were deeply imprinted on Vergil's mind some of the most typical of all Greek habits of thought. The late Mr. A. W. Benn, in his brilliant survey of *The Philosophy of Greece*⁴ pointed out two features, closely related, which appear in almost all Greek systems of

¹ *Georgics*, I., 11 ff. "It is rather striking that Pan is appealed to by his love for his own Arcadia (*tua si tibi Maenala curae*). If he loves Arcadia he must needs love Italy's woodlands too. There is the same pride in Italy shown in the next passage referred to; Italy has the Bacchic festival too as well as Greece (*nec non Ausonii*)." [W. B. A.]

² On Faunus see Warde Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 259.

³ *Georgics*, II., 380-396.

⁴ London, 1908.

Philosophy ; one was the dread of extremes, a faith in that most national of all Greek virtues which they called *σωφροσύνη*, a word which we variously, and always unsuccessfully, translate by—"temperance," "moderation," "self-control," "sanity" "sound-mindedness" ; that central firmness and serenity of character which preserves men from being the victims of sudden passion in the world of action or of wild extremes of belief in the world of thought.

The second characteristic, which seems at first less interesting, was the habit of antithesis, of considering things in pairs, such as heat and cold, darkness and light. This in the Greek language is well represented by the humble and everyday particles which, on the threshold of his acquaintance with Greek writers the English schoolboy finds so hard to represent, the simple *μὲν* and *δὲ* "on the one hand," "on the other hand" as he laboriously renders them. I suppose no one ever began to read, say, the speeches of Thucydides without wishing that the Greek affection for these particles had been less pronounced. Yet if we turn to the writings of the tutor of Thucydides, the rhetorician Antiphon, and see how every page is studded with these antithetic points, we realise that Thucydides, even in his most argumentative moments, was probably less given to antithesis for its own sake than was the average Greek speaker of his boyhood.

But what, it will be asked, has this rather quaint peculiarity of Greek diction to do with such serious things as those of which philosophy treats ? The answer is quite simple. Namely, that in almost all Greek philosophers there is an implicit duality of some kind or other. For example, the contrast in Plato between the invisible, real, existing Ideas and the imperfect copies or approximations to them which make up the visible world. Or in Aristotle's *Ethics*, the conception of every virtue as the middle term between two extremes, the virtue of courage, for example, being the middle point between the extremes of cowardice on the one hand and rashness on the other. In earlier systems we recall the Mind which Anaxagoras conceived as imposing order on Chaos ; or the two principles of Love and Strife, centripetal and centrifugal forces, which Empedocles regarded as governing the physical as well as the human world. These examples will be enough to show that the characteristic Greek habit of thinking and speaking in antitheses was not merely a trick of words but corresponded to something quite substantial in the Greek view of

things. Most of us who have any interest in Philosophy know how striking and impressive a revival was given to this kind of antithesising by the speculations of Hegel with his fundamental proposition that every notion implies and generates its opposite.

To these two characteristics of the Greek temper we may add a third which everyone will recognise, a certain childlike capacity for wonder—a standing readiness for new experiment, the virtue of perpetual hope and youth in the sphere of thought. This was the most engaging thing about Socrates, and Socrates in this was a typical¹ Greek. There was no problem which he was not prepared to discuss in the hope that careful study of its conditions might reveal new light ; and the same refreshing candour in discussing first principles meets us on every page of Greek Tragedy. In Homer, though it is not common in the political sphere, it is very marked in Odysseus and lies indeed almost at the root of his character ; as Dante saw in that famous Twenty-sixth Canto of the *Inferno* which represents Odysseus as meeting his end through continually pressing forward to explore new tracts of ocean and win new knowledge of humanity ; a conception which Tennyson's *Ulysses* has made familiar to English readers.

Now I think it may be maintained that all these three characteristics of the Greek spirit are more deeply marked in Vergil than in any other Roman. First the reverence for self-control, secondly the habit of wonder, and thirdly the method of looking at things from a dual, antithetic standpoint.

On the first, Vergil's hatred of extremes, and love of self-control, I need say little. It was shared, as we all know, by his intimate friend Horace, though perhaps the Golden Mean, which Horace so faithfully celebrates, did not signify quite all that Vergil meant by *servare modum*²—'keeping the limit'. We need only recall in passing the contrast on which the whole story of the *Æneid* is based ; that Æneas does learn to practice self-control, to sacrifice his own private hopes and desires to the call of duty, even in the hardest case where it bade him abandon his love for Dido. But his brilliant rival Turnus never will make the sacrifice. He is *violentus* from first to last, passionate, reckless and contemptuous of any law or promise that would interfere with his own wild, impulsive will. For example,

¹ Compare Plato, *Theaet.*, 155D. [W. B. A.]

² *Æneid*, X., 502.

he broke through the fixed custom of what the ancient world counted honourable warfare by stripping the armour from the body of the lad Pallas whom he had slain, and making it his own instead of dedicating it to a god ; and he persists in his suit for Lavinia's hand in defiance both of her father and of what he himself confessed was the command of Heaven.

Nor again, need we stay to note examples of the eager, child-like wonder, merged in a deeper sense of mystery,¹ which was constantly in Vergil's mind as he looked upon the affairs of the world. The only remark that I will add on these two characteristics is this : that they may be both regarded as connected with the third, namely, the habit of looking at things from antithetic standpoints. For the self-control, which the Greeks loved, is a compromise in practice between contrasted motives of action ; and the mysticism, which is a continual sense of wonder unsolved, may be regarded as a kind of spiritual compromise between contrasted views of the truth.

But it is the third point which I am now mainly concerned to examine, Vergil's antithetic or dualistic habit of mind. It is so characteristic of his thought that it has left a marked impress on his style ; and it may well be that when it is once stated, it may seem to be so commonplace a matter as hardly to deserve a name, much less any long discussion. If the reader does so recognise it, and admit its reality, I shall be only too pleased. But then I must ask him to add it to the characteristics of Vergil's poetry which it is desirable for all Vergil's readers to understand ; for, unless I am greatly mistaken, you will not find it stated in any of the commentaries.

Vergil² could never be content to see a fact, or a feeling, or an event, in which he was interested, as something which stood by itself. He instinctively sought for some complementary, some companion fact, to set beside the first. We may dismiss briefly one large group of these pairs, since it is not characteristic of Vergil only, the cases

¹ On this I may refer to my *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, pp. 35 ff.

² This paper is deeply indebted throughout, and especially in the passage which follows, to the wise and generous criticism of my colleague Prof. W. B. Anderson, Litt.D., to whom I owe not merely the notes marked with his initials but a great deal of other help which has purged away many defects.

where the second fact involves no clear contrast, only a reinforcement of the original statement; such as *Italiam Laviniaque litora*, 'Italy and the Lavinian shore'. It resembles very strongly the habit of parallel statement in Hebrew poetry, so familiar to us in the Psalms (*He hath founded it upon the seas and stablished it upon the floods*); and in this some scholars see evidence of a direct acquaintance on Vergil's part with some of the Jewish Scriptures. Be that as it may, this duality of mere confirmation is not what I am concerned to examine now.

But there is an interesting set of cases on which something must be said, though I should myself refer them to the same class. In all of them Vergil mentions a natural cause for some event side by side with a divine cause, and he gives us to understand that both causes are true; so that if we are to give a name to this we must call it not "supernatural" but rather "internatural". When Nisus opens to Euryalus his daring project to leave the Trojan camp by night and make his way through the enemy's forces and take word of their danger to Æneas, he asks Euryalus, 'Is it the gods who inspire us with such ardour as I feel now, or does each of us make his own desires into a god?'¹ Here the parallel is put in the form of a question.

But I have noted well over a score of examples where the parallelism is positive and complete, though here I must mention only a few. Perhaps the most explicit case is in the Fall of Troy in Book II. of the *Æneid*,² where Æneas has his eyes opened by Venus, so that instead of walls and houses crumbling in fire or before the assaults of the Greeks, he sees the hostile deities actually at work, Pallas with her thunder-cloud and Gorgon-shield, Neptune with his trident, themselves crushing the doomed city into dust.³

In the battle, in the Tenth Book of the *Æneid*,⁴ Æneas only just escapes destruction from a band of seven brothers, who are all attacking him at once, because 'some of their darts are beaten back

¹ IX., 184.

² 603-616.

³ "That is how Venus in her vindictive way has described them. But all that Æneas himself relates is that:—

Dread forms appear

And mighty powers of heaven hating Troy."—[W. B. A.]

⁴ X., 328-331.

from his shield and helmet,' and 'some are turned aside from grazing him by his divine mother'. In the same Book, the reader wonders why the two young warriors Pallas and Lausus never meet in conflict, and Vergil gives two reasons; first¹ that their supporters on each side crowd up so thickly that neither hands nor weapons can be used; and then (four lines further on) that 'the ruler of great Olympus has forbidden them to meet; each will soon find his fate before a greater foe'. At the end of the Eleventh Book² we learn that Turnus deserts the ambush, which he has laid for Æneas, in anger at the news of the death of Camilla. But Vergil adds 'and so the cruel will of Jove demanded'. Just as in the Second Book, the Wooden Horse, which the Trojans themselves are dragging with enthusiasm into their city, is said to arrive there by 'fate' (*fatalis machina*).³

So earlier in the same book the cause of the fall of Troy is given⁴ doubly; 'the fates of the gods and the Trojans' own minds' were both bent to destruction. Destiny had decreed that Troy must fall; the Trojans fulfilled this destiny by their cowardice in leaving Laocoon to perish unaided—their panic is four times⁵ mentioned—and by interpreting his death as due to his wicked daring, not to their own folly.

The same double thought appears in the taunt of Remulus to the Trojans, 'What god, what madness, drove you to the shores of Italy?'⁶

Above all in the crowning scene of the defeat of Turnus, at the end of the poem, the action of fate, in the shape of the small bird, which Turnus takes for an evil omen,⁷ is put side by side with the inward reproach⁸ of Turnus' own conscience, which he avows after he has fallen. 'I deserve it, I confess' are his first words then. The two causes are almost explicitly identified in the lines in which Vergil tells us first that the 'dread goddess' (that is, the bird by which Turnus is daunted) 'denies him success wherever his valour seeks it'; and then that 'his breast is full of conflicting thoughts, he glances towards the city, hesitates, and then turns to cast his dart, and cannot decide whether to fly or to attack'.⁹

This frequent suggestion, that the will of heaven is, after all, carried out by the action of human beings moved by motives which

¹ X., 432 f.² XI., 901.³ II., 237.⁴ II., 54.⁵ II., 200, 212, 228, 244.⁶ IX., 601.⁷ XII., 862-868.⁸ XII., 894-895 and 931.⁹ XII., 913-917.

they think their own, is characteristic of Vergil's treatment of the whole idea of Providence, and shows some affinity with the Stoic doctrine of the identity of Jove and Fate.¹ But from our present point of view it is only a conspicuous illustration of Vergil's habit of regarding the same thing from more than one standpoint.

But take now a more sharply cut type of this duality, where the two points of view are not identical or even parallel, but definitely contrasted and hostile, so that we feel a certain surprise and are conscious not of two parts of a single fact but apparently of two conflicting if not quite contradictory experiences. In a word, Vergil seems to strike two notes which make not a harmony but a discord. The result is an incongruity which is either amusing or pathetic or both; and sometimes we cannot tell whether humour or pathos is uppermost. Take first an absolutely simple example, so simple that perhaps it may seem almost childish to dwell on it. Among other instructions to the bee-keeper for choosing a place for his beehive Vergil warns him that it must not be near the nests of swallows. Why? Because they will carry off the bees to feed their young. Now how does Vergil describe² this most annoying procedure on the part of the swallows?

Ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam.

Now I venture to think that no other Latin poet, and perhaps no other poet that I can name, of any nation, would have worded this statement quite in that way. It would have been natural for him, one thinks, to write *facilem* instead of *dulcem*—'an easy prey for their cruel nestlings'. That would have enforced the point, namely, the greediness of the baby swallows and the consequent danger to the bees. But it may be objected that *dulcem* for this purpose is just as good as *facilem*; 'a sweet morsel' is just as likely to tempt the

¹ Compare Prof. E. V. Arnold's remark (*Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 390). "Vergil, however, appears truly to hold the Stoic principle that Fate and Jove are one; he thus takes us at once to the final problem of philosophy, the reconciliation of the conceptions of Law formed on the one hand by observing facts (the modern 'Laws of Nature') and on the other hand by recognising the moral instinct (the modern 'Moral Law'). . . . Vergil shows us how they may be in practice reconciled by a certain attitude of mind; and that attitude is one of resignation to and co-operation with the supreme power."

² *Georgics*, IV., 17.

swallows as an 'easily captured' one. True; but what has Vergil done by choosing *dulcem*? We shall see at once if for the word *immitibus* we substitute a more common epithet of young birds, say, *crepitantibus* 'twittering, clamorous'. What should we have then? 'A sweet morsel for their clamouring (i.e. hungry) young'. If Vergil had written that, you would have seen clearly that he was expressing sympathy with the swallows and that he had forgotten to be sorry for the bees. But by using both the word *dulcem* and the word *immitibus*, 'a sweet morsel for their cruel nestlings,' Vergil expresses his sympathy first with the swallows and then with the bees, in one and the same line, much to the schoolboy's perplexity. He does the same thing in the passage where he exhorts the farmer to clear away the long-standing wood and make the land subject to the plough.¹ What is the result? The 'newly conquered land gleams with the sheen of the ploughshare'; but the birds have had to leave their ancient homes and fly aloft deserting their young. There is no doubt of Vergil's meaning. This is the farmer's duty; but all the same it is a tragedy for the birds. So in the fine simile at the beginning of the Twelfth Book of the *Aeneid*, where Turnus is compared to a lion who is wounded but turns at bay and breaks the shaft that has struck him, our sympathy is clearly meant to be roused for the lion's victims; but we are to admire and be sorry for the lion himself. For how is the man who has shot him described? The shaft which the lion breaks is called the shaft of a *latro*, 'a brigand,'² a highwayman who has invaded the lion's country, and set an ambush and forced him to fight. One might search through a goodly number of lion-hunting stories without finding one in which the hunter is described as a 'brigand'. So again in the *Georgics*,³ where Vergil is telling the farmer to dip his sheep again and again in the health-giving river (*fluvio mersare salubri*), how does he describe the sheep who are to be dipped? They are the 'bleating creatures' (*balantum gregem*); and the two contrasted words *balantum* and *salubri* bring before us the whole scene—the terror of the sheep at being seized and dragged to the pool, and the noise they make when the turn of each comes. The epithet 'bleating' suddenly gives us the sheep's point of view instead of the shepherd's, and gives it, of course, with a smile, caught up at

¹ *Georgics*, II., 207-211.² *Aeneid*, XII., 7.³ I., 272.

once by the word *salubri* which shows how benevolent the shepherds are, whatever the sheep may think.

In all these cases Vergil practises a kind of brief quotation, a sort of suppressed "oratio obliqua". He describes part of the scene for a moment, as it appeared to the eyes of one of the actors in it. It is this which makes the story of the competitors in the Games¹ so fresh and full of life; every one of them, in this way or that, is somehow allowed to present his own case; and we follow the rising and falling fortunes of each in sympathy quite as much with those who fail as with those who win.

In the larger lines of the story of the *Æneid* everyone will remember how continually it is shaped as a dialogue² between two actors, very rarely more than two; for example, between Jove and Venus, or between Dido and Ilioneus, in the First Book. And it is not only in the dialogues that this antithetic habit appears. The action is continually shared by two leading characters at a time, each presented to us with almost equal sympathy. Illustration is really needless.³ But we may glance at one typical scene, that between Juno and Venus in the celestial debate in Book X. The book opens upon an assembly of the gods which has been summoned by Jove, who hopes to persuade the rival partisans to come to an agreement and so to end the war in Latium without further bloodshed. When Jove has stated the situation, and mildly deprecated their quarrel, Venus breaks in with a long plea on behalf of the Trojans, appealing to the oracles of Fate which had been so often declared to *Æneas*. Why, she asks, has Jove permitted the resistance of the Latins? Why are the Latins allowed to attack the camp just when *Æneas* has gone to seek help from Evander? Why must her dear Trojans be for ever in danger? The plea, like most of the speeches of Venus, is pathetic and ingenious rather than forceful; and it is not without covert allusions to Juno, as the source of the mischief, though Juno is not expressly named, but only described as 'she'—the guilty 'she'

¹ *Æneid* V., for instance in the ship-race, 150-243.

² He had of course many examples before him, especially the frequent pairs of speeches in Homer, Thucydides and Greek Tragedy, as Prof. Anderson reminds me.

³ The poet's intense sympathy with both *Æneas* and Dido in Book IV. is of course the most striking example; see *Great Inheritance*, pp. 149 ff.

who had sent Iris from the clouds to encourage Turnus to fight, and raised the fury Allecto from hell to incite the Latins. By this complaint Juno is roused to great anger and replies¹ fiercely and directly to Venus, altogether forgetting "to address the chair". A rough paraphrase will show the character of her speech; and it is really well to ask the reader to recollect that Æneas is Vergil's hero:—

Then hotly moved
 Queen Juno spake: ' Why wilt thou have me break
 Deep silence, and proclaim the wrath I veiled?
 Did god or man compel Æneas now
 To challenge war in Italy, or rouse
 The King's resistance? Oracles, forsooth,
 And mad Cassandra's ravings, drave him on
 To Italy? So be it; did they too
 Bid him desert his men and put to sea,
 Disturb the loyal peace of Tuscan tribes,
 And leave a boy in charge of camp and war?
 What cruel power of heaven or mine constrained him?
 What share had I? What rainbow-messenger
 Prompted such folly? Dost thou count it crime
 If Latin hands gird yon new Troy with flames,
 Or Turnus fight to save his fatherland?
 What censure hast thou then for Trojan hordes
 Seizing Italian fields and driving cattle
 And flinging deadly brands on Latin towns?
 Choosing new kin, they drag affianced brides
 From lawful husbands, humbly sue for peace
 But nail upon their prows the badge of war.

Why hast thou stirred a city big with battle,
 Kindling fierce hearts? Was I concerned to sink
 Your fallen fortunes deeper in the dust?
 I? or the man who threw unhappy Troy
 Into Greek hands to spoil? Where lay the guilt
 That mingled continent with continent
 In war, and broke their treaties by a theft?
 Did I take Paris into Spartan homes?
 Did I breed war and give it Love for food?
 'Twas then thou shouldst have taken thought to save
 Thy darlings; now too late thy anger flames,
 In taunts that lost their meaning long ago'.

This eloquent protest did not convince Jupiter, who is merely grieved at the continued hostility of the rival goddesses, and dismisses

¹ *Æneid*, X., 62-95.

the assembly of the gods as useless. Fate must do its work without their help. But Juno's speech has had at least one success; it has deceived no less a critic than Prof. Saintsbury into thinking that its rhetorical statement about Lavinia, where Juno speaks of 'dragging brides from their lawful husbands,' really corresponded to the facts, instead of being a partisan misrepresentation. Lavinia, of course, was never betrothed¹ to Turnus, but was solemnly betrothed to Æneas. We will not, therefore, follow Prof. Saintsbury quite so far; but we may at least agree that the case against Æneas and the Trojans is vigorously and sympathetically presented.

Observe further that this antithetic, dramatic habit of Vergil's mind, his way of quickly changing from the point of view of one of his characters to the view taken by some one else (who is perhaps an enemy) continually gives an undertone of humour even to the dignified story of the Epic. In the most solemn of all the Books, that which describes the Descent into the Underworld, what restrained amusement colours the picture of old Charon with his soiled raiment and unkempt hair—but with the green and fresh old age—of what? Of a god.² Or of the Sibyl, who has always "a threat upon her lips but a concession in her heart". One feels that Vergil, "in his shy way," is looking at the old-world figure of the priestess, both as she appeared to Æneas and as the professional dealer in oracles appeared to the critical student of human history in Vergil's own day. There is, indeed, one line in the *Æneid* which amounts to direct and bitter satire; satire of a kind, which, if it had occurred in a Christian poet, would have been regarded as something like blasphemy. In the Twelfth Book, who is the leader of the Latins who persuades them to refuse to let Turnus fight in single combat, and who thus makes them break the truce to which their king has solemnly sworn? It is the augur Tolumnius. He had seen what he took for a portent; a flock of swans forcing an eagle to release one of their number whom it was carrying off. This the swans did by flying above the eagle and pressing³ him down by mere weight of numbers. Tolumnius cries out with pious exultation: 'This, this is what I have prayed

¹ Except perhaps in virtue of Amata's *ius maternum* (*Æn.* 7, 402), which probably meant more in primitive Latium than at Rome (*Æn.* xi. 340); see Brit. Acad. Proceedings III. (*Who were the Romans?*) p. 16.

² VI., 304.

³ XII., 259.

for again and again ; I recognise and accept heaven's answer to my prayers. Follow me, ye Latins, and grasp your swords.' And he goes on to promise them, in virtue of his sacred authority, that the wicked invader, namely Æneas, shall be routed by their united effort, just as the eagle has been routed by the troop of swans. What is the sequel ? When the battle has begun Tolumnius himself¹ is slain. Such was the answer to his prayer.

I must not linger on these examples of Vergil's keen sense of the incongruous ; but I cannot leave altogether unmentioned the strange case of the young Ascanius—though if anyone pleads that it is even more natural than strange, I can hardly demur. Somehow Vergil never seems to mention Ascanius without a smile. Think of him first in the Sack of Troy, while his parents are weeping because his grandfather will not leave their home to escape the approaching flames ; the child, of course, is only half conscious of the trouble. But it is on him that the miraculous sign appears, ' a harmless halo of flame plays upon his curls '.² His anxious parents try to extinguish the flame by pouring water over it ; but the old Anchises recognises it as an omen and prepares to depart. Later on when Æneas is carrying his father on his back and his wife follows behind, the little Ascanius holds his hand, ' keeping up with unequal steps, ' ³ adds Vergil. I wonder how many other poets, in describing such a scene, would have found room to mention the child's short steps. Wordsworth, you will say : but then perhaps Wordsworth might have omitted to mention anything else. Again, when Dido and Æneas ride out to their fateful hunt in the woods,⁴ each attended by stately troops of followers, it is clear that the one person in the whole multitude who is full of pure delight is the boy Ascanius, ' riding on a swift horse leaving behind now one band of comrades, now another, and longing that he may have (not mere stags to hunt but) some foaming boar or tawny lion from the Libyan hills ' ; his bright figure is like a gleam of sunshine across the lurid sky. Or again take the scene in Book V. when the desponding old ladies of the Trojan host in Sicily have been evilly inspired to set fire to the ships, so as to put an end to their wanderings. News is brought to the warriors who are absorbed in the Games, and Ascanius at once breaks away from his own part in them and

¹ XII., 461.² II., 683.³ II., 723.⁴ IV., 156-159.

rides off to the beach at full speed¹ greatly to the dismay of his tutors. 'Why, you must be mad,' he cries, 'my poor ladies, what can you be expecting? This is not the camp of the enemy, it is your own hopes that you are giving to the flames. See, I am your own Ascanius'; and, like a boy, he pulls his helmet off and dashes it down on the ground before them, so that they may see at once who it is. There is an echo of the same delicate, sympathetic humour wherever Ascanius appears in the fighting in the later books, though it would take too long to trace it here.

In all these cases the reader's sense of incongruity is aroused just because the point of view of the narrator is changed. For example, in the first case, from the thoughts of the anxious parents with their pail of cold water which is to extinguish the mystic flame, the point of view shifts suddenly to the insight of the old Anchises who discovers what the portent means. In the second example we pass from the absorbing anxiety of Æneas in burning Troy to his feeling seven years after in retrospect, when he realises the picture of little Ascanius trotting by his side quite unconscious of the danger, only thinking, perhaps, that his father is walking rather fast.

But does all this, it may be asked, illustrate anything more than a habit of Vergil's imagination, lively enough and perhaps characteristic? What has it to do with philosophy in any shape? And after all, why be concerned to ask about Vergil's philosophy at all, when, in the revelation which he gives us through the lips of Anchises in the Sixth Book, he declares explicitly the truth of a large part of the regular Stoic creed? Especially its pantheistic belief in the World-soul, that is, in the divine origin of all life and the share in the divine nature which every living thing can consequently claim. Further, the characteristically Stoic doctrine (though the Stoics were not the first to invent it) of the wickedness inherent in matter; and how evils of every kind spring from our material bodies—the excitements of passions and fears, of pain and pleasure. All this, you say, and say with truth, Vergil declares to us on the high authority of Anchises, and Anchises in Elysium, as something which Æneas was told to believe quite seriously. Why then look further for any philosophic attitude on Vergil's part, when his own utterances in one of the latest parts of his work seem to pledge him so clearly to a Stoic creed?

¹ V., 667.

But to this question there is an answer. It is that we must not judge Vergil's theory of life merely by one passage of twenty or thirty lines taken in isolation from the rest. I have no doubt that Vergil was wholly sincere in commending the Stoic doctrines that I have mentioned; and he certainly commended also the Stoic pursuit of virtue for its own sake. But if we ask whether he accepted their theoretic ideal of philosophic calm, that is, of complete indifference to joy and to sorrow, as the aim of the philosopher's endeavour, that which we popularly understand by Stoicism to-day, and which was certainly a part of their creed generally recognised in Vergil's time and later, then, surely truth compels us to reply that in that sense Vergil was not a Stoic, nor was even Anchises, at the very height of his revelation, whatever he might preach. For Anchises rejoices¹ keenly with Æneas in the greatness of Rome to be; and Anchises weeps bitterly² over the bereavement which Rome suffered in the death of the young Marcellus. When, therefore, Vergil puts upon the lips of Anchises³ the famous Stoic doctrine that desire and fear, sorrow and joy, are all equally the fruit of our evil material condition, he does not and cannot mean, we may be quite sure, every kind of sorrow and every kind of joy, but only the selfish kinds, akin to the selfish fears and covetings which the first half of the maxim condemned. That is, clearly, the limit within which Vergil could accept or meant to accept the Stoic creed. Some joys and some sorrows were to Vergil the most sacred and the most precious part of life.

This brings us to my last and chief point—Vergil's attitude to what seemed to him the supreme paradox of life; the supreme example which proved the need of stating things by antithesis, of always seeing two sides to every human event. Let me state simply what I think to have been Vergil's view; and let me confess that my perception of what he felt has been probably quickened by the tragic experience of the last six years—an experience only too closely resembling that of Vergil's generation in the last seventeen years of the Civil Wars. There was only one thing to Vergil that really mattered in this world, and that was the affection of human beings, their affection first for their own human kind, secondly for their fellow-creatures, and

¹ VI., 718.

² VI., 868.

³ *Hinc metuunt cupiuntque dolent gaudentque*, VI., 733.

thirdly, for the power which we call Nature, who to Vergil was a being not less throbbing with life and affection, not less bountiful of love to men, than any human mother to her child. Need I attempt to illustrate this supreme characteristic of Vergil's personality? Through all the ages it is this which has endeared him to thousands of unknown readers who, through the veil of mist raised by the strangeness of his tongue and the distance of his times from their own, have felt the central, inner glow of his human affection, the throbbing pulse of that great heart. Think of his picture in the *Georgics* of the farmer at home with his children 'hanging round his kisses'; think of the delight with which he notes the ways of animals small and great, but especially the small ones—birds and insects and little creatures of the soil; how more than once¹ he bursts into an enthusiastic avowal of gratitude to the beneficent power that strews men's path with blessings. But perhaps, since the *Aeneid* is less often read as a whole, we are less conscious how often the same note sounds in that poem. Think of the line in the Sixth Book where, among those who receive the highest honour in Elysium, the snow-white garland, the last class consists of those who, 'by their good deeds, have made two or three folk remember them' (*quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo*). With what gentle sympathy does Vergil sketch the figure of every aged man—Anchises, Evander, Latinus—and of every youth—Pallas and Lausus, Nisus and Euryalus? Or when Galaesus is slain at the outbreak of the fighting in Book VII., failing in his effort to pacify his countrymen, how many readers have noted how his flocks and herds at home and all the people of his farm are brought into the picture to represent the mourning for their master? Or when Menoetes falls in the last battle,² how we are bidden to think of the little hired farm which he had taken over from his father and the peaceful life there on which he had counted? Think again of the feeling shown for Silvia's pet stag, whose accidental wounding by Ascanius, in his hunt, is the signal for the outbreak of war. This incident is actually censured by a wise modern critic as merely pretty (genrehaft) and purely Alexandrine, quite beneath the dignity of the Epic!

But I need not prolong the enumeration. Let me ask the reader

¹ *Georgics*, II. 323 ff.; 433; 516.

² XII., 517.

now to realise the tragic paradox which Vergil found beneath this loving-kindness of the world, the fact that our human affection is the source both of the only joys worth counting joys, and of the only sorrows worth counting sorrows. Every one of the troubles of the *Aeneid*, every one of its tragedies, springs ultimately from this. The tragedy of Dido, first from the misguided affections¹ of Juno and Venus, and then from her own; the tragedy of Juturna from her love for her brother; the war in Latium from Silvia's affection for her stag and her followers' affection for Silvia; the second war from Turnus' love for Lavinia and his followers' devotion to Turnus; the tragedies of Brutus and Torquatus, briefly mentioned in the vision of Anchises; the tragedy of Marcellus, pictured in golden lines at the end of the same revelation—the essence of all these lies in the affection of some men or women, ill guided or ill governed, or crossed by physical calamity. With the solitary exception of Drances (who plays but a small part) there is no such motive in the whole of the *Aeneid* as that from which the *Iliad* starts, the high-handed selfishness of one primitive chieftain compensating himself by robbing another? Compare and contrast with this the crowning scene of the *Aeneid* in which the conquered Turnus might have been spared but for what to the ancient mind was his inhuman cruelty to Pallas and his father, of which he still wore the trophy in the baldric of Pallas girt upon his own shoulder. Such an offender must not survive into the new era; the violence of Turnus would have continued to trample on the sacred laws of humanity; yet even Turnus Vergil could not doom without a note of pity; in the last words of the whole epic the soul of Turnus passes 'indignant to the shades'.²

Now it was in this common source of human sorrow and human joy that Vergil found the supreme paradox which for him wrapped the world in mystery. Yet strange and mysterious as the contradiction was, he held it to be the key of life.

Here then we have reached the centre of Vergil's thought. All the sorrow and all the joy of the universe seemed to him to spring from one root, and he accepts, nay, he welcomes them both. There

¹ These were of a political, nationalist type, but affections none the less; see a fuller discussion of this in *Great Inheritance*, p. 161.

² This point is developed more fully in *The Messianic Eclogue of Vergil*, p. 46.

could be no human affection, so Vergil saw, unless it were such as to make its possessors capable, and capable in equal degrees, both of the most exquisite suffering, and of the most exquisite joy. This to him is the fundamental fact of the universe—that all pain and all joy is to be measured simply in terms of human love. And if you ask him his last word upon this mystery, the mystery on which he has pondered year after year, viewing it from both sides, through all his study of life, he will tell you that the Golden Bough is always found in the shadows of the forest, when it is sought in fulfilment of duty. And while others may turn away from the sight or thought of those shadows in mere dread or disbelief, Vergil will bid us, like his hero, pluck the Golden Bough eagerly and trust it gratefully, to bring us through even darker shadows out into the light beyond; to trust that somewhere, somehow, Death itself is overcome by the power and persistence of Love.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.¹

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IN the *Convivio*, Dante discusses one aspect of what we should now call the personal element in literature : whether an author should speak of himself in his book. It is, he says, unlawful for a man to do so without a necessary reason. For a man cannot speak of any one without either praising him or blaming him ; both which kinds of discourse are in bad taste, *rusticamente stanno*, in the mouth of a man himself ; and, further, there is no man who is a true and just measurer of himself, so does our self love deceive us. Nevertheless, there are times and occasions when it is not only legitimate but necessary, for his own sake or for the sake of others, that a man should speak of himself :—

“ Verily I say that, for necessary reasons, to speak of oneself is permitted. And among the other necessary reasons two are most manifest. The one is when, without discoursing of oneself, great infamy and peril cannot be made to cease ; and then it is permitted on the ground that, to take the less evil of two paths, is as it were to take a good one. And this necessity moved Boëthius to speak of himself, in order that, under cover of consolation, he might defend himself from the perpetual infamy of his exile, by showing it to be unjust—since no other defender arose. The other is when, by discoursing of oneself, very great utility follows therefrom to others by way of instruction ; and this reason moved Augustine in his *Confessions* to speak of himself ; for by the process of his life, which was from evil to good, and

¹ The substance of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library 12 October, 1921.

from good to better, and from better to best, he gave example and instruction, which could not else be received on so true a testimony.”¹

This passage indicates the two main elements in the autobiography of the *Divina Commedia*. Like Boëthius, Dante would defend himself “from the perpetual infamy of his exile, by showing it to be unjust”; like Augustine, by the process of his life, he would give “example and instruction, which could not else be received on so true a testimony”. In the story of his outer life, the sacred poem is an apologia; in the story of his inner life, it is a confession of spiritual experience.

It is curious to notice how, now and again in the poem, Dante, as it were, tries to reconcile the theory of its being illegitimate for a man to speak of himself with the fact that the very nature of his theme is compelling him to do so throughout. When Farinata degli Uberti questions him about his family, the poet says: “I, who was desirous to obey, concealed it not, but opened the whole to him”;² but he never gives his own name to any soul, nor in any other case reveals his identity to anyone who does not already know him. He is content, as a rule, simply to let them understand that he is a living man;³ and, when they recognise from his speech that he is a Tuscan, to say that he comes from the banks of the Arno, or, at the most, from Florence. Thus, he answers the Frati Godenti: “I was born and grew up on the fair river of Arno at the great city, and I am with the body that I have always had”.⁴ To Guido del Duca he adds an excuse for his reticence: “Through the midst of Tuscany there spreads a stream which rises in Falterona, and a hundred miles of course does not content it. From its banks I bring this body; to tell you who I am would be to speak in vain, because my name as yet has slight renown.”⁵ To Bonagiunta’s question, whether he sees before him the author of the canzone, *Donne ch’avete intelletto d’amore*, he merely replies with a definition of poetical inspiration: “I am one who, when love inspires me, take note, and, in that fashion which he dictates within, do I give utterance”.⁶ When at last his

¹ *Convivio*, i. 2.

² *Inferno*, x. 43-44.

³ Cf. *Purgatorio*, xi. 55: “Cotesti che ancor vive e non si noma”.

⁴ *Inf.*, xxiii. 94-96.

⁵ *Purg.*, xiv. 16-21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xxiv. 52-54.

name is uttered, on the lips of Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise, it is introduced as it were apologetically : " When I turned at the sound of mine own name, that of necessity is here set down ".¹

Incidentally, Dante tells us in the *Inferno* the year of his birth, and in the *Paradiso* the season. He is " nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita," that is, in his thirty-fifth year, and it is now " mille dugento con sessanta sei anni " since the first Good Friday.² That is, it is now 1300, and Dante was therefore born in 1265. In the Stellar Heaven, he invokes his natal stars, the constellation of the Twins : " O glorious stars, O light fulfilled with great virtue, from which I acknowledge all my genius, whate'er it be, with you was rising and with you was setting he who is father of every mortal life, when I first felt the Tuscan air ".³ That is, he was born when the Sun was in the sign of Gemini, which would be between the middle of May and the middle of June ; and we know more precisely from Boccaccio that the poet's birthday was in May. According to Dante's theory of the correspondence of the angelic orders with the heavens, and the communication of their power to the spheres, the specific virtue of these stars—as part of the Stellar Heaven—is that of the Cherubim, whose name is interpreted *plenitudo scientiæ*, the order of angels that sees most into the hidden things of God and whose function it is to spread the knowlege of Him upon all beneath them.

The scene with Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise tells again, in the light of fuller experience, the spiritual story of the *Vita Nuova*, the love that was the motive power of the poet's early days, when the revelation of earthly beauty in his lady became the guiding star to lead his soul to the quest of the divine beauty ; her " ascent from flesh to spirit," and Dante's changed life in the years that followed her death, when " he turned his steps along a way not true ".⁴ His first literary triumph—the composition of the canzone, *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore*, which revealed the new poet to his contemporaries—is recorded in the scene with Bonagiunta.⁵ His services in the army of the Commune have left their trace in more than one passage ;⁶ his

¹ *Purg.*, xxx. 62-63.

² Cf. *Inf.*, i, 1 ; *Conv.*, iv. 23 ; *Inf.*, xxi. 113.

³ *Par.*, xxii. 112-117.

⁴ *Purg.*, xxx. and xxxi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiv. 49-51.

⁶ *Inf.*, xxi. 94-96, xxii. 1-9 ; *Purg.*, v. 91-123.

friendships with Carlo Martello and Casella (both of whom he associates with his later canzoni), his more intimate connection with Forese Donati and with Guido Cavalcanti, the one the companion of less worthy episodes, the other, whom he had once been proud to call the first of his friends, now unable to accompany him in his spiritual journey through the other world, inspire lines too familiar to need quotation.

The autobiography of Dante centres in the story of his exile, and for this the scene with Brunetto Latini is the preparation : that heart-rending scene of mutual recognition : " Siete voi qui, ser Brunetto ? " Brunetto Latini is, to some extent, a companion picture to Farinata degli Uberti. Farinata represented the chivalry and turbid patriotism of the Ghibelline nobles of Florence, Brunetto the highest type of the Guef burghers who had overthrown them. Michele Scherillo has aptly defined him as " a modest Cicero of Guef Florence ". The period in which Dante came under Brunetto's influence was that of the latter's old age and greatest political activity ; the decade from 1282 to 1292, which in Florentine history ran from the institution of the priors as the chief magistrates of the Republic to the final triumph of the *secondo popolo* with the Ordinances of Justice. It is during those years, in the documents published by Del Lungo, that we find Brunetto taking part in the various councils of the State, giving his opinion, which is usually accepted and acted upon by the government. The phrase, *placuit quasi omnibus secundum dictum dicti ser Burnecti* (" almost all voted according to the speech of the said Ser Brunetto "), is several times repeated in these records, as the normal result when Brunetto had spoken. Following Scherillo's suggestion, we can surmise the relations between Brunetto and Dante. As the poet grew up, he found the older man, not only a light of the philosophical learning set forth in his *Trésor*, but a type of the highest patriotism that the faction-tossed Florentine commune could produce ; while Brunetto saw in the youth, who no doubt became in some sort his disciple, one in whom his ideal of a citizen might be fulfilled, one prepared to bring the highest culture of his age and the dream of the glories of ancient Rome to the service of the new Italian State. " If thou follow thy star, thou canst not miss the glorious harbour, if I discerned well in the beauteous life ; and, if I had so died too soon, seeing heaven so gracious to thee, I would have urged thee on to the

work”¹ Brunetto here refers primarily to Dante’s political work for Florence. “E s’io non fossi sì per tempo morto.” In this line, as occasionally elsewhere in the poem, *per tempo* has the sense of “too soon”.² It was just too soon for him to assist the poet in his political career, for Brunetto died in 1294, over eighty years old, the year before Dante entered political life as a member of the special council of the Captain in November, 1295. The eighteen lines that follow contain Dante’s own political apologia, which he is to hear repeated on the lips of Cacciaguida. The ungrateful Florentine people “will become, for thy good deeds, thy foe”. “Thy fortune has this much honour in store for thee, that the one party and the other shall hunger for thee; but far from the goat shall be the herbage.” The earlier commentators understand “hunger for thee” in a good sense, “desire to make thee one of themselves”; the moderns, for the most part, in a sinister fashion, “desire to devour thee”. In either case, we have Dante’s testimony to the influence of Brunetto on his own life:—

“‘If my prayer were wholly fulfilled,’ I answered him, ‘you would not yet be placed in banishment from human nature; for in my mind is fixed, and now pierces my heart, the dear and kind paternal image of you, when in the world, from time to time, you taught me how man makes himself eternal; and how much I cherish it, while I live, must needs be shown forth in my tongue’”.³

The vague prophecies of exile, which Dante hears at intervals throughout the poem, become explicit in the *Paradiso*, where the apologia placed on the lips of Brunetto receives a fuller commentary from Cacciaguida:—

“As Hippolytus departed from Athens, by reason of his pitiless and treacherous stepmother, so from Florence needs must thou depart. This is willed, this is already being sought, and soon will it be done for him who thinks it, there where Christ is put to sale each day. The blame will follow the offended party in report, as it is wont; but the vengeance shall be witness to the truth that deals it.”⁴

Cacciaguida is speaking from the standpoint of April, 1300. It is difficult to imagine that, at that precise moment, Dante was marked out for special destruction at Rome. The reference is probably to

¹ *Inf.*, xv. 55-60.

² Cf. *Inf.*, xxvi. 10: “E se già fosse, non saria per tempo”.

³ *Inf.*, xv. 61-87.

⁴ *Par.*, xvii. 46-54.

the plot against the liberties of the Republic, concocted at the papal court by three Florentines in the service of the Pope, which was discovered in that month of April, and may be regarded as the first step in the papal policy that led to Dante's exile.

As we know, Dante was a member of the Signoria from 15 June to 14 August, 1300. He entered upon office when the rival factions of the Bianchi and Neri had already "come to blood," and about the same time as a papal legate, Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta, arrived in Florence in the name of Pope Boniface—the pontiff who, a month previously, had demanded from Albert of Hapsburg the absolute renunciation to the Holy See of all rights claimed by the Emperor in Tuscany. On the first day of Dante's office, the sentence passed in the previous April against the three Florentine papal conspirators was formally consigned to him and his colleagues, and, in some sort, ratified by them. Nevertheless, the poet and his fellow priors—while putting the aristocratic leaders of both factions under bounds outside the territory of the Republic—avoided a direct rupture with the papal legate. It was the succeeding Signoria, after Dante had left office, which not only recalled the exiled Bianchi (on the plea of the illness of Guido Cavalcanti), but brought on a crisis with the Cardinal—who, in September, broke off negotiations and left the city. But in the following year, 1301, we find Dante evidently heading a kind of antipapal opposition, particularly in the famous meetings—famous because the only case in which his actual words have been preserved—of 19 June. The Pope, by letter from Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta, had demanded from the Republic the continuance of the service of a hundred horsemen. In a united meeting of the Councils of the Hundred, of the Captain, and of the Capitadini (the heads of the Greater Guilds), and again in the Council of the Hundred apart, Dante spoke twice against compliance, urging "quod de servitio faciendo domino Papae nihil fiat".¹ It would also seem that the poet was endeavouring to unite the rich burghers with the people for the defence of the Republic. Among the various occasions on which he is recorded to have spoken in September is one on the 13th of that month, when, in the united Councils, he pleaded for the preserva-

¹ Upon all this subject, see B. Barbadoro, *La condanna di Dante*, in Barbi's *Studi danteschi*, vol. ii. (Florence, 1920).

tion of the Ordinances of Justice. This was the usual course when the State was in danger, but an unusual feature in this meeting was that not only the Greater Guilds (those mainly engaged in wholesale commerce, exportation and importation, and the mercantile relations of Florence with foreign countries), but also the Minor Guilds (which carried on the retail traffic and internal trade of the city) were represented. A passage in Leonardo Bruni's *Life of Dante* seems to imply that this innovation was brought about by the poet's advice.

There can now be little doubt that the once disputed account of Dante's embassy to the Pope, related in detail by Dino Compagni, is substantially historical.¹ At the beginning of October, the Florentine government—then entirely of the Bianchi—induced the allied commune of Bologna to send an embassy to the Pope, and associated with it three ambassadors of their own: Maso Minerbetti, Corazza da Signa, and Dante Alighieri. The three Florentines were to make terms with Boniface so as to avert the coming of Charles of Valois. The Pope received the ambassadors, probably not at Rome, but at Anagni; sent two, Maso Minerbetti and Corazza da Signa, back to Florence to demand submission to his will, but detained Dante. Thus the poet was absent on that fateful All Saints Day, 1301, when Charles of Valois, as papal peacemaker, entered Florence "to joust with the lance of Judas"; but, notwithstanding Leonardo Bruni's statement that he had reached Siena on his way back when he heard of his ruin, it is more probable that he had returned, but fled from Florence after the summons to appear before the new Podestà that preceded the first sentence. This, as we know, is dated 27 January, 1302. With four others, Dante is accused of barratry in the priorate or after leaving that office, and of corruptly and fraudulently employing the money and resources of the Commune against the Sovereign Pontiff and Charles to resist his coming, or against the pacific state of the City of Florence and the Guelf Party, and by similar means causing the expulsion of the Neri from Pistoia and severing that city from Florence and the Church. He is condemned to fine, to two years' exile, and perpetual exclusion from office. A second sentence (10 March) dooms him, with his four companions and ten others, as

¹ Cf. Del Lungo's notes to *La Cronica di Dino Compagni* in the new Muratori (tom. ix., pt. ii).

contumacious, to perpetual exile or death by burning if he falls into the power of the Commune. The correct reading of the charge in the first sentence makes it exclusively one of corrupt practices though with a political purpose.¹ Dante's own words protest his absolute innocence, and imply that his real offence was his opposition to the attempts of the Neri to subject Florence to the domination of the Pope.

"Thou shalt leave everything beloved most tenderly; and this is that arrow which the bow of exile first shoots forth. Thou shalt experience how the bread of others savours of salt, and how hard a path the descending and the mounting by another's stairs."²

Del Lungo has said that, with these lines, "Dante has made his sufferings immortal in the heart of humanity". The precise meaning of what follows is disputed:—

"And that which most will weigh upon thy shoulders will be the evil and senseless company with which thou shalt fall into this valley, which all ungrateful, all mad and impious, will become against thee; but short while after it, not thou, shall have the brow stained red therefrom. Of its brutishness its proceedings will supply the proof, so that it will be well for thee to have made thee a party for thyself."³

The question at issue is the length of time covered by these lines describing the poet's relations and rupture with his fellow exiles. After the two sentences passed against him at the beginning of 1302, the only documentary evidence of his association with them is of 8 June of that year, when, at San Godenzo, Dante with eight others represents his party in making the alliance with the Ubaldini to wage war upon Florence. In a similar document of 18 June, 1303, his name no longer appears in the long list of those who, under the leadership of Scarpetta degli Ordelaifi, signed an agreement with their allies in Bologna. It is therefore a plausible hypothesis that the rupture—which, according to two early commentators, was caused by an accusation of treachery brought against Dante in consequence of the failure of an enterprise of which he had counselled the postponement—and the forming of a party for himself took place between these two dates. The disaster, to which Cacciaguیدا refers, may be taken as the unsuccessful attempt to enter Florence from La Lastra in the summer of 1304. We have no documentary evidence of Dante's movements be-

¹ See Barbadoro, *op. cit.*

² *Par.*, xvii. 55-60.

³ *Ibid.*, 61-69.

tween June, 1302, and October, 1306,¹ when he appears as guest and ambassador of the Malaspina in Lunigiana (the supposed document attesting his presence at Padua in the latter year probably refers to another person). And after 1306 we know no more with certainty, until he pays his homage to the Emperor elect, Henry of Luxemburg, early in 1311. The usual interpretation, then, takes these lines as covering only the first few months of his exile. Del Lungo, on the other hand, holds that Dante, after withdrawing from participation in the active measures of the Bianchi, remained in Tuscany or near at hand, waiting. Although he had "fatta parte per se stesso," they were still the party whose victory would mean his return to Florence. According to this view, these lines cover some six years thus passed (1302-1307), until, in the latter year, the exiles assembled for the last time at Arezzo, and then, in the words of Dino Compagni, "departed all forlorn, and never assembled again".

The answer to the question depends in part upon how we understand the lines that follow :—

"Thy first refuge, thy first hostelry, will be the courtesy of the great Lombard, who bears the holy bird upon the ladder, who towards thee shall have so kindly a regard that, of performing and of asking, between him and thee, that will be first which among others is the slower. With him shalt thou see the one who at his birth was so impressed by this mighty star that notable shall be his deeds."

And Cacciaguیدا continues with the splendid panegyric of Can Grande, a boy of nine years old at the assumed date of the vision—the panegyric, so closely corresponding with the dedicatory letter of the *Paradiso*, and culminating in the mysterious prophecy of his future achievements, which seem to suggest those of the *Veltro*, the coming deliverer of Italy and the political saviour of mediæval society.²

The majority of commentators understand by *il gran lombardo* Bartolommeo della Scala, who held the lordship of Verona from 1301 until his death in March, 1304. On this assumption, Dante would have taken refuge in Verona immediately after his rupture with his fellow-exiles, and would have had no concern, even indirectly, with their later vicissitudes. Del Lungo and Torraca hold that the person indicated is Bartolommeo's brother and successor, Albuino

¹ Cf. *Purg.*, viii. 133-139.

² *Ibid.*, 70-93.

della Scala, who ruled in Verona until October, 1311, and almost from the beginning associated his younger brother Can Grande, a mere youth, with him as the commander of his troops. This would agree with the view that the previous lines cover the whole period of the struggle of the Bianchi to return to Florence, Dante perhaps finding his first refuge at Verona after the final dissolution of the party in 1307. The question is too complicated a one to discuss here, and the evidence hardly permits of a definite decision between the two theories.¹

We may find, I think, unconscious autobiography on Dante's part in the portrait of Romeo of Villanova, the righteous statesman of Provence, unjustly called to give an account of his stewardship, and thereafter wandering in self-chosen exile and poverty; Romeo, whom the poet has placed by the side of Justinian in the sphere of Mercury, among "the good spirits who have been active in order that honour and fame may follow them":—

"Within the present pearl shines the light of Romeo, whose great and goodly work was ill-requited. But the Provençals, who wrought against him, have prospered not, and therefore he treadeth ill who turns another's good deeds to his own loss. Four daughters, and each a queen, had Raymond Berengar, and this for him did Romeo, a lowly man and pilgrim. And then malignant words moved him to demand a reckoning from this just man, who had rendered him seven and five for ten. Thereupon he departed, poor and aged; and, if the world could know the heart he had, as he begged his life morsel by morsel, though much it praise him, it would praise him more."²

"The heart he had," *il cor ch'elli ebbe*: not of course his sorrow, but his unshaken magnanimity of spirit in adversity, saying like the English poet: "I am the master of my fate; I am the captain of my soul". The analogy is striking between the mysterious pilgrim who came to Count Raymond's court and the greater pilgrim who has canonised him in the *Divina Commedia*. In the Romeo of the legend, passing away with his mule and staff and scrip as mysteriously

¹ It involves among other things the precise bearing of an apparently uncomplimentary reference to Albuino in the *Convivio* and the problem of the authenticity of the Letter to Cardinal Niccolò da Prato attributed to Dante.

² *Par.*, vi. 127-142.

as he came, there was seemingly no trace of vain glory or shadow of ambition to cause him to win a lower grade in Paradise. But to Dante, that zealous searcher into the secret things of the human spirit, this righteous indignation at being called to render an account may have seemed an excessive sensitiveness for the man's own reputation, a sudden revelation of the earthly strain in the character.¹ Dante admits in himself the failing that was that of the spirits in this sphere, at the beginning of the *Monarchia*, where he purposes to extract from its recesses the knowledge of temporal monarchy, not only that he "may keep vigil for the good of the world," but also that he "may be the first to win for his own glory the palm of so great a prize".² And it is clear that he creates the figure of Romeo and interprets his life in the light of his own experience. The same unjust charges of malversation in office were made against himself. The *mendicando sua vita a frusto a frusto*, which seems to be the poet's own addition to the legend of Romeo's passing into obscurity, corresponds only too well with the *peregrino quasi mendicando* with which he describes his own wanderings.³ We may pursue the analogy further, and find the corresponding expression of *il cor ch'elli ebbe*, the heart that Dante had, in the famous letter to the Florentine friend, refusing to return to Florence under humiliating conditions, and speculate whether even that noble utterance, reviewed by the poet from his celestial watch-tower of contemplation, might not have revealed to him something of the same spirit as appeared in Romeo's magnanimous shaking the dust of Provence from off his feet.

It is profoundly impressive to observe the contrast in tone in the *Divina Commedia*, when, instead of apologia, it becomes confession. The proud sense of political righteousness yields throughout to an intense spiritual humility. We have only to compare the lines spoken by Cacciaguیدا or Brunetto Latini with those uttered by Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise, where Dante for shame cannot meet her eyes.⁴ The famous passage in the Letter to Can Grande—defending the power of the human intellect to be so exalted in this life as to transcend the measure of humanity, and rebuking (by the example of

¹ I owe this suggestion to Dr. Wicksteed's note in the Temple Classics *Paradiso*.

² *Mon.*, i. 1.

³ *Conv.*, i. 3.

⁴ *Purg.*, xxx. 103-145, xxxi. 1-69.

Nabuchodonosor) the carpenter who "cry out against the assignment of so great an exaltation because of the sin of the speaker"—justifies us, if the internal evidence of the poem itself be thought insufficient or inconclusive, in taking the *Divina Commedia* as the record of Dante's own spiritual experience. We are surely, then, to regard the *selva oscura* of the opening canto as the symbol of the poet's own moral state, when "so low he fell, that all means for his salvation were already scant, save showing him the folk in Hell".¹ We are to hold that the conversion, through Grace sent by Mercy, of which love was the inspiration and human philosophy the first means, was what he deemed to have been his; that he is the man whose soul, hardly touched by envy, was yet weighed down with the fear of the torment of the proud;² whose eyes were apt to be blinded by wrath, but who yet could be led through that "bitter and foul air" by the voice of reason.³ Though borne up "even to the sphere of fire" by the eagle of the spirit, he yet is tempted to listen for a while to the song of the siren of the flesh.⁴ The immeasurable burning, that purifies the sensual, must be endured by his soul before he can attain the peace of a good conscience in the Earthly Paradise.⁵ Love, the love that a woman had taught him on earth, becomes at last the guide through successive stages of illumination to the divine union; for he, too, even in life, had experienced that "moment of understanding," of which St. Augustine and St. Monica spoke together, here and now, which is the anticipation of the eternal life of the hereafter.

¹ *Purg.*, xxx. 136-138.

² *Ibid.*, xiii. 133-138.

³ *Ibid.*, xvi. 1-15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 30; xix. 10-24

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxvii. 10-51.

THE STUDY OF MEDIÆVAL CHRONICLES.¹

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IT is, I hope, no longer necessary to justify a systematic effort to equip the young historian with the tools of his trade and to show him practically how to use them. Yet though a great deal has been done towards attaining such an end during the last few years, it still remains the case that this country is behind the other great states of the west in the facilities which it provides for teaching students of history how to become historians on their own account. Long ago we have perfected a system of preparing students for examinations in all subjects of academic study. We may proudly boast that our system has nothing like it in France, Germany or America, and that it can only be paralleled in pre-revolutionary China. In some subjects, notably in the experimental sciences, we have supplemented this by training in research, and in many subjects, notably in history, we have slowly but surely provided instruction in the technicalities of the historian's craft and we have always had in our subject the priceless stimulus of the example of master workers, many of whom at least have always shown the utmost willingness to help and encourage the individual investigator. Above all, we have done something—though not enough—towards reducing our triposes and honour schools to their true insignificance as the starting-point, rather than as the chief qualification, for an academic career. The ancient fetish called “order of merit” is now dethroned even in the temples once thronged by its votaries. Professorships are generally, but not I fear always, given to the best worker in his subject rather than to the happy possessor of

¹ This lecture was first delivered in the Arts School at Cambridge, on 6 February, 1920, and was repeated, with trifling alterations, at the John Rylands Library, on 9 November, 1921.

the most "brilliant degree," or the most attractive social gifts. Sometimes, but not I fear very generally, even in elections to college lectureships in the older universities, work done as well as examination record is taken into consideration. Things are really getting on very well and if we really are going to do what, not long ago, was on everybody's lips, namely embarking on a policy of educational reconstruction, we have now a unique opportunity of setting our houses in still better order.

It is gratifying to record that important steps have already been taken to secure this desirable end. Every university has now a scheme for a new degree, called the Doctorate in Philosophy, and the idea underlying it is that the possession of the degree shall indicate that the recipient has not only himself produced a piece of work that shows a recognised standard of scholarship or learning and marks a real advance in the knowledge of the subject studied, but that he has undergone a course of instruction in the methods and technique of his craft, that he can produce original work because he has been taught by masters the conditions under which original work should be done. How far every University is in practice living up to this ideal can only be determined when we have seen what sort of men and women the new degree courses actually turn out. But there is already one regrettable deviation from this ideal to be noted in the fact that the University of London apparently offers this degree to "external students," whose fitness is to be judged simply by the work they offer, and who, so far as I gather, have not necessarily been subject to any instruction at all in the technique of their subject. This is a striking example of the want of uniformity of standard and ideal still prevailing among the British universities. It is much to be hoped that it will be the exception that proves the rule.

The Ph.D. degree is not, of course, one limited to historians, but it meets the wants of the would-be historian in a fashion that is hardly so completely the case in some other subjects within the ken of a faculty of arts. Indeed, the methods of training the historian are in some special ways more analogous to those of the natural sciences rather than to those of many of the more impalpable "humanities". There is in fact no subject, outside the experimental sciences, which lends itself so easily to a course of practical training in technique as history. History gives opportunities for talents of every sort. It

affords a place for the ordinary man or woman to do useful work according to his capacity, while it can involve processes that tax the highest orders of intelligence. And for all alike the initial stages of training are much the same. We have most of us outgrown the old delusion that it is the business of the plodder to transcribe, edit, and calendar, to "prepare the material" on which the gifted historian is to exercise his superior constructive talent. It is only by learning how to lay his tale of bricks faithfully that the real historian learns his trade. And no methodising of teaching can, or ought, to deprive of his natural advantages the scholar who has imagination and insight. But he will never use his gifts if, in his shy cultivation of Clio the muse, he neglects the preliminary drudgery of the apprentice stage. He will remain the gifted amateur, however beautiful his writing, however brilliant his generalisations.

But we must go back to our starting-point, the "historical teaching of history," as Stubbs once called that education of the historian which he dreamt of but despaired of as an impossibility in his own age and in his own university. This is happily no longer the case, and the historian can now learn his trade in England in quite a satisfactory fashion. The real difficulty is that he still does not know in all cases that he has a trade to learn, and that in even most cases those who call upon him to teach history are even more oblivious of this patent fact. Yet it is gratifying to note quite recently some real steps in advance, notably the foundation of the Institute of Historical Research in London which we owe to the energy and foresight of Professor Pollard, and to the subscribers who answered so munificently to his lead. We in Manchester have now for several years been moving quietly in the same direction. If we were able to appeal to the imagination of the rich after the fashion that seems easy in America, possible in London and in West Lancashire, but less simple to all appearances in our own immediate district, we have here the facilities for a great extension of the technical training of the historian beyond what we are at present in a position to offer. Meanwhile, it is satisfactory to chronicle satisfactory if slow progress. And lecturing in this building it is impossible not to bear testimony to the unique resources of the John Rylands Library in affording us the historical materials which are the implements of our trade and to the courtesy and pains which the chief librarian is daily bestowing in his task of

bringing the facilities which the library offers before the students who work in it.

A training in historical method might well begin with lectures on sources, but as this is not a course but a single lecture, I must be content to-day to speak of one particular historical source, the mediæval chronicle. More particularly I wish to call your attention to the chronicles relating to our national history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was the time when the fairest flowers of mediæval culture attained their perfection. Indeed, before the end of the period the historic flowers began to show that dankness of growth which was the first symptom of their degeneration.

The chronicle of the great period of the middle ages is a huge subject. It compels summary and generalized and therefore commonplace treatment. But before we finally plunge *in medias res*, a final preliminary question suggests itself. This is, what is a chronicle?

The safest definition of the mediæval chronicle is the broad one which includes all narrative written for the purpose of conveying information as to the past. In the Middle Ages a few writers busied themselves with subtle distinctions between the chronicle and the history; for example, Gervase, the thirteenth century monk of Canterbury.¹ In more recent times many practitioners of the art called by the Germans *Historik* have discoursed upon the same problem. But for our period, at all events, I can find no solid basis for such refinements. To begin with, we cannot always learn from the books themselves what titles, if any, the authors designed to give to the products of the pen. The modern author has to have a title, because his publisher insists on a title page, but title pages had not been invented in the Middle Ages, and titles themselves are so rare that the only safe way of identifying a manuscript is from its first and last words, its *incipit* and *explicit*. Few mediæval writers were seriously concerned in the choice of a title, and if they had any interest in the matter, they called their books, not according to what they were, but according to what they wished them to be. A modest man might style a real history by the less pretentious title of Chronicle or Annals. A more blatant writer, unconscious of his own limitations, might, on the other hand, give a very grand name to a very jejune and annalistic compila-

¹ "Gervase of Canterbury," I., 87-88.

tion. The conventionalist took the fashion of his day, while those with some touch of imagination preferred a title that savoured of originality or singularity. There was no prospect of a wide circulation ; no handsome royalties to tempt the mediæval historians to select a striking title. There was no publisher to urge upon him the commercial importance of an arresting label. Moreover, in many cases the titles by which we know mediæval books are the work of transcribers and editors rather than the authors, and some only see the light when the book is printed. How numerous are the mediæval writings, which, like the *Annals* of Tacitus, have titles of later date, destitute of original warranty ? Accordingly, before we can properly discuss the significance of a mediæval title, we must painfully ascertain whether it is due to the editor or to the author. And it is only the more meticulous and up-to-date editor who gives us the material for doing this. Not to labour further at a trivial point, I need only record my profound conviction that mediæval writers used the three terms chronicles, annals, and histories absolutely indiscriminately. When an author wanted a particular title he chose something fanciful. He styled his book *Flowers of History*, *Chronographia*, or *Polychronicon*, or something that sounds big. But when a good title "took on," it became a fashion. Thus we may speak with Stubbs of the "Age of the Flores," and of the transition in the fourteenth century to the "Age of the Polychronicon". This process was the easier, since there was no copyright in titles or in anything else. The flowers of history, planted by Roger Wendover in the fair historical garden at St. Albans, still blossomed, though attaining a smaller size and emitting a less fragrant odour when transplanted to the convent garden of Westminster. They did not entirely revive even when recultivated under the southern skies of Languedoc by Bernard Guy, Bishop of Lodève, the critical and scholarly author of the *Flores Chronicorum*.

Let us turn from the name to the thing. What we have to deal with is the chronicle in this wider sense, the narrative history, compiled under the conditions of the Middle Ages. It begins when the decay of the Romano-Greek conception of an elaborate literary history was drowned, like so much of ancient civilisation, in the flood of barbarism that reduced the Roman Empire to a tradition, an ideal, and a name. But as this submersion was never complete, the

historical literary tradition lingered on even in the darkest ages. Indeed, there were chronicles before and after the Middle Ages, for the human mind always works in certain definite directions, and we must not differentiate too meticulously mediæval man from his predecessors and his successors. Still we may generally speak of the mediæval chronicle as broadly a type. This type gradually assumed its permanent characteristics. It attained its maximum capacity between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. It was in full decline in the fifteenth century. It ended when the renaissance of ancient ideals and the growth of modern conditions of existence made chronicle reading wearisome to the cultivated reader and the composition of a chronicle an unpractical way of communicating historical information.

The chronicle was never in its essence a literary form, for in the Dark Ages few men had interest or care for letters, and when the twelfth century renaissance ushered in the true Middle Ages—the progressive, intellectually active, and artistically sensitive Middle Ages—men of learning and education were so overwhelmed by the flood of scientific specialism that dominated the universities that they cared little for humanism, and set more store on matter than on form, on telling what they wanted to say rather than on the manner of telling it. Most chroniclers wrote badly, some from natural stupidity and carelessness, some from indifference to anything approaching canons of style. But some wrote well and achieved literary success without much conscious effort to secure it, while many had that style which comes from directness, sincerity, clarity of vision and strength of imagination. But their object in general was not a piece of composition but to fulfil a practical need, to supply information, or to prove some case. Sometimes, indeed, the information they sought to convey was not exactly the fact as it had happened. They wrote for many other reasons besides a pure love of truth. The chronicler had to defend his patron, his abbey, his country, his government, his party, his class, or himself. Yet the very nature of his purpose not uncommonly put him in the way of obtaining access to first-hand sources of information. Even a non-historical purpose did not prevent him communicating to his readers much that was perfectly true.

It is the variety of the chronicler's inspiration that makes his output so instructive to us. There was the motive of religious edification which has robbed so much of hagiography of any relation to reality.

There were, too, other sorts of edification which were far from being religious. There was the "official history". Official history, such as in France emanated in various ages from Saint Denis, told the story, not as it had occurred, but as apologists for a policy wished it to have happened. There was, too, the family history, compiled to glorify a hero or to demonstrate the antiquity of a newly arrived stock. Corporate feeling vied with family pride in falsifying truth. There was the history of a university, which must vindicate its respectability by going back to an age which knew nothing of the university, to Alfred the Great, to Charlemagne, to the mysterious Prince Cantaber. There was, too, the history of a religious house, which always wished to trace itself back further than it could, and whose researches into antiquity were sharpened by the practical motive of proving its right to its property. When title deeds were lacking for this purpose, they had to be invented. There was, too, the motive of interesting and amusing, which weighed most powerfully on the compilers of histories for the great public, the illiterate laity, the idle lords and ladies. It was not for nothing that popular history, at first mainly written in verse, was slowly differentiated from the *Chanson de geste* from which it began.

But these motives are, after all, exceptional, and we have no reason for not believing that the average mediæval chronicler did not honestly try to hand on the tale as he received it. But what means had he for ascertaining the facts as they occurred? Under what conditions did he apply his mind to their selection and criticism.

In dealing with the former problem let us confess at once that the mediæval chronicler had very poor opportunities of dealing adequately with the history of any distant period. He had too few books; he had too little criticism; he had too much deference to the authoritative text as written; and he was in the mass of cases a slipshod and easy-going person who was content to copy out what he found in the old book which happened to be accessible to him. Even when he really took pains, he was pulled up short by his inability to imagine that any other age had conditions at all different from those with which he was himself familiar. To him the heroes of ancient days were like the knights and gentlemen he saw around him. They lived in moated and machicolated castles, bore coat-armour, honoured the Virgin and the Saints, and tilted on horseback, clad in armour and provided with

long spears. They had, therefore, little "historical sense": they never appreciated an historical atmosphere different from that which they themselves breathed. Accordingly, the universal histories from the creation downwards in which mediæval writers delighted are mainly interesting to us as illustrations of that illusive phenomenon, the mediæval mind. And this is not only the case with the periods of which both they and we know nothing. It is equally true when a mediæval writer sets himself sincerely to study a period a century or more earlier than his own. Here his want of aptitude for the "comparative method," which lies at the basis of criticism, becomes painfully obvious. He cannot discriminate between his sources. To the compiler of a universal chronicle who approached the Carolingian age, the authentic testimony of an Einhard or a Nithard was no better and no worse than the romance of the Charlemagne cycle which sends the Great Emperor on a crusade to Palestine. To the twelfth-century attempts to restore Celtic antiquity, Arthur and his knights had the same ideals as Godfrey of Boulogne, Frederick Barbarossa or William the Marshal. Like children, they did not see clearly the distinction between truth, sought by an intellectual process, and the romantic product of the imagination. If many of Geoffrey of Monmouth's contemporaries took him for gospel, has he not still his modern disciples? And it was not so long ago that the false Ingulf and Richard of Cirencester were quoted with respect by the learned.

We shall be fairer, then, if we test our mediæval historian by what he could do when he was at his best. That is to say, we must examine his work when he was dealing with contemporary or nearly contemporary times. We all know the difficulties of recent history, and there may still be teachers who maintain that by reason of those difficulties, history, like port wine or whisky, should not be consumed by the tender digestion of the student until it has become matured by long storage in the dry cellar of a muniment room or a library. Yet for us moderns the difficulty of recent history is not so much the impossibility of getting at the essential facts in their proportion, as it is the flood of unimportant and unsifted information in which the true points of knowledge lie concealed. We are buried in the floods of trivialities which the daily press, the memoirist, the dispatch writer, the pamphleteer, the apologist, and the first-hand seeker for truth pour out upon us. How much worse off was the mediæval chronicler in all

these respects! He had practically nothing to depend on save personal observation, the testimony of friends, and the small doles of official information that his rulers thought it worth while to publish to the world. Yet he often made good use of his inferior means of collecting news. We perhaps, knowing that we do not get at facts as he did, are apt to undervalue the facilities which he had at his command.

Let us avoid this mistake. Let us recognise that many chroniclers had good means of information and made good use of them. There are good chroniclers as well as bad chroniclers. The good chronicler was shrewd, circumspect and judicious. He does not easily give himself away, but is ever ready with his *ut fertur* or *ut dicunt*, when he feels his ground unsure. We see how he sought out his knowledge when we read how Matthew Paris was coached by Henry III himself in the details of the translation of St. Edward, how Richard, king of the Romans, instructed the same writer in the cost of the foundation of the church of Hayles, and how Geoffrey the Baker had before him the written memoir of the Oxfordshire knight, Sir Thomas de la More, relating the story of the enforced deposition of Edward II. Froissart illustrates the chronicler who was an unwearied traveller, picking up information, and often no doubt muddling it up in his head, from the roadside and tavern stories of many persons of all ranks whom he encountered on his wanderings. The prefaces of many chroniclers, from Bede onwards, show what a real process of research some of our writers went through before they put pen to parchment. The simplest of chroniclers regarded the natural sources of material as personal knowledge, common gossip, and the correspondence of great men.¹

There was no lack of trouble taken in the Middle Ages to make news accessible, and the chroniclers doubtless took full advantage of the facilities given to the general public to obtain early information of important changes in the law in our country. From the beginning of the twelfth century copies of important laws, like royal charters of liberties, were sent round to the shires and, after publication in the

¹ John of Reading, monk of Westminster, who wrote a chronicle for the years 1325-1345, and modestly described himself as "void of literature and brains," says that he wrote "plus relatione vulgari quam propria consideratione seu litteris magnatum instructus". *Chron. J. de Reading*, ed. Tait, p. 99.

shire moot, deposited in representative local churches. The Ordinances of 1311 were expressly published not only in the shires but in the liberties and the Cinque Ports. In the next generation it was considered that it was part of the business of a knight of the shire or a burgess, when he came home from parliament, to make known to his constituents the laws promulgated in it. Perhaps the repeated re-enactment of many laws may have been the result, not only of important execution, but also of a desire to give them a wider publicity.

If laymen or secular clerks obtained news with difficulty, it seems obvious that monks were still less competent to collect information. Up to the twelfth century at least, a majority of the chroniclers were monks. These were, or ought to have been, recluses by profession, cloistered from the world, uninterested in secular affairs, unversed in war and rarely concerned with politics. Moreover, to many modern eyes, monks saw the world askew. They lived in a cloud of marvel and mystery, greedily sought for the miraculous in the most ordinary operations of nature, were narrow, prejudiced, and superstitious. But no one who knew the twelfth century will recognise much force in either of these accusations. The age which saw the work of Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, who not only administered the affairs of Louis VI but wrote his biography, and the work of St. Bernard, who ruled all Europe from his cloister at Clairvaux, could not regard monks as mere spectators of worldly affairs. Nor was St. Bernard ignorant, though his love of learning was doubtless of an old-fashioned and circumscribed sort. In all practical affairs no one could be nearer the centre of things than those two great monks and the many lesser religious persons who followed, so far as they could, these great masters. And superstition and a cult of the marvellous was not a special prerogative of the monastic orders. I have a shrewd impression that the unlettered layman had a much greater capacity for accepting readily a pious story than the more critical and educated monk or clerk. We may criticise the mediæval point of view, if we like; but we must not regard it as specially monastic.

Some advantages the monastic chronicler possessed. He was not, like the mediæval baronial and ruling class, or like the bishops themselves, a perpetual vagabond. He lived, year in and year out, in a home of his own, where the passing traveller readily sojourned and told his stories of adventure, and where the chronicler occupied a

stately and peaceful dwelling, had books round him in reasonable abundance in the *armaria* of his house, and opportunities of composition and reflection in the compulsory silence of the cloister and the vacant intervals between the regular offices. Moreover, he was a member of a great corporation at a time when corporate spirit was easier to develop than individual self-consciousness. Not only was his own house an organised society for mutual help ; he belonged to a world-wide order. Many great monastic corporations early developed a tradition of historical composition. Knowledge that information given to such a society was likely to be utilised for historical purposes naturally caused historical information to flow to any monastic community intent on writing history, and stirred up the more curious members of the community to seek for it for themselves. The result was a rare continuity of historical writing, which endured from age to age. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, started, as most scholars think, at Winchester by the direction of Alfred, was certainly kept up in its original home for a good century. The continuity becomes greater in later ages, notably in houses like St. Albans, in which the task of writing history was regularly taken up from generation to generation. It has been conjectured by Sir Thomas Hardy, and most of us have followed him without adequate consideration, that the convent of St. Albans appointed a historiographer, to whom the convent assigned the task of writing up the local chronicle. But there seems no early authority for the statement, and the best recent one is the misplacement of a conjectural comma in the modern edition of the *Gesta abbatum*.¹ There was, however, a danger in the continuity of tradition. There was a tendency for this. Such official historians would naturally tend to conform to pattern and we should expect their literary output to show little individuality. Nor is this seldom the case during the three centuries in which St. Albans concerned itself with the writing of history. But individual gifts will rise superior to traditional conditions, and there was no lack of the personal touch in a Roger of Wendover, and still less in Matthew Paris, the most individual of

¹ *Gesta abbatum Sancti Albani*, I. 394, twice (once in heading, once in text) calls Matthew Paris "historiographus," but this need only mean "historian," not an officially appointed abbey historian. In the heading I should read the words, "Monachi Sancti Albani, historiographi," not as Mr. Riley did, "Monachi, Sancti Albani historiographi".

mediæval chroniclers. Sometimes, when we do not so much as know the writer's name, we can discern his personality in his work, as for instance in the fierce diatribe against John of Gaunt and his policy which we read in the anonymous St. Albans' Chronicle of the early years of Richard II.

The continuity of the monastic chronicle was the greater since it was not only carried on generation after generation in the same house, but since friendly or neighbouring convents pooled or interchanged their information. When a society wished to start a chronicle and was too incurious or inactive to compile one on its own, it borrowed, begged or stole the annals of a good-natured community, and continued it in a fashion of its own liking. Thus in the early eleventh century, when the historic fire, kindled by Alfred at Winchester, had grown cold, the monks of Canterbury procured a Winchester manuscript and wrote it up for succeeding generations at Christ Church. It was the same with Worcester or Evesham, with Abingdon and with Peterborough—from all of which abbeys versions of the so-called Anglo-Saxon Chronicle have come down to us. Centuries later it was the same at Westminster, when the reformation and enlargement of St. Peter's abbey by Henry III quickened the intellectual activities of the monks. One result was the transference to Westminster of a short St. Albans' chronicle, called, no doubt by a disciple of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, but quite different from, and indeed very inferior to, that excellent work. But these modest flowers of history were assiduously cultivated year after year by a succession of Westminster monks. That very volume which had been begun at St. Albans in the famous St. Albans' hand, now saw its blank pages gradually filled in by the progressively inferior penmanship in vogue at Westminster. The most individual of the series of Westminster chroniclers was Robert of Reading whose idolatry of the good Earl Thomas of Lancaster is as fierce and malignant as the St. Albans' monk's denunciation of Duke John of Lancaster, nearly two generations later. I call him Robert of Reading for the excellent reason that the official continuator of the Westminster chronicle says that Robert of Reading wrote up to 1326. But the official archives of St. Peter's say that Robert of Reading died in 1318. Here is a glaring contradiction between the statements of two equally official and authoritative sources. One's natural reluctance to believe that the chronicler

went on writing for eight years after his death induces one to prefer the record in this case to the chronicle.

Another Reading, John this time, carried on in a perfunctory way the Westminster annals into the next generation. Under Richard II the Westminster record, like that of St. Albans, becomes interesting and good. We owe this revival of the historic spirit in Westminster Abbey to the unknown monk who wrote a continuation to John of Malvern, prior of Worcester, himself the continuator of Ranulf Higden, monk of Chester. The co-operation between Benedictine houses is here as noteworthy as the annalistic continuity within the same house.

The inter-relations of great churches for co-operation in historical work might be illustrated indefinitely. They go beyond neighbouring houses to convents separated by nationality and geography. Orosius was a common jumping-off point for the writers of universal history of all ages and climes. Marianus Scotus, an Irishman writing at Mainz, compiled a history which Florence, monk of Worcester, continued in England and which was the base of Sigebert of Gembloux's widely circulated *Chronographia*, the most popular of mediæval summaries of universal history, itself the basis of numerous continuations all through Western Europe. But each age had its favourite universal history, just as nowadays each generation feels itself compelled to have its own text-books. But mediæval history, like mediæval life generally, ran in one international channel, and only became tinged with distinctive national features after the thirteenth century.

There was a time when the contemptuous "age of reason" lumped all mediæval histories together as the "monastic chroniclers". This is true to the extent that, up to the end of the eleventh century, the great majority, and the best, of the chroniclers were members of religious orders. From the twelfth century the growing variety of monastic types allowed plenty of variety in monastic histories. But the same period also saw many secular clerks as individuals devoting themselves with success to historical composition, and an equally noteworthy extension of the impulse towards corporate historiography from "religious" to "secular" ecclesiastical foundations. In England the "secular" historian will henceforth hold his own against his "regular" rival. If the best historian of his time, William of Malmesbury, who boldly dared to write critical history after the school of Bede, was a monk, his chief rivals, Henry of Huntingdon

and Geoffrey of Monmouth, cannot be proved to have taken the monastic vows and the holding by both Henry and Geoffrey of so "secular" an office as an archdeaconry makes their monastic quality a somewhat otiose hypothesis. But under Henry II the turn of the secular clerk, trained in the royal court, came with the so-called Benedictus Abbas—whose *Gesta Henrici* was most assuredly not written by the abbot of Peterborough—his continuator the Yorkshire clerk, Roger of Howden and Ralph de Diceto—which must not be translated "of Diss"—the dean of the secular chapter of St. Paul's, London. Though historiography re clothed itself in a more monastic garb under Henry III, and hardly threw it off under Edward I, the monastic element in the fourteenth-century chroniclers rapidly decreased both in quality and quantity. Of the best chronicler of Edward II we have no good reason, except the convenience of an accepted label, for calling him the "monk of Malmesbury". Very constant re-readings of this life of Edward II fails to give me reason either for believing or not believing that the author was a monk, and as little for connecting him with Malmesbury. But I may, in passing, bear my testimony to the accuracy of a writer whose *obiter dictum* that in 1314 all the sheriffs of England were charged in one day can be demonstrated from Chancery and Exchequer records. Under Edward III there is a strong secular preponderance, for Geoffrey Baker, the Oxfordshire parson, Robert Avesbury, the *clericus uxoratus* who earned his bread as an officer of the southern archbishop's court, Adam Murimuth, ecclesiastical lawyer and canon of St. Paul's, and John Froissart, the eminently "secular" clerk from Valenciennes, were all without a touch of the monastic leaven. In the fifteenth century few houses, outside St. Albans and Crowland, produced chronicles of even a modest scale of merit. But we must not suppose that we can necessarily see from their mentality whether a chronicler were a monk or a secular. It would be hard to discover a "monastic" or a "secular" view of life reflected in the two types of work. Their outlook is not essentially different on the average. Adam Murimuth tells us in his preface how in his search for historical material he examined indifferently, cathedral, monastic, and collegiate churches. It was as natural to look for a chronicle in a secular foundation, such as Exeter, as in a monastic foundation, like Westminster.

Some later developments of the "religious" profession have a place

of their own in the history of history. This is the case with the friars, and particularly with the Dominicans whose contributions to history cover a wider field than those of the Franciscans. While the Minorites' historical activity was centred round the fortunes of their own order, and of its famous founders and saints, the preaching friars clothed themselves in the mantle of Sigebert of Gembloux and aimed at writing succinct and digested general histories for the educated man in the street. This was a natural result of their intense educational activity and their practical, orderly, business-like tradition. Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale* sets the type, in a work inspired by a didactic purpose. Martin of Troppau, a Pole or Czech, writing at the papal curia, was another Dominican historian, dry, arid, uninspired, but succinct, useful and easy to take in at a glance. Many of us who have read the English Dominican, Nicholas Trevet's thirteenth-century chronicle, have absorbed a good deal of Martin of Troppau without knowing it. Nearly all Trevet's copious references to foreign history are conveyed textually from Martin's *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*. Nor are Trevet's English additions different in type from his borrowings from Martin. His cut and dried annals, with the facts methodically digested under the years of the popes, emperors, and kings, with few words wasted, but those employed used precisely and distinctly, remind us painfully of the mechanical *clichés* of the modern textbook, and like the better sort of modern textbooks, serve their purpose in an uninspired sort of way. It is just the book for the specialist in other subjects—and all mediæval academic personages were specialists in non-literary fields—to get up in a hurry what he wants to know of recent history for practical purposes. If some of our war statesmen and peace negotiators had read a modern Martin of Troppau or Nicholas Trevet, they might perhaps have appreciated the elementary facts of history without which a rational settlement of, let us say, the problem of Fiume becomes impossible. Meanwhile, let us record the different impression which Dominican historiography makes on us as compared with Franciscan. The whole gulf between the two great mendicant orders is revealed by reading first *De adventu fratrum minorum* and then the Annals of Trevet. If this be too far fetched a contrast, we may more usefully compare Trevet with that portion of the so-called Lanercost Chronicle which is largely of Franciscan provenance.

I must hurry through other historical types which the later Middle Ages produced, and which do much to compensate us for the drying up of the stream of monastic annals. There are the vernacular histories which first leap into prominence when our Henry II and his Queen Eleanor commissioned Master Wace of Jersey to write his *Roman de Rou* and his *Roman de Brut*. The withdrawal of royal favour from Wace to a rival shows that kings and queens, even in those days, were not always sound critics. At first these French chronicles were in verse, for the growing reading or listening public of literate lords and ladies, who were not at home in Latin, preferred poetry to prose. Hence such books as the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* and the so-called *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, narrating the Norman Conquest of Ireland. Prose vernacular history was cultivated earlier in France than in Britain, but from such books written beyond sea we get some of our best illustrations of our early thirteenth-century annals. We never produced French vernacular history that can compare in interest with the Villehardouins and Joinvilles of France. But French vernacular verse was soon succeeded by English rhyming chronicles like Layamon and Robert of Gloucester. We must not forget, when we rashly speak of the barrenness of our mediæval literary history, that the real literary measure of the time is to be found in the Latin vernacular of the scholars and statesmen and in the French vernacular of the gentry and higher commercial classes. To these, English came as a bad third, at least up to the end of the fourteenth century. Schools of English are too apt to ignore this truth and make our mediæval ancestors more illiterate than they were, because they wrote so seldom in the English language.

After vernacular history comes lay history, that is, history written by men who were not clerks, even in the widest sense. Here again England is behind France, the more so as the first demonstrably lay chronicle, the London history written by Arnold, son of Thedmar, was the work of a man of German stock, but settled in England and an alderman of London. It prepared the way for the long series of London chronicles which are so valuable in their aggregate for the later Middle Ages. But London was the only big town of mediæval England. Its unmeasurable superiority over Bristol and Lynn, its nearest rivals in the composition of civic histories, is symbolic of its unique position in our history in those days. Side by side with civic

histories came chronicles written by lettered knights, for the *miles litteratus* was common from the fourteenth century. We cannot have a better instance of these than the *Scalachronica*, written to beguile his imprisonment at the hands of the Scots, by one of the first of the Northumbrian knightly house of Grey who won for himself a place in history.

But I must pull myself up or I shall be in danger of neglecting the appreciation of the value of the mediæval chronicler in a breathless attempt to enumerate his various types. There still remain for consideration many points connected with their historical value, not only by itself but in comparison with other sources.

Time was when the chronicle was considered the sole or the main material for mediæval history. A now forgotten history of the Norman Conquest declared itself on the title page to be based on a "new collation of the contemporary chronicles". Few writers would be so naive now-a-days as to regard as adequate such a facile method of historical composition. With the opening up of archives and with their contents becoming more accessible through lists, calendars, summaries and the publication *in extenso* of many documents, it has become the fashion to regard the record as superior in authority to the chronicle. There is now a school of historians which is not satisfied unless it can base its conclusions on record evidence. Some of its extreme disciples act as if records could never be wrong. They often declare that chroniclers are essentially untrustworthy. It is easy to demonstrate the un wisdom of such extreme claims. It is more important to notice that, with the increased study of records, the chronicle has more or less come under a cloud.

The consequences of this reaction have been the more serious since with the increased study of records has come a widened view of the province of history. It is not so very long ago that Freeman said, amidst general approval, that history was past politics and politics present history. But nowadays our conception of history is not limited to the history of the state. Even when we still fix our attention on political history, our object is not primarily to frame a narrative. We wish to describe, to analyse, to reconstruct, to understand, rather than simply to tell the tale in chronological sequence. And some of the more ardent souls are beginning to despise political history altogether. They seek to expound not the history of the state but the history of

society, and rightly, since in modern and even in mediæval times the state was not the only or even the most potent of the organisations which bound together man and man for a common purpose. With this extension of the field of history, the chronicler becomes less important. He is, above all things, the teller of a story. If history is not primarily narrative, what is the use of the chronicler?

The exclusive cult of the chronicler was one-sided and unscientific: but the excessive reaction against him cannot be justified, either by the importance of other sources of information, or by the inclusion within the historic field of activities with which the political or the narrative historian has little concern. Nor can we study the history of society with effect until we have set forth clearly the history of the state in all its aspects. And of how many periods of our mediæval history can we truly say that the basis of political history has been well and truly laid? And where would political history be, if it were not for the chronicles?

We may make full recognition of the limitations of a chronicler's knowledge, of his bias, his lack of proportion and his failure in perspective. But we must not blind ourselves to the fact that, without the aid of the chronicler, the consecutive history of church and state in the Middle Ages could not be written at all. The chronicles supply us with the frame in which we can set our picture. More than that, they afford us nearly all the colour, life, and human interest that we can paint into the picture itself. Records are arid things, and though they afford a happy hunting ground for the seeker after novelties, he seldom finds in them anything that can stimulate his imagination or brighten his task. The investigator, who perforce has to work mainly among records, has a weary row to hoe, but he perseveres because it is only by the cultivation of this stubborn field that he can attain the results for which he is seeking. If it may be permitted a personal illustration, I may tell you that for the last ten years I have been largely occupied in investigating some aspects of the administrative machine by which mediæval England was governed. For such an enquiry the chroniclers are almost useless; if I have read many chronicles, it has only been to seek what I did not find, and to convince myself of their ignorance or indifference to the whole of our administrative system. I have therefore been compelled to quarry my material almost exclusively from records. The result of this long banishment from the intellectual food of my earlier days has made me profoundly cognisant of the in-

dispensable service of the chronicler to mediæval history. The rush through records is interesting enough, but the immediate results are less so. With what thankfulness one notes and remembers the jest, salted perhaps with a touch of profanity, or impropriety, with which the average record writer scribbles on a blank page some effort to alleviate his tedious task. How unrelated and trivial seem our extracts from his rolls! Now that I draw near to the conclusion of the task, I cannot but feel real affinities with M. Fulgence Tapir, the marvellously shortsighted *savant*, whose method of work while compiling the universal annals of art has been revealed to us in the sprightly pages of Anatole France. "I possess the whole of art," boasted that worthy, "on *fiches*, classed alphabetically and by order of subjects." But no sooner had a seeker after knowledge opened, at the master's bidding, the particular box that contained the material which he was to consult, than the whole mass of boxes which lined the scholar's study burst open with a murmur like that of swollen cascades in spring-time pouring down the mountain sides. To cut the story short, M. Tapir was lamentably drowned in the flood of his own slips, in his own *cabinet de travail*. His disciple escaped his fate with difficulty by jumping through the top of the window. The *fiche* is a good servant but a bad master, and the exclusive collection of the isolated slips that record work tends to stimulate requires to be controlled by a strong head and a rigorous sense of proportion. The most wooden collation of chronicles can hardly yield as inhuman a result as the piling up of detached items of detail from a variety of isolated documents. When the ship of knowledge, laden with such a cargo, encounters a storm, we must not be surprised if the captain strives to lighten the ship by jettisoning the most ponderous part of its lading. If he gets home to port with his cargo, its value in the market will depend not on the dry facts, but on his power of selection, construction, imagination and synthesis—just those gifts, in short, which are sometimes regarded as the special gift of the "historian" as opposed to the chronicler.

It is easy to see a superficial justification for the superior person who brushes aside a picturesque bit of history, a trait of personality, or a direct attribution of motive, as "mere chroniclers' gossip". I have already hinted at the difficulties by which the mediæval chroniclers were beset, and I do not deny that for precision of detail and chronological accuracy of statement the best of chroniclers leave something to

be desired. But the same may be said of the poems and romances and the other literary remains that reflect the spirit of an age. Moreover, it is in these pedestrian respects that chronicler's statements can be controlled by records, and that more easily ~~that more easily~~ in England than in any other country of Western Europe, except perhaps Aragon, because of the wonderful richness of our surviving archives. Moreover, the chroniclers who are best known, and who have by their inaccuracies and confusions brought discredit to their class, are precisely those brilliant and literary historians who, with many merits of their own, are far from representing the average level of a chronicler's accuracy. Take, for instance, Matthew Paris and Froissart, certainly the most talked about, probably the most read of the narrative authorities for our mediæval history. They are the most slipshod and inaccurate of writers. They are full of strong prejudices and abound in biased judgments. They can, times out of mind, be demonstrated to be wrong in this or that statement, and in this or that judgment. Yet what should we do without them? How instructive, yet how hopelessly warped are those curious embroideries with which Matthew Paris so often ornamented the plain though fine cloth garments of his predecessor Roger Wendover? How the *Chronica Maiora* give us a vivid impression of the dawn of self-consciousness in the infant English nation, handing on to the Jingo chroniclers of the Hundred Years' War the germ of their fierce undying prejudice against the foreigner which comes to a head in the fiercely patriotic pages of a Geoffrey Baker? How instructive, too, in the atmosphere of fourteenth-century chivalry is Froissart? Better chroniclers may control his inaccuracies. Baker shows us that the Black Prince did not in 1355 work his way into Languedoc up the Garonne valley, as Froissart imagines, but through the tangled uplands of Armagnac, Astarac and Foix, and that the crowning victory of Poitiers was not a cavalry scuffle in a narrow lane. Record sources will enable us still more meticulously to trace the itineraries of kings and armies, to appreciate the methods by which the English host was levied, paid, drilled, equipped and governed. But we should study the "age of chivalry" to little purpose did we not gather from Froissart's pages the very spirit of the time, the hard-fighting, magnanimous, whimsical gentry of France and England, waging war against each other with strict attention to the artificial rules of the ring which they had devised for the protection of their class, only cruel and re-

morseless to their own order when they regarded it as violating the conventions of honour, but seldom deigning to spare the puddle blood of the rascal multitude, on which, as the story of the Limoges massacre shows, the worst burden of war inevitably fell.

The chronicler is not our only source of colour and atmosphere. The literary remains are almost as important and have been lamentably neglected by most historians. Almost as neglected by the generality are the records in stone, the archæological remains, that have a colour and art of their own. Yet we must turn first of all to the chronicler for variety of inspiration. From the chroniclers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries every current of public opinion in France and England is reflected as in a mirror. In our own land we have the majority of the chroniclers representing that baronial policy of opposition which English public opinion identified with the national struggle for freedom, just as they indicated, even more meticulously, the sturdy patriotism which saw in the dynastic claims of Edward III a national struggle for existence against our enemy of France. Among the French writers we have an equal variety of sentiment. The international ideal of aristocratic chivalry had its champion in Froissart, just as the national monarchy of France had its advocate in Pierre d'Orgement. The common people, of whom Froissart spoke so lightly, had its claims set forth by the Parisian friar, Jean de Venette, who describes the sufferings of the peasantry from the ravages of war, denounces the nobles who rode roughshod over their serfs, and saw in Étienne Marcel the champion of a liberty worth winning even at the price of a revolution. The generally "Burgundian" sentiment of the early fifteenth-century French writers shows the need that France had for the patriotic inspiration of the Maid of Orleans.

Even the chroniclers who write with a purpose were often well informed when their brief allowed them to tell the truth. The official chroniclers make up for their political or personal object by their access to official sources of information. For this reason the official annals of the Merovingians and Carolingians have their special value, despite their bias. For this reason the official history of the Capetians, largely written at Saint Denis, must not be neglected. The best example of this is the way in which Pierre d'Orgement, Chancellor of France, re-edited the Chronicle of Saint Denis so as to glorify the deeds of his master, Charles V, and justify the claims of France against the English.

Orgement wrote, we are told, under the inspiration of the king, and reflected the monarch's most secret motives and cares. Such a book is a real document, far removed from the "chroniclers' gossip" which the one-sided record enthusiast vainly talks. The parallel French and Latin versions of the official Saint Denis apology shows that public opinion was as much deferred to in France as in England.

Most sharp contrasts have more reality in the minds of those who make them than in the facts themselves. The contrast between chronicle and record suggests fundamentally different types of information. Yet as a matter of fact chroniclers used records just as we have learnt to do, and not the least of our debts to chroniclers is that many of them have utilized record material and have handed on to us records that otherwise we should never have known. Bede obtained from Rome copies of papal letters to elucidate the conversion of England to the Christian faith. The so-called Benedict of Peterborough and his continuator, Roger Howden, availed themselves of the extensive archives of their master Henry II, and wrote out many charters in the course of their narrative. We are much indebted to the arid lawyer-chronicler, Robert of Avesbury, for saving himself the labour of composing his own story of Edward III's campaigns in France by copying the despatches sent from the field by the king's counsellors, chaplains, and generals. Even an involved and artfully confected narrative, like that of Geoffrey the Baker of the same wars, is in parts based on record sources, even when these sources are not acknowledged. Yet how few of these records used by chroniclers are now to be found in our national archives, and how great is our debt to the historians who have preserved them for us?

So much was the working up of records in a narrative a recognised method of historiography, that we have a definite type of monastic cartulary-chronicle in which the charters of the house are strung together by a thin thread of narrative, after the fashion of Avesbury's chronicle of battles. Perhaps this type is best illustrated for us by a famous early fifteenth-century forgery which assumed this shape. This is the *Historia Crowlandensis*, compiled in Crowland abbey in the days of Richard II and Henry IV in order to justify the monks' claims to disputed property. This "history" added immensely to the goodly store of false charters already in possession of the house to secure its title deeds. The forgery was fathered on Ingulf, abbot of Crow-

land under William the Conqueror, and taken as a valuable piece of true history almost to our own days. But the art of forgery was universal in the Middle Ages. It was contact with these falsifications that produced some of the best efforts of mediæval *Quellenkritik*.

In these very desultory observations I have aimed at showing that, with all its many faults, the mediæval chronicle is an indispensable tool to the mediæval historian. To all young mediævalists one can say with absolute assurance—Read mediæval chronicles. Read them, not merely to pick out the particular points which you are in quest of, or to copy out a passage indicated by the index ; but read them consecutively and as a whole. Read them in your armchair when you have no immediate practical point to extract from them, and no special occasion to remember them. Read them to get the spirit and mentality of the time, even if for your particular purpose the chronicle has little to tell. But when you have done this, do not think that there is nothing more to be done with the chroniclers. It is not only that they must find their place among the many types of source on which your book will be based. Then the chronicle, so far as it is true to fact, must be combined with your records, your letters, your archæological, and your literary material in a synthesis that correlates the whole of the evidence. And the danger to mediæval studies, as to many other studies, is not only lack of technique, which can be remedied. It is much more a long continued concentration on one aspect of the sources which makes the rest worse than non-existent to us. To the more technical students of the Middle Ages, there is no better relief than the study of the chroniclers. If you do this, you will not stop there ; you will go on to non-historical literature. You will, in time, become that *rara avis* among historians, a well-read man in the general literature of your period. The one-sided and restricted knowledge that comes from premature and excessive specialisation on one side of an age is almost as dangerous to true science as the lack of adequate specialism at all.

One more problem before I finish. Let us admit, it may be said, the rather restricted value which you assign to the chroniclers. But have we not learnt already all that the chronicles have to tell us ? Have they not been in print, the best of them for centuries ? Have not their provenance, their inter-relations, their affiliations, their authorship, their authority, been already so thoroughly studied that

the field is almost exhausted, and its further cultivation would involve an increasingly diminishing return to the labourers ?

My answer is that those, who are most prone to complain that all the work that matters has been done already, are just those who have the least clear conception of the immensity of the field to be traversed and of the imperfection of much of the work already accomplished. But it is useless to deny that in some quarters the essential work on the chronicles has already been done and that we have printed and critical editions that are sufficient for most purposes. This is especially true of the earlier periods, where the mass of material is small and the fascination of exploring origins and solving puzzles have always attracted the attention of many acute minded scholars. There is not perhaps much more to be done with English before the Conquest, and what is still to be done is rather in the criticism of charters than of chronicles. The same is true of the Norman and Angevin periods, but to a decreasing extent as we get towards the end of that age. It is much less true of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. We have learned much that is new as to these periods from the publication of unedited chronicles by Liebermann, Horstmann, Paul Meyer, Kingsford, James, Flenley, and Tait, but the tale is not yet complete. An old pupil of mine, a recent teacher in our University, has just come across almost by accident a chronicle hitherto unknown, which will, when published, help to illuminate some of the darker passages of the reign of Edward III. In all great libraries, such as the John Rylands, there may well be similar discoveries to be made and that not only in the way of chronicles. But there is work to be done even on the known chronicles. Many of the best chronicles are only accessible in old editions, not always very critical, and, critical or not, existing in such scanty numbers that the least increase in demand sends up their prices in second-hand book shops to an alarming rate. For that reason we are thankful to welcome such a reprint as that which Dr. James, the Provost of Eton, has recently given us of Blakman's eulogy of Henry VI. We want new editions of such works as Hemingburgh, Trevet, and other very imperfectly studied thirteenth-century writers. In the next period what an impetus to study a good new edition, such as that of Thompson's *Geoffrey le Baker*, has proved to be. We want some notoriously bad editions, which it would be invidious to name, superseded by something more competent. But we do not only want new

editions ; we want still more increased study of texts already more or less accessible. So long ago as 1840 Francisque Michel published the chronicle which he called *L'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre*, but it was not until more than fifty years later that M. Petit Dutaillis demonstrated its origin and showed its supreme importance for the reign of John and the early part of the reign of Henry III. It was in 1894 that the Abbé Moisant printed from manuscript in Corpus College, Cambridge, in his *Prince Noir en Aquitaine* the fragmentary *acta bellicosa Edwardi* which threw real light on the conquest of Normandy in 1346. But the *acta bellicosa* had little to do with the Black Prince and nothing with Aquitaine, and for ten years it escaped all attention until it was at last fully utilized by Professor Prentout of Caen in his *Prise de Caen par Édouard III*, issued in 1904. Thus discoveries can be made in printed sources, whether chronicles or otherwise. I think they can still be made in Rymer's *Foedera*, which has now been in print for over two centuries !

Thus there is plenty of work still to be done on the chronicles, both printed and unprinted. And if we are to popularise the study of mediæval chronicles in this country, we should do well to interest the younger generation in establishing a series of cheap and short but adequate texts of the better chronicles for class and seminar use, such as was first illustrated in Germany by the Pertz series *in usum scholarum* and is best shown by Picard's extremely valuable and handy *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Etude et l'Enseignement de l'Histoire*. If such a series, like the French one, contained documents as well as chronicles, so much the better. For, though my business to-day is to claim its rights for the chronicle, I should be the last to claim for it an exclusive or even preponderating place among our authorities. It is indispensable for certain purposes ; it is useful for all. But I am bound to confess that, while to some temperaments there is plenty of mental gymnastic and some good chance of fruit to be obtained from the meticulous study of the chronicle, yet the harvest to be garnered from the fourteenth-century record is to most of us incomparably more satisfying and abundant. But to digest this great store of knowledge there is nothing like the study of the chronicles to give one the proper mediæval tone and spirit. And, finally, the way of progress is to be found not in stressing one side or the other of our sources, but in the intelligent study and combination of them as a whole.

STOIC ORIGINS OF THE PROLOGUE TO ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

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THOSE who have been interested in following my recent attempts at discovering the literary origin of the *Prologue to St. John's Gospel*¹ (which leads on at once to the discovery of a historical line of development for the *Doctrine of the Trinity*),² will not be surprised to hear me say that there are still some lacunæ in the argument, and that, in consequence, the exposition of the theme is not, at all points, equally and finally convincing. One must criticise oneself sometimes, as well as employ one's learned friends for a critical mirror.

For example, when we say that underlying the Johannine doctrine of the Logos, which was in the beginning and was with God, there is a hymn in honour of Sophia or the Heavenly Wisdom, it is easy to show that Sophia could once be expressed in similar terms to the Logos : so much was clear from the first great hymn to Sophia in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. Here Wisdom was represented as the Beginning of the works of God, or as being in the Beginning with God's works, and this Wisdom was definitely said to be "with God". We were able at once to replace the first two clauses of St. John's Gospel by two lines of a hymn to Sophia. And in the same way, at point after point in the Prologue, we were able to make a replacement of the corresponding lines of the lost hymn. But, as we said, there were missing links in the chain of evidence. For instance, we replaced the sentence that

The Word was God

by the supposed equivalent

Sophia was God :

¹ Cambridge University Press, 1917.

² Manchester University Press, 1919.

but it must have been felt in many quarters that this is not as explicitly stated in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, and its two pendant hymns in the *Wisdom of Solomon* (c. 7) and the *Wisdom of Ben Sirach* (c. 24) ; and even if it be implied, there is still a measure of improbability about the categorical equivalence of God and Wisdom : God and Logos was difficult, God and Wisdom more so.

It might also be said that the personification of Wisdom as the Daughter of God, even in Spenser's form,

There in His bosome Sapience doth sit,
The soueraine dearling of the Deity,

would, at first sight, seem to preclude an equation between Daughter and Sire. Should we, in a parallel case, be entitled to say of Wordsworth's hymn to Duty, as the " stern daughter of the Voice of God," that the poet has here equated Duty and Deity ? It becomes proper, then, to show from the Old Testament itself, that Sophia had been visaged with complete Divine attributes, and so to justify the restored clause of our hymn.

This is what we propose to do, and it may perhaps be said that in the eighth of Proverbs, Wisdom has the connotation of creative power, of consubstantiality and perhaps of co-eternity, and that, therefore, we may be allowed to make our restoration. But, as we said, this is not quite so explicit a statement as we could wish. It is too near to the Nicene Creed to be primitive. Let us see if we can make out a stronger case by a more careful study of the documents involved.

Suppose we turn to the seventh chapter of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, where we find a hymn in honour of Sophia that is a pendant to the original hymn, much in the same way as Cowper's splendid versification in the *Olney Hymns*, or Spenser's in the *Hymn to Heavenly Beauty*, are pendants. We shall establish two theses : (i) that the hymn in the *Wisdom of Solomon* is a Stoic product ; (ii) that the terms in which Wisdom is there described are, for the most part, Stoic definitions of Deity : and from thence it will follow that, to the mind of the writer : (iii) Wisdom was God. We premise, to avoid misunderstanding, that we do not profess, and have not professed, that everything which we have said on this great theme is from our own anvil ; it would be less likely to be true if it were : we are

catching the sparks that fly, like chaff, from the threshing-floor of all the fathers of all the early Christian centuries. They all knew that Christ was the Wisdom of God as well as the Word of God, and if they did not know how the Word was evolved from the Wisdom, that is another matter. Perhaps they would have found it out for us if they had lived in the twentieth century : for they all prove their doctrine from the eighth chapter of Proverbs. When we, then, approach the first of our two theses, we are not claiming to be the first to detect that the *Wisdom of Solomon* is a Stoic book, written by a Jewish scholar who has been attending Stoic lectures. We might almost take this preliminary statement for granted, if it were not that the first observers have dealt with it so incompletely and illustrated it so inadequately. Quite apart from any use which we are ourselves going to make of the admitted Stoicism of the language, it is necessary for the exegesis of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, that its translators and interpreters should have an adequate familiarity with the philosophical terms that are employed.

First of all let us remind ourselves with regard to the Stoic philosophy, that it constitutes a religion as well as a philosophy, and the religion involved is a popular religion, with a propaganda and an open-air preaching, not so very remote in some aspects from the methods of the Salvation Army. This means that its philosophy was capable of throwing off formulæ from itself ; it could be reduced to gnomic forms, such as the popular mind could assimilate ; it had a Shorter Catechism, as well as a Longer Confession of Faith. Suppose we imagine a Stoic philosopher turned into an open-air preacher, like Paul at Athens, a "picker-up of learning's crumbs" (*σπερμολόγος*) and distributor of the same. If he began with the doctrine of God (*ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα*) he would have to explain in some simple way who Zeus was, or who Athena ; like St. Paul he would look at the Parthenon and look away from it. He would avoid sculpture, and in all probability take to philology. "Zeus," he would say, "my friends, is so named because he lives and causes to live, he is the Living One (*ὁ ζῶν*). Or if we think of him as *Διὸς* or *Δία*, he is so-called because he is the one *by whom* (*δι' οὗ*) are all things, and *for whom* (*δι' ὃν*) are all things." Everyone in the crowd could understand and carry off the doctrine of the Living One, by whom are all things and for whom are all things, much the same as if our ancestors

had explained *Thor* as the person *through* whom are all things. If these are Stoic statements, then there are among the hearers of this Stoic preacher Christians who will know how to appropriate the statements and incorporate the terms of the teaching with their own tradition. For does not the Apocalypse disclose the fact that one of the early titles of Christ was the Living One, (Apoc. i. 18) and does not the Epistle to the Hebrews speak of God as the One "by whom are all things and for whom are all things" (δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα), Heb. ii. 10? Is this, then, Stoic doctrine? Let us see.

Chrysippus,¹ the great Stoic teacher, tells us that God pervades all nature, and has many names to match his many operations. "They call him Δία through whom are all things (δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα), and they call him Zeus (Ζῆνα), inasmuch as he is the cause of life (τοῦ ζῆν αἰτιός ἐστιν) or because he pervades what lives (διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν).

Stobaeus, quoting from Chrysippus, says, "He appears to be called Zeus from his having given life to all (ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσι δεδωκέναι τὸ ζῆν). But he is called Δία because he is the cause of all things and for him are all things: ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν αἰτιος καὶ δι' αὐτὸν πάντα."²

Surely St. Paul was using Stoic language on the Areopagus, when he spoke of God as "giving to all life and breath and all things". This is the very A.B.C. of Stoic doctrine. If we do not understand the Stoic meanings of Zeus and Dia, we shall find philosophical references obscure and unintelligible. For example, Philodemus³ quotes Chrysippus as saying that Zeus is the soul of the world and that by a participation in Zeus all things live, that is why he is called Zēn (τῆ τούτου μετοχῇ πάντα [ζῆν] . . . διὸ καὶ Ζῆνα καλεῖσθαι): but he is called Δία because he is the Cause of all and the Lord of all (ὅτι πάντων αἰτιος καὶ κύριος). Evidently he means to read αἰτιος out of δι' οὗ and κύριος out of δι' ὃν. The formula in the epistle to the Hebrews underlies the language of Chrysippus and Philodemus. This simple formula which we have been quoting, which we call the street-corner preaching of the Stoic, led almost at

¹ Diog. Laert., VII. 147.

² Stobaeus, *Eclog.*, ed. Wachsmuth, i. 31, 11.

³ *De pietate*, c. 11.

once to their fundamental pantheistic statement. They had said that Zeus was the Life of all things, and they interpreted this pantheistically. To make the doctrine clearer, they used the Greek preposition *διὰ*, not only in the sense of "through" (whether instrumental or directive), but also when compounded in verb forms, of which the favourite was the verb *διήκω*, to penetrate, to pervade, which is used of the Soul of the World : and a companion verb is *διοικέω*, to regulate, to administer. These two words are used as an expansion of *διὰ*, which is itself the accusative of Zeus (*Δία*).

In the passage which we quoted above from Chrysippus (through Philodemus) we are told that Zeus is the Logos that regulates all things and is the Soul of the World (*τὸν ἅπαντα διοικούντα λόγον καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου ψυχὴν*). Again, Poseidonius (the Stoic whom Philo and Cicero and others quote so freely) says that Zeus is so-called, as being the All-Regulator (*τὸν πάντα διοικούντα*), but Crates says he is the All-Pervading One (*τὸν εἰς πάντα διήκοντα*).¹ The latter statement is fundamental for Stoicism : we have it enunciated for us again by Hippolytus,² with a slight variation, to wit, that Chrysippus and Zeno have maintained God to be the origin of all things, and that he is a body, the purest of all, whose providence pervades all things. We shall see presently how this fundamental Stoic doctrine is reflected on the Wisdom of Solomon. Meanwhile observe that our supposed Stoic preacher is in difficulties : he has abandoned Plato and made God corporeal : he has affirmed Pantheism and has to meet objections on all sides. The man in the crowd wants to know if God pervades ugly things as well as beautiful things, dung-heaps as well as stars. The philosopher in the crowd, a stray Epicurean, who will have nothing to do with Pantheism or Providence, wants to know the shape of the all-pervading Deity ; is it still anthropomorphic ?

Clement of Alexandria,³ who knows what everybody thinks, reports that the Stoics regard God as pervading all matter, even the most dishonourable forms : and as to the body of God, the Stoic has to admit that the all-pervading Zeus is not in human form, and so good-bye to Olympus and its inhabitants. Notice here again that St.

¹ Johan. Laur. Lydus, *de mensibus*, iv. 48.

² *Philos.*, 21.

³ *Cohort. ad gentes*, p. 58.

Paul plays the Stoic against the Epicurean in his discourse : first by quoting Stoic poetry :

We are also his offspring :

but he is not like the images made of him in gold, silver, marble. But what shape is God, then ? The Stoic replies, he is the most perfect shape, for if a more perfect shape than he could be found, it would displace him, and be the Divine Thing. Press the question more closely and ask for a definition of the perfect shape, and the Stoic says "spherical".¹ And this shape is the most perfect, because all the parts are equally related to the centre, and because it is the form adapted to the swiftest motion. Someone asks whether a cube or a cone is not equally perfect,² but he is a geometer and may be neglected. It is clear now to the common man that Zeus is gone, for a spherical Zeus³ could have neither head nor limbs. Pheidias could make nothing of him. And the wily Epicurean, who has been watching his time, begins to enquire whether, if God is σφαιροειδής, in sphere-form, those persons whom Homer describes as θεοειδής, of godlike form, are also rotund : Paris, for example, and Agamemnon, are they all-round men ? And the Stoic, driven into a corner, can only repeat that God is a spirit of the purest, and pervades all things. He is mind in matter : "Nature the body is, and God the soul". We are to think of Zeus as the intellectual breath or spirit ; he is the Νοῦς and his adjective is νοερός.

But here emerges another enquiry from someone who does not easily absorb the doctrine of the revolutionary Stoic. What becomes of the rest of the Pantheon, if Zeus disappears into universal mind ? The only possible reply is that they disappear also, for they are really only the names for different activities of Zeus. Philology, which certainly never created the gods, can be invoked to dispossess them. Philology, that is, must play the part of Medea, and then

One by one, at dread Medea's strain,
The sickening stars fade off the ethereal plain.

Apollo is Zeus, and Dionysos is Zeus, as surely as Zeus is Zeus.

But is Zeus, then, female as well as male ? What about Athena ?

¹ Aetius, *Placit.*, 2 ; Plut., *Epit.*, ii. 2, 3 ; Stob., *Ecl.*, i. 15.

² Cicero, *De nat. d.*, i. 10, 24.

³ Metrodorus, in *Voll. Herc.*, vi. p. 31.

This is a particularly interesting case, and one answer is to say that Zeus is both male and female, which makes the boys in the crowd to laugh. The correcter reply is that Athena's name shows that she is the Aithēr, and the Aithēr is Zeus, which has its extension (διάτασιω) from marge to blue marge.¹ Here we have again to observe that διὰ in composition betrays the presence and activity of Zeus. So Chrysippus teaches. He is Zeus for whom (δι' ὄν) are all things, and Zēn because he is the pervading cause of all things, and *he is Athena* in regard to the extension (διάτασις) of his power of rule as far as the aether.

We shall see presently the importance of this little piece of Stoic etymology, which has hitherto escaped notice. Philology has now swept the decks and carried away the sails of the earlier faith : we are scudding along under bare poles, with a prospect of falling into the Syrtis of mere negation, unless our teacher of the new school can tell us that this fiery, all-embracing, all-pervading aithēr is another name for the Providence with which men can be brought into relation. We have reached the stage where Chrysippus stood, when he declared the ruling power of the world to be the aithēr, the purest (καθαρώτατον) and clearest and most mobile (εὐκινητότατον) of all things, which carries round the whole framework (φύσις) of the world. And now we are to be told that this all-pervading power is beneficent, that it is a lover of man, that it communicates wisdom to the wise, and that the wise man thus initiated becomes himself a friend of God, a king in his own right. He has his "second birth" into the purple. "The desire of Wisdom brings him to a Kingdom." "We may," says Philodemus, in his discourse on the *Blessed Life of the Gods*, "declare the wise to be the friends of the gods, and the gods the friends of the wise." For according to Musonius, "God is lofty of soul and beneficent (εὐεργητικός) and philanthropic (φιλόανθρωπος)". "Not merely immortal and blessed," says Plutarch, "but philanthropic and care-taking (κηδεμονικός) and helpful must we assume God to be."²

And now it is time to leave our Stoic preachers and the tracts which they have been distributing to us and turn back to the hymn in the Wisdom of Solomon. Reading the seventh chapter over in the light of what we have been describing as Stoic teaching and Stoic

¹ Diog. Laert., vii. 147.

² Plut., *de comm. not.*, c. 32.

propaganda, we can see at a glance that the hymn is a Stoic product. Occasional suggestions of this have been made from time to time by critics and by commentators. They recognised the artist who described Wisdom as an intellectual spirit (*πνεῦμα νοερόν*), which penetrated and pervaded all things by reason of its purity (*διήκει καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα*). It was evident that the spirit which in all ages enters into holy souls and makes them friends of God and prophets, because God only loves the one that dwells with Wisdom, must be the same spirit which teaches us that the wise are the friends of God, and, as such, have the mantic gift. Every term used to describe Wisdom and the operations of Wisdom must now be examined for its Stoic counterpart. When in verse 22 we find the series of adjectives,

ἀκάλυτον, εὐεργετικόν, φιλόανθρωπον,

we compare the description of Zeus in Musonius,

μεγαλόφρων, εὐεργητικός, φιλόανθρωπος.

when we are told that "no defiled thing can fall into Wisdom" we recognise the language of Diogenes Laertius, that God is a being intellectual (*νοερόν*) in happiness, and non-receptive of evil (*κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπιδεκτόν*).

Is Wisdom more mobile than any motion? We quoted Chrysippus for the clearness and purity and mobility of the encircling ether. Cicero carries on the same theme.¹ "That burning heat of the world," says he, "is more luminous and much more mobile, and for that very reason more adapted to make impact on our senses than this terrestrial heat of ours, by which the things known to us are kept in place and flourish. How silly to talk of the world as senseless when it is kept together by a heat so complete and free and pure and most acute and mobile; (*acerrimo et mobilissimo*)." And Philo, who may be regarded as a Stoic, with only the change of a Jewish gaberdine for a toga (which he borrowed from Poseidonius), tells us that the world is spherical in shape, because it thus becomes more swiftly mobile than if it had any other figure.²

We need not hesitate to say that we know what it means to declare Wisdom to be more mobile than any motion. Wisdom, then, is

¹ *De nat. deorum*, ii. 11, 30.

² Philo, *de Providentia*, ii. 56.

the soul of the world. So much had been already suggested by other writers. But if Wisdom is the soul of the world, this soul is from the Stoic point of view no other than God himself.

The same thing comes out from the other point which we made regarding the Stoic play upon *διὰ* and the words compounded therewith. We gave as specimens the Stoic proofs that Zeus pervaded (*διήκω*), administered (*διοικέω*) all things, and reached out (*διατείνω*) to the limits of the aether. Well, here they all are in the hymn to Wisdom: she is said to "pervade all things through her purity," "she reaches from marge to marge valiantly," and "she administers all things bonnily". Then Wisdom is Zeus, or, in the case of the extended aether, Zeus-Athena. Clearly we have to do with a Stoic hymn, whose theme is the pantheistic interpretation of the Universe. It is true that the pantheistic element has been disguised in our published text, which describes Sophia by saying that "there is *in her* an intellectual spirit" (*ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, κτέ*), but a reference to the Alexandrian MS. shows that we ought to read

"For she is an intellectual spirit,"

i.e. in Stoic language,

"For Wisdom is God".

The same thing comes out from the Stoic use of the term *νοερόν*. Nothing could be more characteristically Stoic. The Cosmos, says Sextus,¹ is intelligent; if it were not so, there would have been no mind in ourselves, but if the world is *νοερός*, then God is also to be so described. We see the *νοῦς* in ourselves superior in its rich variety to any statue or any painting, and we must conclude that there is an artist at work in the region of mind, and in the world at large, regulating the same (*διοικῶν αὐτόν*). This must be God. Note the connection between the *νοῦς* that is everywhere, and its regulative power: the Stoic adjective *νοερός* may almost be equated with *θεῖος*. As Diogenes Laertius says, "the Stoics teach that God and Mind and Fate and Zeus are all one thing";

ἐν τε εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Δία.

It would be easy to pursue the subject of the Stoicising of the Wisdom of Solomon in other directions, where we should find traces

¹ *Adv. math.*, ix. 95.

of the work of other students. It is enough, for the present, to have shown that the missing factor in the evolution of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel is found in the Wisdom of Solomon, and that we may see underneath the oracle that,

The Word was God,

the earlier oracle that,

Wisdom was God.

It will have been observed that the results obtained in the foregoing pages have been reached to a large extent by treating Stoicism, not merely as one of the great Greek philosophies, but also as Greek popular religion. The Stoic doctrine and practice was democratic enough : it was the custom of these teachers and preachers to invite bond and free, male and female, to the study of philosophy. None were excluded, and in this respect Stoicism is again seen to be a precursor of Christianity. It was inevitable that doctrines propagated in this way should develop formulæ and catchwords, that the simplest ideas should float on the current of the teaching, and the deeper considerations elude attention. But it was for this very reason that we were able to say that Sophia was a Stoic maiden, and that all her finery in the *Book of Wisdom* was borrowed array. Theologians who have discoursed on the meaning of the great passages in the *Book of Wisdom* have commonly contented themselves by saying that there were Stoic elements in the language ; that *διήκω* was Stoic and *διοικέω* and the like ; but they did not detect the reason why these and the like expressions were Stoic. Now that we know the reason to lie in a misuse of Philology (and all Greek philology from Plato onward is bad philology), we must use our acquired knowledge as a general means of interpreting the *Book of Wisdom* and its pendant, the *Prologue of St John*. We are bound to examine whether it is really true that both these writings have a pantheistic origin, and go back to Zeus and Athena, to the Soul of the World and the doctrine of Fate, to Nous and to Providence. For example, when we read of the Johannine Logos that,

In Him was Life,

we have to replace this by the antecedent formula,

In Her was Life :

and then we ask the reason why this abrupt transition in the

description of Sophia was required. The answer is that it was perfectly natural, for Sophia had been identified with Zeus ("Wisdom was God"), and Zeus had been explained as an equivalent to Zēn, and Zēn had been derived from the verb "to live" (ζῆν). The transition of thought is evident. It enables us again to say that the *Prologue of St. John* is a Stoic product, if we look at it closely enough. This enables us also to correct one of the worst lapses of the modern editors and translators of the Gospel. They found in the earliest MSS. traces of a certain spacing, or division of clauses in the sentence,

Without Him was not anything made . . . that was made ;

so they divided the text anew and produced the barbarism, "that which was made in Him was Life". A little more knowledge of Stoic formulæ would have saved both editors and translators from this unhappy mistake. For Chrysippus,¹ in teaching the meaning of Fate, says that "it is the Reason (λόγος) of all things in the world that are providentially ordered," and "it is the Reason according to which all things that have been made have been made, and all things that are being made are being made, and all things that are to be made will be made". Obviously the language of the Prologue is Chrysippean ; it covers the Stoic doctrine of Fate and ought not to be obscured by an ungainly re-casting of the sentences.

In the sources, then, of the Prologue to John, the Logos is Sophia, and Sophia is Zeus, and Zeus is Fate. The Stoics say definitely "Zeus and Fate are the same thing". "One cannot," says Proclus,² "deflect the mind of Zeus, which is, as the Stoics say, Fate". "The Nature of the Universe," says Chrysippus, "pervades the whole : everything in it down to the minutest particulars happens according to nature and the reason (λόγος) of Nature, without any impediment (ἀκωλύτως)".³

This is why, in the Wisdom of Solomon, among the other titles of Wisdom, it is said that she is "an unimpeded spirit (ἀκωλυτόν)". The doctrine of fixed fate is part of the writer's faith.

The parallel with the Christian doctrine of predestination, of

¹ Stob., *Ecl.*, ed. Wachsmuth, i. 79, 1.

² On Hesiod, *Op. et dies*, v. 105.

³ Plutarch, *de Stoic. repug.*, c. 34.

which the Scriptures show so many traces, should not be overlooked. Only we must keep in mind that the line of approach between the two cults is that of popular religion, not of philosophy. As we have intimated, the background of Stoic philosophy is popular religion. To take an illustration from this very region of Fate and Freewill, the popular method of resolving the antagonism involved in the terms is to say that the human will is a dog, tied to a carriage; the dog has a certain freedom of motion, but it is limited; when the carriage moves, the dog must move too. It should be noticed that this unfortunate dog has been versified for us in a famous passage quoted by Epictetus from Cleanthes :¹

Lead thou me on, O Zeus, and mighty Fate,
Whither my destiny may be designed;
Not slack I follow; or, reluctant yet
To follow, still I needs must follow on.

The popular concept underlies the poetic; Zeus is Fate and Fate is inevitable; in the same way it underlies the philosophical expression of determinism.

It will be an interesting study to trace the relative approach and recess of the Christian teaching to or from the Stoic. We see them, for example, in conjunction when they talk of the final conflagration, or when they begin their catechisms with the question as to the nature of God, to which the answer is that "God is a Spirit". Equally we see them elongating one from the other when in the second century Tatian makes his *Address to the Greeks* and is careful to explain that God is not a Spirit in the Stoic sense of an all-pervading power and presence in material things. The Christian apologist is, as a rule, a definitely Stoic orator; the opening chapter, for example, of the *Apology of Aristides* might be taken direct from a Stoic essay on the order and the beauty of a world governed by Providence.

Nor are there wanting literary parallels between the two religions in regard to their origin and diffusion. Diogenes Laertius, in his *lives of the philosophers*,² tells us that Zeno carried on his teaching in a cloister (*στοά*), known as the painted porch, from its being adorned with pictures by Polygnostus: in the cloister so named he composed

¹ *Encheiridion*, c. 53.

² l.c. vii. 1.

his discourses, and hence his disciples were called Stoics ; and on the same ground they carried his teaching much further (*lit.* increased the word, τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡύξησαν). One naturally thinks of Jesus and his disciples making their headquarters in Jerusalem, in the cloister named after Solomon.¹ To the mind of those who had any familiarity with Greek culture, the new movement would have suggested a new Stoa, and the early Christians would have had, at first, little occasion to complain of the parallel.

As we have said, the recognition of such popular parallelism will supply us with a new key to the elucidation of the primitive Christian doctrine, in its earliest stages of development.

¹ John x. 23, Acts iii. 11, v. 12, vi. 7.

AILRED OF RIEVAULX AND HIS BIOGRAPHER WALTER DANIEL.

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(Continued from p. 351).

IV.

AILRED AND RIEVAULX.

WALTER DANIEL was not much interested in Ailred's public life and political views; he tells us more about his monastic life, of his experiences as novice, monk, novice-master, abbot. His biography does not show us the abbot as an administrator. We get few of those glimpses at the material and domestic life of a Cistercian abbey—the abbot on his journeys, the work of charity, the economy of the demesne farms or granges—which give interest to Jocelin's life of St. Waldef, the Abbot of Melrose. Walter is concerned with the inner life of the saint and his personal relations with his monks. His work is a good, though casual, commentary on the observance of the strict Benedictine rule enforced by the Cistercians.

Ailred's monastic life falls into three periods. For seven or eight years he was at Rievaulx as novice, monk, confidential adviser of Abbot William, and novice master. For about five years he was Abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, one of the daughter houses of Rievaulx. From the end of 1147 to his death he was Abbot of Rievaulx.

Ailred heard of Rievaulx when he was at York on the business of King David, probably in 1133 or 1134. He decided to visit the new monastery at once. He stayed with Walter Espec at Helmsley, went to Rievaulx, and next day set out for Scotland. He passed

along the road which still traverses the hillside above the valley of the Rie, where the ruins lie, and was decided by the curiosity of one of his companions to pay another visit. He could resist no longer, and after passing the customary three days in the hospice—a modest building, with low-stretched beams—he was received into the house of the novices (*probatorium*). Walter tells us how he showed his coolness during the fire which broke out in the hospice; when the distinguished young man rose with a smile and threw a jugful of English beer upon the flames, the fire miraculously ceased. In the *probatorium* his novice master was Simon, afterwards Abbot of Wardon, or Sartis, in Bedfordshire, who was still living when Walter Daniel wrote.¹

Ailred himself became novice master after his return from Rome in 1141. Walter's account of his work contains a reference of archæological interest. According to the Benedictine rule the novices lived together—meditated, ate and slept—in a separate room, the *cella novitiorum*,² or, as it was frequently called, the *probatorium*. St. Bernard is said to have become so indifferent to his physical surroundings that he could not say, after living in the cell of the novices at Citeaux for a year, whether the room had a flat or a vaulted roof.³ The probatorium at Rievaulx was apparently built over a spring, for Ailred, following the example of St. Bernard, used to restrain the heats of his flesh by standing up to the neck in a bath which he had caused to be made in the floor and which was concealed by a stone.⁴ A more enduring record of his short tenure of the office of novice master is his work, the *Speculum Caritatis*. Internal evidence shows that he wrote this analysis of the religious life while he was

¹ Walter appeals to him to testify to Ailred's good qualities as a novice, *Vita*, f. 66 b. Unfortunately the date of his death is not known, so that this fact does not help us to date Walter's book. He was Abbot of Wardon some time before the death of Pope Innocent II. in 1143, assisted Earl Simon of Northampton to found Sawtrey Abbey in 1146 and died before 1186. If he was abbot from the foundation of Wardon (1135) Ailred must have entered Rievaulx in 1133-4. For Simon see *Monasticon*, V., 370, 522; VI., 950, Jocelin of Furness in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 261 b; *Victoria County History, Bedfordshire*, I., 365.

² See the texts in Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne* (Dijon, 1878), pp. 46, 219.

³ Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., 46.

⁴ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 67 d, Walter describes the bath as a "cassella testea".

actually teaching novices. He was prompted to the task by Gervase, the Abbot of Louth Park in Lincolnshire. Gervase had been one of the monks who left St. Mary's, York, to form the Cistercian community at Fountains. When in 1139 Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, decided to found a new Cistercian monastery and invited Fountains to assist him, Gervase led the colony, first to Haverholm, then to Louth Park.¹ He met Ailred and was greatly impressed by him. The young monk was just the man to write a practical guide to the religious life. Ailred excused himself on the ground that he was no scholar. He had come to Rievaulx from the kitchens, not from the schools. Gervase brushed the excuse aside. If Ailred was pleased to play with words in this way, let him prepare them heavenly food.² The reply to these entreaties was the *Speculum Caritatis*, the most intimate and vigorous of Ailred's writings. The most interesting chapters (II., 17 ff.) are cast in the form of a dialogue between Ailred and a novice. They show Ailred at work in the probatorium. In the preceding chapters he has discussed the fact that the gift of tears comes more easily to men living in the world than to the religious in the cloister. Ailred does not think that this is strange. The experiences of those who live delicately are no matter for boasting; their tears are no certain sign of grace, for humours flow easily to the heads of such people.³ And if no sense of sweetness follows the profession of a more severe life, this is no reason for depression. Ailred feels that he can best explain his meaning by recalling a conversation which he had had not long before with a novice. The newcomer had been perplexed by the contrast between the spiritual rapture of the past and the aridity of the present. His old life had certainly not been more holy, for had he lived then as he was living now he would have become almost

¹ *Monasticon*, V., 414. In the Cistercian text of the *Speculum*, copied by Migne, P.L., CXCIV., 502, Abbot Gervase is concealed by the description *abbas Parchorensis*. Fortunately his Christian name is given. Parchorensis is a corruption of Parcoludensis.

² The letter from Gervase to Ailred, from which this is taken, has survived as the preface to the *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCIV., 502).

³ *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii. c. 14 (P.L., CXCIV., 559 d): "si igitur in his omnibus nitidus ac crassus incedas, noli, quaeso, de tuis lacrymulis multum gloriari; quae forte ut et nos aliquid secundum physicos dicamus, tumescentibus mero venis, ac diversis ciborum saporumque nidoribus, humore capitis succrescente, facilius elabuntur".

an object of worship. Ailred led him on to analyse his early experiences. They had been very delightful, but they had passed as quickly as they came. He had found equal pleasure in devout tears and in worldly jests, in the love for Christ and the companionships of the table. Now his life was very different : scanty food, rough dress, water from the well, a hard pallet. The bell rang just when sleep was sweetest. He had to toil and sweat for his daily bread ; his conversation with his fellows was confined to a few necessary words with three people.¹ He agreed gladly that this was only one side. Discipline meant peace : no wrangling or complaints of injustice, no lawsuits, no respect of persons nor regard for birth, no favouritism in the distribution of the daily tasks. He was now a member of a community united by a common interest in the common good, controlled by one man whose will was law for three hundred others.² The novice, in spite of the hardships of this new life and his own irresponsiveness, was fain to admit that he preferred it to the old. And then Ailred brought him face to face with the main issue : why in that old life, no longer preferred, had he a livelier sense of his love for Christ ? The conclusion was gradually drawn : to love is one thing, to love with full self-surrender is another and a harder thing. Love without service is like the emotion of the playgoer who weeps at the sight of sufferings which in the street he would pass unmoved. At this point the novice hung his head. He remembered how he, who had been so lightly moved to tears by his love for Christ, had been wont to cry with equal facility over the story of Arthur.³

In 1142 William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln, founded the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Revesby in Lincolnshire. In accordance with the Cistercian rule he would consult the Abbot of Rievaulx, by

¹ P.L., CXCIV., 562. The abbot, prior and novice master seem to be intended : see the "Consuetudines," ch. cxiii., in Guignard, *Monuments primitifs*, p. 233.

² P.L., CXCIV., 563 : "quod me miro modo delectat nulla est personarum acceptio, nulla natalium consideratio. . . . Trecentis ut reor hominibus unius hominis uoluntas est lex". This number included the conversi, novices, servants in the monastery and granges as well as the monks. It increased greatly under Ailred's rule as abbot.

³ *Ibid.*, 565 c. "Nam et in fabulis, quae uulgo de nescio quo finguntur Arcturo, memini me nonnunquam usque ad effusionem lacrymarum fuisse permotum". I shall return to the significance of this allusion : see below, p. 476.

whom he desired his foundation to be settled, about a suitable site and would build a church, refectory, dormitory, hospice, and other necessary buildings. Copies of the Benedictine rule, the Cistercian customs and the service books would be provided, and then the first inmates, twelve monks and an abbot, would take possession.¹ All Cistercian houses were dedicated to St. Mary, and Walter Daniel is careful to state that the name of St. Lawrence was preserved because the existing church was dedicated to this saint.² Abbot William chose Ailred as first Abbot of St. Lawrence.³ With this advancement began the last and most important period of his career. In 1147 he was elected Abbot of Rievaulx.

Ailred was Abbot of Rievaulx for nearly twenty years.⁴ In his time Rievaulx was the real centre of Cistercian influence in England. The once Savigniac, but now Cistercian house of Furness and the Surrey house of Waverley were older, but as Ailred once said of the latter, they were hidden away in a corner (*in angulo*).⁵ The source of the new religious life lay in Yorkshire, a few miles off the big road which goes from York to Durham through Northallerton, and within easy reach of the road through Catterick to Carlisle and Clydesdale and Galloway.⁶ And the new abbot was fitted to extend the work begun by William and his companions at Rievaulx. His prestige in the province of York was great. He had been the confidant of King David of Scotland, and in course of time he was permitted to advise King Henry II. and the powerful Earl of Leicester. For some years

¹ See the "instituta" as defined in 1152, Guignard, *op. cit.*, cc. 12, 23, pp. 253, 256.

² Vita Ailredi, f. 68 b.

³ Walter Daniel confirms the definite statement made in the *Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense*, ed. Giles, p. 91. Ailred attested a charter of Roger Mowbray as "Alredo, abbate de S. Laurentio," *Cart. Rievallense*, No. 71, p. 41.

⁴ For the references in this paragraph see the chronological table, below p. 478.

⁵ In the tract on the battle of the Standard, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 338; Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen*, etc., iii., 184.

⁶ Some interesting remarks on the routes in the north of England will be found in papers by Dr. Lawlor and Canon Wilson on the Roman journeys of St. Malachi, the friend of St. Bernard and Ailred's contemporary: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, April, 1919, vol. xxxv. C. 6, pp. 238 ff.; *Scottish Historical Review*, XVIII., 69-82, 226-227.

after his election, the Archbishopric of York was ruled by a close friend and ally, Henry Murdac, himself a Cistercian. Ailred was by nature a man of alert mind, sound in judgment, interested in affairs. He excelled as an arbitrator, and adjusted more than one of the perplexing controversies which disturbed the monastic tempers of the north. In spite of constant ill health, he was an indefatigable administrator. He composed disputes between Rievaulx and her neighbours, and ruled his large family with moderation and patience. He found time, between attendances at the General Chapter of his Order at Citeaux and visitations of the Cistercian houses in Scotland, the inspection of the monastic granges and the composition of sermons, dialogues and historical works, to take some share in the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese. In short he was one of the most considerable persons north of the Trent and would know everybody of importance. He would doubtless meet the famous Vacarius, the Italian lawyer who for many years placed his learning and skill at the service of Archbishop Roger.¹ If the two men had time for intimate speech they would find that they had much in common. The author of the *Summa de matrimonio* was keenly interested, for example, in the problem of the application in societies of non-Roman origin of the principles of the Roman and Canon Law; and Ailred, a former official in the Scottish Court, and later the biographer of St. Ninian, would have plenty to tell him about the practices of the people of Galloway.²

It is to be feared that Ailred's life was not always a peaceful one, even when he was free to forget the distractions of the world within the walls of Rievaulx. His difficulties would be increased by his

¹ The agreement between the churches of York and Durham, to which both Ailred and Vacarius were witnesses, cannot be relied on. Roger of Howden ascribes it to the year 1174, seven years after Ailred's death. (Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III., 79; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, II., 276). But Vacarius was living at York during Ailred's later years. See Liebermann, in the *English Historical Review*, XI., 305 ff.; and for the "summa de matrimonio," Maitland, *Collected Papers*, III., 87 ff.

² For the Cistercian view of Pictish marriage customs see *Vita Ailredi*, f. 71 a; and compare St. Bernard's description of Irish custom in the *Vita S. Malachie*, quoted with comments by Lawlor in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, April, 1919, vol. xxxv. C. 6, pp. 236-237. Mr. Orpen makes some illuminating remarks on this subject in his *Ireland under the Normans*, I., 124-130 (1911).

unwillingness to refuse applicants and to keep the number of the community down. Under his rule he had 140 monks, and the well managed estates provided employment for 600 lay brethren and servants. On great feast days, says Walter, the church was so packed with the brethren as to resemble a hive of bees. Ailred could not know all his monks nor control all the affairs of this large establishment.¹ He was by conviction a mild disciplinarian. It says much for his moral influence that life at Rievaulx was as smooth and happy as it was. He knew well that one of the greatest dangers which beset the monastic life is restless curiosity about external affairs ; a chatterer about war and politics might cause a wave of disturbance which would change the temper of the whole monastery.² He was a restless man himself, inclined as a young monk to let his thoughts wander, and one of his most grateful memories was of his dead friend Simon, whose presence had always sufficed to make him collect himself.³ He compared the monastic life to a castle, with its ditch, wall and keep—just such a castle as that of Lord Walter Espec at Helmsley. “Intrauit Jesus in quoddam castellum,” and no castle is strong if ditch or wall has to stand alone, or if the keep is not higher than the rest ; in this castle humility is the ditch, chastity the wall and charity the keep.⁴ But Ailred had to suffer still more from stupidity and envy within than from the assaults of curiosity without. One gathers that he was refined, courteous, gentle in manner and firm almost to obstinacy. He was, one fancies, just and impartial from principle rather than by nature ; he was inclined to favouritism and the joys of spiritual friendship with charming young men, like his friend Simon and the handsome young monk of Durham whom he had with him in his visit to St. Godric at Finchale. He was a man of pleasant and easy speech, with a memory stored with anecdotes ; he was distinguished, industrious, and physically frail—an interesting combination of qualities which tended to confine him to the society of a few chosen helpers. By special permission of the general Chapter ten

¹ See the interesting chapter in the *Vita*, ff. 69 d-70 a, printed below, p. 507.

² *Speculum Caritatis*, II., 34 (P.L., CXCv., 573 b).

³ *Speculum*, I., 34 (*Ibid.*, 542 c, d).

⁴ Sermon on the assumption of the Blessed Virgin (*ibid.* 303-304). The passage is of some archaeological interest.

years before his death the rule was relaxed in his favour, so that he might perform his abbatial duties in spite of the very distressing malady from which he suffered.¹ He lived and slept in a little room built near the infirmary, took hot baths and—as his end drew nearer—crouched over a fire. In his cell, which contained a little oratory, where he kept his glossed psalter, the Confessions of St. Augustine, the text of St. John's Gospel, some relics of saints and a little cross which had once belonged to Archbishop Henry Murdac, he would talk with his monks, sometimes twenty or more together.² A man of this kind, who offers no sharp angles to the outsider and has more to forgive than to be forgiven, provokes unreasoning exasperation in envious or unbalanced minds.³ Ailred found enemies at Rievaulx as he found them at King David's court, and Walter Daniel's life was written in part as a passionate refutation of the suggestions that he was ambitious, a wirepuller, fond of luxurious living, a successful prig who in his time had been no better than he should have been.

In two of his writings, the *Speculum Caritatis* (c. 1142) and the Dialogue on spiritual friendship, which was composed towards the end of his life, Ailred refers at some length to two intimate friendships which he had formed at Rievaulx. Simon, the companion of his youth, had died shortly before Ailred wrote the *Speculum*, which contains a lamentation over the severance of their friendship.⁴ This model young man, well born, beautiful and holy, may possibly have been the Simon de Sigillo, whose psalter was preserved in the following century in the library, together with the psalters of Abbots Ailred and Ernald, of Turolde, abbot first of Fountains and later of Trois-Fontaines, of Master Walter Daniel, Ralf Barun, Geoffrey of Dinant, Fulk, and William of Rutland.⁵ The name of Ailred's later friend

¹ Vita Ailredi, ff. 70 a, b; 72 c, d. Ailred suffered from the stone and an "artetica passio," or "colica passio" (f. 63 a).

² f. 70 a, 73 a. The psalter was after Ailred's death, preserved with others in the library of the Abbey.

³ See especially the story, told by Walter Daniel in his letter to Maurice, of the "Epicurean" who tried to throw Ailred into the fire (Vita Ailredi, f. 63 b).

⁴ P.L., CXCv., 539-546; cf. 698 b.

⁵ James, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Jesus College, Cambridge*, pp. 49-50. On the other hand Simon de Sigillo may have been the well-known canon of York who attested many charters. He had ceased to hold

is not known. The abbot tells us that he brought him from the south, apparently about the time when he became novice master. On his succession as abbot, he gradually made the young man his confidant and finally, with the consent of the brethren, sub-prior. He became the abbot's mainstay, the "staff of his old age," who soothed him when he was worried, and refreshed his leisure. He died before the Dialogue on friendship was written, for in this work Ailred tells, as characteristic of him, how during his last illness he refused any relaxation of the rule on his behalf, lest a suspicion of favouritism should injure the abbot's authority.¹ Ailred, as we have seen, was sent to Rome shortly before he became novice master at Rievaulx, and the young man whom he brought back with him from the south may have been Geoffrey of Dinant. But this is an idle guess.

Walter Daniel says nothing of the friendships which meant most to Ailred, but he gives the names of several members of the little band from whom the abbot seems to have usually chosen his companions and fellow-travellers. Henry of Beverley, Ralph of Rothwell and little Ralph (*Radulfus parvus, brevis staturae*) are named most frequently.

V.

THE DAUGHTERS OF RIEVAULX.

The years between Ailred's novitiate and his election as Abbot of Rievaulx were critical in the history of the Cistercian Order. Even in 1135 the movement which St. Bernard had revived a few years before was spreading with a rapidity which alarmed its wiser followers. Too many persons unsuited for the religious life were degrading the Order. In 1152, when it comprised 330 houses, the General Chapter

his prebend of Langtoft by 1164 (Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I., 137, No. 161). William of Newburgh got information about the death of St. William (1154) from an aged monk of Rievaulx who had once been a canon of York (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I. 81). For Turold see St. Bernard's letter in *Opera*, I., 287 d, and Walbran, *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, I., 104-105 (Surtees Society, 1863). The monks of Durham also kept a collection of psalters which had belonged to their more distinguished predecessors: *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral*, p. 7 (Surtees Society, 1838).

¹ P.L., CXCv., 700-701.

forbade the foundation of new houses.¹ In the interval Rievaulx had sent out colonists to Wardon, Melrose, Revesby, and Dundrennan.²

The history of these monasteries must be sought elsewhere ; but a few additional notes or corrections may be gleaned from the materials for the life of Ailred.

(1) The Abbey of Wardon was founded by Walter Espec in a clearing in the woods upon his Bedfordshire lands (1135). He naturally sought the co-operation of Abbot William of Rievaulx. The house was generally known as Sartis (*de essartis*) or the "clearing". We have seen that Ailred's novice master, the long-lived Simon, was probably the first Abbot of Sartis. Walter Daniel also tells us that Ivo, one of the speakers in Ailred's Dialogue on spiritual friendship, was a monk of Sartis, and that Ailred dedicated to him a noble exposition on the passage which describes the child Christ's discussion with the doctors in the Temple.

(2) The Abbey of St. Lawrence at Revesby in Lincolnshire has a place in the biography of Ailred, its first abbot. Walter Daniel says that Ailred began to work miracles at Revesby and, if the names of the witnesses are a sure guide, the abbot took with him, among the dozen colonists, lord Gospatric (doubtless a member of the great Northumbrian house), Henry the priest and Ralph the short. The under cellarer, who is unnamed, was a relative of Ailred's, and another monk was the unstable scholar who had previously caused him trouble as a novice at Rievaulx. Ralph the short and the unstable monk would seem to have returned with Ailred to Rievaulx in 1147.

The list of Ailred's immediate successors at Revesby requires revision. According to the Peterborough chronicler Ailred was succeeded by Philip, who died in 1166 and was followed by Gualo or Galo.³ Philip was certainly Abbot of St. Lawrence in 1164,⁴ and it is likely that he was the abbot of the daughter house who insulted Ailred

¹ Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne*, p. xv. This statute was not strictly observed, but checked the growth of the Order.

² Another project seems to have come to nothing. Rievaulx before 1140 was given land at Stainton, near Richmond, "ad construendam abbatiam," which was never built (*Cart. Rievallense*, pp. lvii., 261).

³ *Chronicon Angliæ Petroburgense* (edit. Giles, 1845), p. 99.

⁴ *Cartularium Rievallense*, No. 246, p. 183.

at Rievaulx. According to Walter Daniel, this unnamed abbot, on the occasion of his statutory annual visit to Rievaulx,¹ so provoked Ailred by his unjust railing and accusations that the latter was moved to pass a prophetic judgment upon him. He died soon after his return home.² It is clear from the context that this painful incident occurred just before one of Ailred's latest visits to Galloway, and the only abbot of a daughter house who died between this date and that of Ailred's own death in 1167 was Philip of St. Lawrence.³ The Peterborough chronicler, on the other hand, erred in stating that Philip was Ailred's immediate successor, for G., Abbot of St. Lawrence, attests a charter of 1147-53 recently printed by Mr. Stenton.⁴ If Gualo succeeded Philip, he had given place to Hugh before the spring of 1174 or 1175. Hugh, who was still abbot in 1193,⁵ would seem to have been succeeded by Ralph.⁶ We have, then, the following revised list of the abbots of St. Lawrence :—

Ailred, 1142-7.

G., c. 1150.

Philip, mentioned 1164 ; died, 1166.

Gualo, 1166.

Hugh, 1175, 1193.

Ralph.

(3) The Abbey of Dundrennan in Galloway is said to have been founded in 1142 by King David and was occupied, as Walter Daniel states, by monks from Rievaulx.⁷ Yet when Ailred visited it

¹ For this annual visit to the mother house, see the instituta of 1152, c. 34, "quod filia per annum semel uisitat matrem ecclesiam" (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 260).

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 d. Walter's story was too precise, and he afterwards modified it in his letter to Maurice, f. 61 b. The Abbot's death may, he admits, have been due to some other cause than Ailred's prophesy.

³ Walter Daniel's chronology is confused. See below, p. 480.

⁴ *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Danelaw*, No. 348, p. 262.

⁵ 9 Kal., April, 1175 (*Cart. Rievallense*, No. 132, p. 82, and note); 10 Jan., 1177 (Stenton, No. 285, p. 215); about 1193 (*ibid.*, No. 526, p. 381).

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 524, p. 380 (end of twelfth century).

⁷ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 62 c. According to the statute of 1152, which presumably defined previous custom, the buildings should have been ready for the monks.

in 1165 he was lodged in a poor, leaky hovel, as the conventual buildings were not finished. It was here that the rain spared Ailred's mattress! At this time the Prior of Dundrennan was Walter, formerly one of Walter Espec's chaplains, and sacristan of Rievaulx.

(4) With Melrose, Ailred had personal as well as official ties, for between 1148 and 1159 its abbot was his old friend Waldef, formerly Prior of Kirkham. But the relations between Rievaulx and St. Waldef require more particular notice.

VI.

RIEVAULX, KIRKHAM, AND ST. WALDEF.

Waldef, Waldeve or Waltheof (erroneously Waldenus) was the second son of Simon of Saint Liz and Matilda, the daughter of the famous Englishman, Earl Waltheof. Simon's elder son, another Simon, became in due course Earl of Northampton and a supporter of King Stephen; Waldef, who was brought up at the court of his step-father, King David of Scotland, was attracted by the religious life. As a child, while his brother played at castles, he had preferred to play at churches.¹ He became a regular canon in the Augustinian priory at Nostell, near Pontefract.² About the time when his old companion Ailred entered Rievaulx he was elected Prior of Kirkham. The Augustinian priory of Kirkham had been founded by Walter Espec in 1122, ten years before he found a home for the missionaries of St. Bernard at Rievaulx. The two houses, owing their origin to the same patron, and only a few miles apart, were naturally brought into closer touch with each other than was usual in the case of religious foundations which belonged to different orders.³ The arrival of Waldef as prior of one, and of Ailred as monk in the other must have strengthened the sense of relationship. The Prior of Kirkham joined

¹ For this section, see Jocelin of Furness, *Vita S. Waldeni*, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 248 ff.; for Waldef's boyhood, 251 b.

² This was about 1130, for c. 1128 he attested one of David's charters (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 83, p. 69).

³ Their lands, for example, were naturally grouped together and they had to make exchanges and other arrangements. The abbot of Rievaulx and the prior of Kirkham were joint *custodes* of the hospital founded c. 1225 by Robert de Ros at Bolton, in the Barony of Wark-on-Tweed. See Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, vol. vii. (1904), pp. 202-203.

Abbot William of Rievaulx and the other leaders of the opposition to the election of Archbishop William of York. In 1143 he accompanied them to Rome.¹ Within a few months this intimacy had a result which brought alarm and division among the canons of Kirkham. Waldef decided to take the vows of a Cistercian. If his biographer is correct in attributing the step to the influence of Ailred, Waldef had probably had it in mind for some time, since opportunities of discussion with Ailred must have been less frequent after the latter's departure for Revesby in 1142. Some of the canons were angry; the claim of the Cistercians that, as their severe rule brought its votaries nearer to perfection, an Augustinian might properly adopt it, whereas a Cistercian who left his Order for the Augustinians would be a backslider, naturally annoyed them.² They were proud of their Order, of their work as priests among the people, of their churches with their windows of stained glass. When Waldef began his novitiate at Wardon, the wrath of the canons of Kirkham pursued him. They had the sympathy of Simon, the earl of Northampton, who at this time had no respect for the spiritual extravagances of his brother, and, according to Jocelin of Furness, the earl's hostility was felt to be so dangerous to the monks of Wardon that Waldef withdrew to Rievaulx.

The cartulary of Rievaulx contains an interesting cirograph or agreement between the Abbey and the canons of Kirkham which (although his name is not mentioned) is almost certainly connected with Waldef's reception into the Cistercian order.³ Waldef's intention had divided the canons, several of whom desired to join their prior in

¹ John of Hexham, ed. Raine, p. 142.

² Jocelin of Furness, 257; cf. the remarks of Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, I., p. cxi. The relations between St. Bernard and the Augustinians were none the less very friendly; see Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., 186 ff.

³ *Cartularium Rievallense*, No. 149, p. 108. Canon Atkinson, in his introduction to this cartulary, misses the meaning of the text, which is correctly summarized in the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, III., 219-220. He saw, however, that it might be related to the history of Waldef, a possibility which seems to me to be certain if the text is compared with the narrative of Jocelin of Furness. The date of the agreement is not given. Atkinson's reasons for placing it before the document, No. 347, in the cartulary (p. 243), though not quite convincing, have much force. If he is right, it must be dated c. 1139.

his momentous change of life. A struggle ensued for the possession of the priory with its rich endowments and churches. The patron, Walter Espec, tried to solve the difficulty by means of an ingenious compromise. The canons would surrender Kirkham and other property to the abbot and monks of Rievaulx, who would receive the Augustinians who remained into all the privileges of the Cistercian order. In return the prior and his followers (*auxilarii*) were to build new buildings on an adequate scale—church, chapter-house, dormitory, refectory, etc. The new home was to be at Linton, perhaps Linton-on-Ouse, north of York, and the canons were to be permitted to remove thither their sacred vessels, books, vestments, and the stained glass from the Kirkham windows. The agreement was not executed, and ultimately Waldef went out alone.¹

He had periods of depression and misgiving. He was repelled by the insipid food, the rough garments, the hard manual labour and the incessant round of offices and saying of psalms. As his mind went back to the years which he had passed at Nostell and Kirkham, he seriously considered whether it was not his duty to return to a life which, if less austere, was better adapted for the discipline and salvation of the soul.² But he passed through this crisis. In 1148, he was elected Abbot of the daughter house at Melrose and returned to the land of his step-father, King David.

By this time Ailred was Abbot of Rievaulx, and it was therefore Waldef's duty to report to him once a year. Jocelin of Furness draws some pleasant pictures of Waldef's visits to his old friends. Once he came in summer. He arrived at midday while the brethren were asleep in the dormitory.³ He would not allow them to be disturbed but, after the customary prayer at the door of the church, he went to sit in the cloister; and, as he leaned against the wall and tried to sleep, his closest friend, the dead Abbot William, appeared to him. His thoughts were much occupied, on these occasions, with memories of William, for at another time, when the convent had gone

¹ If the cirograph must be dated before 1139 (see last note), the canons did not lose their prior until four or five years later.

² Jocelin of Furness, 257-258: "persuasum in mente habuit institutiones illorum licet leuiores, discretioni tamen uiciniore esse ac per hoc saluandis animabus aptiores" (258 a).

³ The siesta in summer is prescribed in the consuetudines, c. 83 (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 188).

to bed after compline, he stayed behind and went into the Chapter-house to pray by his tomb.¹

At Melrose Waldef had visits from Ailred. The Abbot of Rievaulx was with him, not long before his death, when a deputation came from St. Andrews to offer him the bishopric. Ailred urged him to accept, but Waldef refused, because he felt that his end was near.²

VII.

THE MIRACLES.

The *Vita Ailredi* was written to prove Ailred's claim to sanctity. It is a piece of hagiography. From Walter Daniel's point of view the external incidents of the abbot's life were important just so far as they helped to establish his case. Inevitably he saw or heard from others the things which the friend and biographer of a saint would expect to see or hear. A supernatural light shone round the infant's head; the child uttered prophesies; the youth was virtuous; the monk possessed miraculous powers of healing, which could be transmitted by his staff;³ he saw prophetic visions; the elements favoured him, as when the rain spared his bed in the leaky house at Dundrennan; he was rigidly ascetical, stern to himself, while gracious and forgiving to others; his death was exemplary and, in spite of his age and intense physical sufferings, his corpse was as fresh and white as that of a little child.

As a contribution to the hagiographical literature of the twelfth century Walter's work has no special interest or originality. The repetition of familiar precedents from the gospels is the basis of the narrative; and parallels to most of the extravagant additions can be found in any other work of the period, for example, in the miracles of St. John of Beverley, St. Cuthbert, St. Ninian, St. Kentigeon, or—to

¹ Jocelin of Furness, 264 e, 265 a.

² *Ibid.*, 266 f. Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, died in the spring of 1159, and Waldef died on 3 August in the same year. (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 76; Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, 1912, pp. 4-6). Ailred's visit then was in the early summer of 1159.

³ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 69 a. For the wonder-working power of the "bachall" or pastoral staff in the lives of Irish saints, see Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), Vol. I., p. clxxv.

take Ailred's contemporaries—in the lives of Godric of Finchale, William of York, Waldef of Melrose. In the descriptions of disease, apparently so precise and minute, in reality so vague, Walter Daniel adopted phrases in current use, just as the chroniclers used forms and phrases handed down from Livy or Sallust to adorn a speech or describe a military raid.¹ We must not conclude that the occasions of Ailred's miracles were invented. No one would argue that, because other saints stood up to their necks in cold water in order to expel the lusts of the flesh, the story that Ailred did the same is an invention; and it would be equally hazardous to argue that Ailred's personality had no therapeutic influence, because his cures are described in the high-flown conventional language used in other lives of saints. When Walter Daniel says that he was present in the orchard at Rievaulx one dark evening while the abbot was discussing some domestic matter with the cellarers, and remembers how Ailred hurried off to minister to a brother who had suddenly fallen sick, he is describing something which he had seen and which we can accept, although we need not believe that the subsequent recovery of the sick man happened exactly as Walter says that it did.² But at this point the historian is brought to a stand. He cannot estimate the ratio between the true and the false in the conventional narrative. He cannot measure the varying degrees of suggestion or hallucination, of folk-lore or falsehood. He can only call attention to the spiritual circumstances in which a monk of the twelfth century lived. Walter Daniel and his companions breathed an atmosphere in which they could hardly escape far-fetched or grotesque interpretations of the evidence of their senses :—

The dignities of plain occurrence then
Were tasteless, and truth's golden mean, a point
Where no sufficient pleasure could be found.

There would be no limits, save those imposed by the conventions of contemporary literature, to the conclusions which these eagerly expectant admirers of Ailred would draw from the most trivial incident. Lives of saints, as familiar to them as their psalters, set before

¹ See Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (trans. V. M. Crawford, 1907) for the whole subject. Cf. Plummer's introduction to the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, already noted, for the material of legend.

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 d; below, pp. 510, 511.

them the standard of perfection to which a good monk might attain. In this period of monastic revival the standard was actually attained by many monks in all parts of Europe, for the Cistercian and other rules attracted men of fine and strong personality, natural leaders of their fellows. Ailred was one of these men, and his monks could recognize the type in their master. They would be on the watch for signs of the divine favour and would know exactly what kinds of manifestation to expect. Prepared to see everywhere traces of the direct intervention of God, their senses were deadened to the commonplace and unusually aware of strange or peculiar circumstance. A presentiment, a coincidence, a flicker of sunlight in an unusual place, might suggest a miracle for which there were a dozen parallels. They would nudge each other with significant looks and, as they talked it over, would invest the original incident with its setting of appropriate detail. The story would be complete, the witnesses ready, within an hour.¹

At the same time Walter Daniel was not unaware of the criticism which the indiscriminating regard for the miraculous had aroused. Like St. Bernard and Ailred himself, he had a sense of moral values, if not of the value of evidence. The Cistercians were tolerant of the marvellous, for they could see no bounds to the ways in which God reveals Himself in the lives of His loved ones; but they insisted that virtue, not supernatural power, is the true mark of a saint. It is better to conquer oneself than Jerusalem. The two trains of thoughts can be clearly seen in the life and teaching of St. Bernard. The stories of Bernard's miracles which were freely reported, apparently without any contradiction, in his lifetime, must have done much to arouse expectations of the marvellous in the lives of other famous Cistercians.²

¹ Walter's views are set out at length in his letter to Maurice, of which the text is given below, p. 481. He had omitted many miracles which, in his view, were well authenticated, and of all those which he included, he had been a witness or had direct information. He consents to name witnesses as a concession to Maurice, but in his opinion the virtues of Ailred are the real sanction: "michi facile credibile uidetur homines uita bona preditos facere posse quod deus uoluerit" (f. 61 a). In a later passage (f. 61 c) he develops the argument that the canons of evidence are not the same for *crimen* and *uirtus*.

² See Vacandard's discussion of the *Liber miraculorum*, which contains accounts, written down at various places during the journey, of miracles

Bernard himself says of St. Benedict, "sanctitatem miracula probant, doctrina pietatem, uita iustitiam".¹ But he also wrote that the greatest miracle in his eyes was the voluntary adoption of the rule by so many young men, who were able to live lives of such unwonted austerity as though held captive by the fear of God in a prison with open doors.² Similarly Ailred, who wrote the life of St. Ninian and inspired Reginald of Durham to set down the miracles of St. Cuthbert and Godric of Finchale, and said that the concealment of undoubted miracles of the Lord was a kind of sacrilege,³ held strong views about those who, conscious of their own virtue, exploited their sanctity by the exhibition of miraculous powers. This was the worst of all forms of spiritual inquisitiveness; it was to tempt God.⁴ Ailred's biographer was forced by the criticism to which the *Vita Ailredi* was subjected, to expound this view still more precisely. Two prelates had cast doubt upon the incidents related by Walter Daniel, and, in his letter to Maurice, Walter took up the challenge. He named witnesses who were prepared to swear to the truth of the narrative and also to several other miraculous incidents not mentioned in the Life. But at the same time he repudiates the notion that Ailred's claim to sanctity depended upon any miracles—

"The miracles of our father are great, yet bad men are able to work miracles and great ones too. But only the good possess the perfect love (*caritatem*) which Ailred had. If, says the apostle, I shall have all faith so that I am able to remove mountains, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Who will deny that to remove mountains is a great miracle? And yet without love whatever a man may do is reckoned

wrought by St. Bernard in the Rhine valley, 1146-7: *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., p. xxvii. ff. Vacandard also gives references to the pleasantries of Walter Map and other sceptics on the subject of Bernard's miracles.

¹ *Opera*, I., col. 975 c.

² *Ibid.*, col. 1076 d.

³ His tract, "De Sanctimoniali de Watton," which shows the monastic attitude at its worst, begins, "miracula Dei et manifesta divinae pietatis indicia scire et tegere, portio sacrilegii est" (*Decem Scriptores*, col. 415).

⁴ *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii., c. 34 (P.L., CXCv., 573 d): "est adhuc aliud curiositatis pessimum genus, quo tamen hi soli, qui magnarum sibi uirtutum consciï sunt, attentantur: exploratio scilicet suae sanctitatis per miraculorum exhibitionem, quod est Deum tentare".

nought, even though he is able to suspend the whole earth from one finger.”¹

Walter was quite consistent. Although he defended the miracles, the personality of Ailred was the really interesting thing, on which his memory preferred to dwell. He writes well and simply when he describes Ailred talking with young monks in his private cell and tells us about his literary work and narrates the story of his last days and death. He was at bottom less certain about the miracles. It is significant that, in the letter to Maurice, he withdraws his support from the one miraculous incident in the *Life* which was not altogether creditable to Ailred. Ailred had lost his temper with a scurrilous abbot of a daughter house and foretold that evil would befall him. Soon after the tiresome abbot died, and in the *Life* Walter regarded his death as a fulfilment of Ailred's prophecy; but in the letter to Maurice he says that he cannot vouch for the connection and has now reason to believe that death was due to other causes.² It is possible, indeed, that he was led on to the generalizations, which I have just quoted, by the thought that the competition in miracles—prevalent between the supporters of rival saints—was a most ineffective way to maintain Cistercian influence and ideals. Bad men could work miracles. Just at this time the supporters of Saint William of York, the archbishop whom, in 1140, William of Rievaulx had opposed as a simoniac, were pressing the claims of their hero.³ Miracles were worked at his tomb as startling as any worked at the tomb of St. John of Beverley. And a few years later we find St. William appropriating the most

¹ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 63 a. The whole passage is important and is given in full below, pp. 489, 490.

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 61 b (foot). The story, as originally told, is in f. 70 d. For comments, see above, p. 462. Walter also modified slightly the story of the novice who tried in vain to leave the monastery. After giving the names of witnesses, he proceeds (f. 61 b, top) “quod eciam miraculum michi uenerabilis pater Aldredus expressit, non quidem quasi miraculum propter suam humilitatem, set quasi quandam praeclaram fortunam propter meam infirmitatem”.

³ St. William was restored to the see after Henry Murdac's death but died almost immediately, 1154 (*Historians of the Church of York*, III., 396-397). William of Newburgh refutes the suspicion that he was poisoned (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 81). A collection of St. William's miracles is printed from Dodsworth MS. 215, by Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, II., 531-543.

remarkable of Ailred's cures, the miraculous extraction of a live frog which had been swallowed by mistake at an earlier stage of its career.¹

Walter had to meet a criticism which affected him more than the scepticism about Ailred's miracles. He was attacked for his assertion that Ailred, during his youth at King David's court, had lived like a monk. The implication was that Ailred's secular life had been perfectly chaste, as Waldef's was said to have been,² and as Ailred—using this same phrase—said that the life of the other companion of his youth, Earl Henry, had been.³ Walter Daniel, presumably, intended his readers to take the phrase in the same sense.⁴ Before he wrote his apologia to Maurice, he had been reminded of some evidence—perhaps the self-accusing passages which were quoted by a later critic from Ailred's own writings⁵—which pointed the other way. His explanation was interesting if not ingenuous. If his critics, he said, had been familiar with the practice of the schools, they would have realized that he was using a rhetorical figure, by which the whole is known from the part. He was not thinking of Ailred's chastity when he said that Ailred in his secular days lived like a monk; the phrase was, of course, inapplicable to one whose continence had not been perfect. He was thinking of Ailred's humility. In that single virtue the whole range of his future perfection was anticipated.⁶

¹ Ailred extracted a frog which a youth had swallowed while drinking (*Vita Ailredi*, f. 71 b). In 1177 a woman who had swallowed a frog cooked in bread was cured at the tomb of St. William (Raine, *op. cit.*, II., 284, 535).

² *Acta Sanctorum*, August., I., 251 e: "illud singulare decus, uirginitatis uidelicet candidaturam ac utero matris secum uexit ad caelum".

³ In the tract on the Battle of the Standard, Ailred describes Henry as so good "ut et in rege monachum, et in monacho regem praetendere uideretur" (*Decem Scriptores*, col. 342; Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., iii., 191). Similarly of Richard, Prior of Hexham, Ailred says, "qui etiam cum esset in saeculo, et insigne castitatis et sobrietatis fere monachus putaretur" (Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 193).

⁴ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 64 a, below, p. 493.

⁵ *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstmann, II., 552-553. The writer refers to a passage in Ailred's work *De institutis inclusarum*, written for his sister, and to another in the *De Speculo Caritatis*, lib. i., c. 28.

⁶ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 62 c, d; below, p. 488. Walter describes the rhetorical figure as *intellectio*. He appears to have *synecdoche* in mind. Cf. Bede, *De schematis et tropis sacrae scripturae liber* (P.L., XC., col. 182): "Synecdoche est significatio pleni intellectus capax, cum plus minusue pronuntiat; aut enim a parte totum ostendit".

VIII.

CONCLUSION.

Walter, we have seen, felt some complacency in his knowledge of the technicalities of the schools. The world would sometimes break into the life of the cloister. Ailred also could not disregard it. While he was meditating on the burdens of Isaiah or on the intimacies of spiritual friendship, he could not forget his political interests. As a public man, he was indeed not allowed to forget them. His knowledge of English history, the services of his reconciling influence between Norman and Englishman, between the church of Rome and the old ecclesiastical traditions of Northumbria, were too great to be neglected in that age of conscious transition. Cistercian house though it was, Rievaulx might have become a school of historical studies if a later abbot had not intervened. At the close of the century Abbot Ernald, who had himself some pretensions to historical learning, decided that interests of this kind were not quite consistent with the purpose of the Cistercian rule. He could not encourage his monks to pursue them. Yet he felt that the great events of the twelfth century deserved a northern chronicler. He gave his encouragement, therefore, to a learned canon in the neighbouring Austinian priory. Admirers of the thoughtful and vivacious history of William of Newburgh have not always remembered to spare a little gratitude to Ernald of Rievaulx for his share in William's work.¹

Even in the interests of the Cistercian rule, it was perhaps unwise of Abbot Ernald to check the study of history. Times were changing and Rievaulx could not hope to retain its influence as a centre of theologians and contemplatives. Contemplative study is born of experiences which no traditional discipline can transmit. As for theological work, a provincial monastery, even though it possessed the nucleus of a good library, could not provide the stimulus or equipment of the schools. Theology was already, in Ailred's later days, a science, a professional striving between experts, not a matter of easygoing reflection upon the Scriptures and the Fathers. The tradition established

¹ See William of Newburgh's dedication of his chronicle (*circa* 1198) to Abbot Ernaldus, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen, etc.*, I., 3-4. The Canon Picard, the first editor of William, who is followed by Hearne, confused Ernaldus with Ailred.

by William, Maurice, Ailred and Walter Daniel, died with Nicholas of Rievaulx early in the following century. We may be sure that, after they went, the world was not kept out. Building, sheep-farming, contentions with neighbours would be quite as distracting as historical studies.

The men whom I have just named were all good Cistercians, but were by no means of the same type. Indeed, the differences in temperament between Ailred and Walter Daniel can be seen very clearly in their attitudes towards this problem of the cloister and the world. Walter, as though half-conscious of the weakness of his impulsive and imaginative nature, was more literal. The rule was in his mind the important thing, both in the monastic life and the teaching of the schools. He knew all about the divisions of philosophy and the figures of rhetoric. Ailred—untrained though he was—understood the spirit of Cicero or of St. Augustine far better than Walter did. Walter wrote well and clearly about the Cistercian rule :¹ he could analyse with some insight the perturbations of the soul which is hesitating to enter the “*cubiculum Dei*”²; but he could never have written Ailred’s dialogue between himself and the novice, in which the disillusionment and *acedia* which beset the monastic life are fearlessly faced. Walter gives the impression that the ideas which he wished to convey were not quite his own; he misunderstood their bearing and drifted into irrelevance, as when he made a point of the fact that Cicero’s *Topics* are not read in church. A lengthy passage in which he tries to expound Ailred’s attitude to grammatical rules is a good example of his uncertainty of touch. He realised that Ailred had intellectual ability (*anima ingeniosa*) and was not an uneducated man (*rusticus*); but he felt that the abbot’s characteristics as a teacher and writer required some explanation. Stimulating though he was, Ailred did not observe the methods of the schools. He had an instinctive rather than a trained appreciation of the so-called liberal arts. His comprehension was spiritual, more penetrating than the learning of those who acquire an uncertain knowledge of Aristotelian concepts or Pythagorean calculations. His ready intelligence passed beyond these things to the knowledge of Him who inhabits the region of real truth and unapproachable light (*ipse autem omnem*

¹ See below, p. 495.

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 65 a.

numerum transuolans uelocitate ingenii sui et omnem compositionem figure fecte uel facte supergrediens ipsum intellexit in scripturis et docuit, qui solus habet immortalitatem ubi non est numerus et lucem habitat inaccessibilem ubi non apparet figura sed ipsa ueritas que finis recte intelligitur uniuerse doctrine naturalis).

Walter goes on to say that, where the truth is present, words will not be wanting. Truth is self-sufficient and suffers from admixture with other things. Words are powerless to persuade without reason which is a part of truth ; for mere endless words may have no more meaning than the barking of a dog. And so Ailred refused to exalt the rules of grammar or the pursuit of fine speech above the truth.¹ This passage, for anyone interested in the history of medieval thought, possesses some significance ; it shows how the immediate successors of St. Bernard regarded the new activities of the schools. Walter Daniel in a Cistercian monastery in Yorkshire was saying what, a few years later, another Master Walter, the well-known prior of St. Victor, was to say, only with much more vehemence, in his book *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Francie*.² But, as an exposition of Ailred's attitude, the passage is misleading. Ailred was certainly not interested in the rules of grammar or rhetoric, and no doubt would have agreed that the exercises of the schools were not a necessary preliminary to the investigation of divine truth. To this extent—and possibly Walter did not intend to go further—his biographer's analysis was correct : but, carried away as usual by his train of thought, he suggests in his master a contempt for learning which was quite foreign to Ailred's mind. Ailred, like St. Bernard, passed his boyhood among people with intellectual interests. His family cherished a tradition of learning.³ He had begun as a boy to learn grammar in the best sense of the word, the sense in which John of Salisbury and the best scholars of the century insisted that it should be used, the literary study of the

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 67 d.

² The four labyrinths were Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Petrus Lombardus, and Peter of Poitiers. For extracts from the book and bibliography of Walter of St. Victor, see Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II., 124-127. The clearest expression of the opposite view, that the liberal arts are necessary to theological investigations (provided that rhetoric is subdued) was given by Robert of Melun.

³ See Ailred on the Saints of Hexham, in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., p. 190 ; and Raine's preface, pp. li.-lii.

Latin authors.¹ He protested, it is true, against the restless curiosity of those who could not discriminate between truth and vain philosophy. He had no patience with the monk who fused his meditations on the Scriptures with tags from the classics, the Gospels with Virgil, the prophets with Horace, Paul with Cicero.² But, again like St. Bernard, he was attacking the moral dangers which beset the learned, not learning itself. Indeed, his writings owe much of their attractiveness to a certain scholarly quality in them. His mind was simple and direct, but not abrupt or impatient of argument. As a boy he had rejoiced in Cicero's *De Amicitia*³; in later life his favourite book was the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, his favourite gospel that of St. John. In one of his last works, the dialogue on spiritual friendship, he gathered together and gave a spiritual meaning to the memories of a life which had sought its inspiration in the companionship of these books. He made Cicero his model, and found in the intense human friendships which had meant so much to him the foreshadowing of finer, more intense, relations. And as he wrote his mind lingered more than once over Augustine's haunting phrase, charged with Virgilian memories, "et quid erat, quod me delectabat, nisi amare et amari".

A casual reference in the *Speculum Caritatis* suggests that Ailred was acquainted with the Arthurian legend. The novice who

¹ Cf. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, lib. i., c. 13, in his *Opera*, edit. Giles, v. 34 (1848). Ailred was at school at Hexham or Durham (below, note 3). For the Yorkshire schools and *grammatici* in the twelfth century, see Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, in the Record Series of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Vol. XXVII. (1899). Archbishop Thomas I. of York founded the school at York, and Archbishop Thomas II. was educated there (Hugh the Chantor, in Raine, *Hist. of the Church of York*, II., 107, 124.

² *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii., c. 24 (P.L., CXCv., 573).

³ Prologue to the *De spiritali amicitia* (P.L., CXCv., col. 659 a): "cum adhuc puer essem in scholis et sociorum meorum me gratia plurimum delectaret, inter mores et vitia quibus illa aetas periclitari solet tota se mens mea dedit affectui et deuouit amori. . . . Tandem uenit mihi in manu liber quem de amicitia Tullius scripsit". Ailred felt the distaste of the Ciceronian for the *sermo barbaricus* of the early English writers who, owing to their lack of culture, were denied the gift of eloquent speech (*Vita Niniani*, prologus, ed. Forbes in the *Historians of Scotland*, V., 137, Edinburgh, 1874). That Ailred, in his life of St. Ninian, modernized an old Latin, not an English or British work, has recently been urged by Karl Strecker, after a careful and exhaustive examination of the literary history of St. Ninian (*Neues Archiv*, 1920, XLIII., 1-26).

was perplexed by the fact that religious emotion came at first less readily in Rievaulx than in his secular life, confessed to Ailred that he had often shed tears over the story of a certain Arthur.¹ The *Speculum Caritatis* was written before the end of 1142, and this reference shows that the first draft of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum*, or some account of its contents, must have reached the north of England at a very early date.² Possibly Ailred had noted the first stirrings of the interest which Lord Walter Espec and his household at Helmsley took in this strange history, and which led Walter to borrow the book from his friend, Earl Robert of Gloucester, and to pass it on to friends in Lincolnshire.³ To Ailred, with his English traditions and keen historical sense, the story of Arthur was doubtless as repellent as, fifty years later, it was to William of Newburgh. The chronological system of Bede had no room for the fanciful exploits of this Welsh hero, this sham Alexander.⁴ And Ailred felt that Arthur and his like were dangerous to more than historical truth; they drew the idle tears of young men who are always too willing to find in the luxury of sentiment a relief from the austere pursuit of Christ. But he could not know the full extent of the danger. He could not foresee that the Arthurian legend would give the sanction of beauty to most of those earthly joys and activities which he was training his novices to forget. The spirit of romance, a mightier influence than St. Bernard's, was abroad. In the course of time it has submitted even monks and cloisters to its fancies. To-day it reigns in the place where Ailred taught, and waves its magic wand over the ruins of Rievaulx.

¹ *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCIV., ed. 565 c.).

² Ailred's reference strengthens the case for the existence of a first draft of Geoffrey's work, c. 1138. For the evidence see W. Lewis Jones, in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1898-1900, pp. 62-67.

³ Walter Espec borrowed it for Dame Custance, wife of Ralf fitz Gilbert, lord of Scampton; she was interested in the compilation of Gaimar's *Lestorie des Engles* and helped Gaimar to collect materials. See *Lestorie des Engles* (Rolls Series, 1888-9), I., 275-276; II., ix. ff.

⁴ In his preface to the *Historia Rerum Anglicanarum*, William of Newburgh criticized Geoffrey of Monmouth mercilessly. He regarded him as an impudent liar. "Profecto minimum digitum sui Arturi grossiorem facit dorso Alexandri magni" (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 17).

APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

In the following table I have inserted the ascertainable dates of Ailred's life and writings. Not much information exists about his administration as abbot, but some idea of the additions to the property of Rievaulx during his rule may be obtained from a summary of the abbey's possessions, printed by Atkinson from a register in the Cottonian MSS. (*Cartularium Rievallensium*, 260-261). Walter Daniel, who was apparently the abbot's amanuensis or copyist (*Vita*, f. 68 a), gives useful information on the order of Ailred's more important writings (f. 70 b, c). The tract on the origin of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and of Fountains should be deleted from the list of Ailred's writings given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and elsewhere; it is identical with the tract edited by Walbran in the first volume of his *Memorials of Fountains Abbey* (Surtees Society, 1863), from a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Ailred's dialogue, *De Anima* (his last work), which has not been printed with his other works, survives in Bodleian MS. E. Mus. 224 (a little book of 62 leaves, written *c.* 1200) and in a Durham MS. B. iv. 25, ff. 83-128, where it follows William the Archdeacon on the Sentences (Rud, *Codicum MSS. ecclesie cathedralis Dunelmensis Catalogus classicus*, Durham, 1825, p. 219).

c. 1110. Birth of Ailred (above, p. 339).

c. 1124. After his boyhood at Hexham, where he probably went to school (cf. the prologue to the *De Spirituali Amicitia*, P.L., CXCV., col. 659 a, with his reference to his boyhood in his work on the Saints of Hexham, Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 174), Ailred was received by David, King of Scotland, and brought up with the King's son, Henry, and his stepson, Waldef. He became seneschal or *economus* at Court (above, p. 343).

c. 1133-4. Ailred entered Rievaulx on his return from a journey on King David's business to Archbishop Thurstan at York. (*Vita Ailredi*, f. 65 b—the Cistercians had arrived "ferme

- ante duos annos"; above, p. 453). His novice master was Simon, afterwards Abbot of Wardon.
1138. The Battle of the Standard. Death of Eilaf, Ailred's father. Ailred probably accompanied William, Abbot of Rievaulx, to Wark, in order to arrange the surrender of Walter Espec's castle to King David. (Above, pp. 340, 348). By this time Waldef was Prior of Kirkham.
1140. Death of Archbishop Thurstan and dispute about the election of Archbishop William.
1141. Ailred sent to Rome by Abbot William (*Vita Ailredi*, f. 67 b. For the date see above, p. 347).
- 1141-2. Ailred novice master of Rievaulx. In this year he wrote the *Speculum Caritatis* at the request of Gervase, Abbot of Louth Park (above, p. 454, cf. *Vita Ailredi*, f. 67 d, below, p. 500).
- 1142-7. Ailred, first Abbot St. Lawrence, the daughter house of Rievaulx or Revesby (above, p. 456).
- c. 1144-8. Waldef, a monk at Rievaulx (above, p. 464).
- 1145, 2 August. Death of William, first Abbot of Rievaulx. Election of Maurice as his successor. (For the life and writings of Maurice, see *English Historical Review*, January, 1921, Vol. XXXVI., 17 ff.).
- 1147, 30 November. First certain reference to Ailred as Abbot of Rievaulx. He co-operated with Bishop William of Durham and others in the inquiry which settled the dispute about the seat of the prior at Durham (Greenwell, *Fœdarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, p. lxi., Surtees Society, 1872).
1151. Ailred's judgment in the disputes between the Abbeys of Savigny (Normandy) and Furness for the control of Byland Abbey (*Monasticon*, V., 353).
1152. Important general chapter at Citeaux.¹
- 1152-3. Ailred wrote his work, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* before Henry II. became king, since the prologue is addressed to him as Duke of Normandy (*Decem Scriptores*, col. 347).

¹ Ailred, of course, must have attended general chapters at Citeaux; and Reginald of Durham definitely refers to one journey (above, p. 341 n.). We may assume that he was present at the important general chapter in September, 1152.

It contains a eulogy on King David, recently dead. The work was finished, therefore, between 24 May, 1153, the date of David's death, and 25 October, 1154, the date of King Stephen's death.¹

1155. Ailred's work on the Saints of Hexham was probably based on a discourse delivered on the occasion of their translation on 3 March, 1155.²
- c. 1157. The general chapter at Citeaux allowed Ailred certain privileges in view of his physical infirmities. Walter Daniel states that this action was taken ten years before Ailred's death (*Vita*, f. 70 a).
1159. Ailred was at Melrose when, in the summer of 1159, Abbot Waldef was offered the bishopric of St. Andrews (above, p. 466). It was doubtless on his way to or from Melrose that he visited Finchale and St. Godric prophesied the death of St. Robert of Newminster which occurred 7 June, 1159. (Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de uita et miraculis S. Godrici heremitae de Finchale*, edit. Stevenson, pp. 169-173, 176-177, Surtees Society, 1847).
- 1160, 21 December. Pope Alexander III. sent to Ailred and the monks of Rievaulx a bull of protection and confirmation (*Cartularium Rievallense*, pp. 185-188). Earlier in the year Ailred had been partly responsible for the recognition of Alexander III. by King Henry (above, p. 350).
- 1163, October. The translation of St. Edward the Confessor. Ailred composed his *Vita Confessoris* at the request of his kinsman, Lawrence, Abbot of Westminster (above, p. 349.).
- 1163-4. Publication of the sermons on Isaiah (*De oneribus*), which were dedicated to Gilbert, Bishop of London, i.e. after April, 1163, when Gilbert Foliot was removed from

¹ The *Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense* (ed. Giles) ascribes this or a similar work to the year 1156, "Sanctus Alredus abbas Rievallensis ex abbate Revesbiensi Epitaphium regum Scotorum scripsit" (p. 96). For the *Genealogia* see also *Vita*, f. 70 b.

² Ailred's words are, "anno autem ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto, paratis omnibus, Prior diem sollemquem quo sacrae reliquiae transferrentur constituit quinto nonas Martii" (Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 194). This was 3 March, 115⁴/₅.

Hereford to London. As the twenty-fourth sermon contains a reference to the cardinal Octavian, the anti-pope Victor IV., who died at Lucca on 20 April, 1164, the series would seem to have been preached before this date (P.L., CXCv., col. 361, 460-461). According to Walter Daniel's chronological account, the sermons were written before the life of the Confessor (Vita, f. 70 b).

1164. Ailred, at Kirksted, attested the agreement between the religious orders of Citeaux and Sempringham (*Cartularium Rievallense*, pp. 181-183).

1165. Ailred visited the daughter house at Dundrennan, in Galloway. The date is fixed by his presence at Kirkcudbright on St. Cuthbert's day, 20 March, 1164-5 (Reginald of Durham *De admirandis Beati Cuhberti uirtutibus*, pp. 178-179). In his letter to Maurice Walter Daniel fixes it as two years before Ailred's death (Vita Ailredi, f. 62 b); but in the Life proper he refers only to a visit made four years before the abbot's death (f. 71 c; below, pp. 512-513 and note). Ailred doubtless was frequently in Scotland.

1166. If the chronology of another story told by Reginald of Durham (*ibid.*, pp. 180-188) can be accepted, Ailred was in Lothian and the neighbourhood of Melrose in the spring of 1166. In this year he was at work on his *De Anima*, which he left unfinished (Vita, f. 70 c).

1167, 12 January. Death of Ailred.

The evidence for dating those of Ailred's writings which are not mentioned in the preceding table is meagre. The description of the Battle of the Standard was apparently written after the death of Walter Espec, whose eulogy is couched in the past tense. Walter is said by a not very reliable source to have retired to Rievaulx in 1153, and to have died two years later at a great age; the date of his burial is given as 15 March, 115⁴₅ (*Cartularium Rievallense*, p. 264-265). The dialogue, *De Spirituali Amicitia*, also belongs to the last years of Ailred's life, for the abbot describes himself as an old man. Walter dated it between the sermons on Isaiah and the work written for Ailred's sister on the life of the recluse. This was followed by the life of the Confessor (Vita, f. 70 c).

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM MS. Q. B. 7 OF JESUS COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

Patri¹ et domino eximie sanctitatis uiro Mauricio suo Walterus f. 61 a.
Danielis sinceram et nimis deuotam dileccionem. Breuitati studens longiori processioni non indulgeo gressum, quamquam prelati duo illi, qui nostra quadam incertitudine obfuscare nituntur, me cogant procedere longius et quasi per angariam in sue cupiunt suspicionis impellere uoraginem et infidelitate maculare. Set absit a filio tuo ut scienter cauterio falsitatis uri uelit uel ualeat, qui nouit quod sine ueritate salus nulla consistat. Igitur, domine, ut ad rem ueniam iniungis quatinus interseram nomina testium, qui conscii michi existunt in relacione miraculorum, que in uita patris nostri uenerabilis abbatis Ryeuallensis Aldredi deo auctore descripsi, tum propter simplices qui magna non capiunt nisi multi eadem dicant, tum propter infideles qui etiam uera subsannant, tum quoque propter duos, ni fallor, illos prelatos, qui uobis legentibus ipsa miracula credere noluerunt, cum tamen omnibus ad meam uero defensionem sufficere debuisset, quod in serie ipsius operis asserui me non nisi uisa uel audita in medium protulisse, plurimaque preclara pretermisisse que sanctorum ore monachorum probata susceperam. Quoniam autem uotis tuis mea militat uoluntas et deseruit affectus et obtemperat caritas in iussione tua, licet non eiusdem libri

¹ The manuscript, which measures 267 mm. × 189 mm., is written in two columns. The references a, b, c, d refer to the four columns of each folio, recto (a, b) and verso (c, d). The relation between the letter to Maurice, here printed in full from the Jesus College MS., and the life proper is described in the third section of the preceding paper. The marginal references N.L., I., N.L., II., are to Horstmann's edition of the *Nova Legenda Anglie* (Oxford, 1901): of which the first volume (pp. 41-46) contains the summary of Walter Daniel's work made by John of Tynemouth and printed by the Bollandists from Capgrave's edition, and the second volume (pp. 544-553) contains the summary found in the Bury MS., now MS. Bodl. 240. See above, p. 333. I have standardized the spelling of the copyist, who uses *v* and *u* somewhat arbitrarily.

corpore quo uita patris continetur contestantia uocabula uirorum fidelium uelim constringi, hoc tamen agam ut hac epulari pagina conpingantur et excellenciora precedant miracula, uel eciam subsequantur. Quoniam admodum pauci¹ hoc genus assercionis in uitas patrum describendas seruarunt, ut singulos nominatim ponerent per quos acceperant que scriptitabant, et michi facile credibile uidetur homines uita bona preditos facere posse quod deus uoluerit, sic ut digestus est ille libellus per consilium amicorum remansit, imperii duntaxat tui effectum, ut dixi, translato ad presentem paginam, ut ad hanc quoque mittas quosque infideles et eos maxime, qui me finxisse mendacium suspicari maluerint. Igitur ut secundum ordinem procedam et primo positione libri miraculo proprios testes attribuam, et secundo suos, et sic de ceteris agam, ecce primum illud, quod est de nouicio a monasterio recedente, quem patris prece dominus miserecorditer reduxit. Isti testes confirmant Henricus et Robertus Beuerlacenses monachi et sacerdotes et Radulphus Diaconus, cognomento paruus et ipse monachus probatissimus, et alii plures. Quod eciam miraculum michi uenerabilis pater I Aldredus expressit non quidem quasi miraculum propter suam humilitatem, set quasi quandam preclaram fortunam propter meam infirmitatem. Sequuntur tria illa nobilissima miracula que per illum fecit dominus, eodem existente abbate apud sanctum Laurencium, que talibus testibus fulciuntur, domino uidelicet Gospatrico monacho et sacerdote nostro et Henrico presbitero et Radulpho paruo et aliis multis. Post hec primum est quod pater sanctissimus per sompnum uidit de monacho suo crastina die uenturo ad portam monasterii Rieuallensis et cito inter manus eius morituro. Huic signo tot interfuere testes quot illi morienti assistebant fratres, quibus pater ante monachi mortem retulit uisionem. Ex tres quibus tantum nominabo, dominum uidelicet Danielem patrem meum, Galfridum sacristam, Henricum Beuerlacensem. Huic miraculo succedit illud quod fratrem cardiaca passione dure detentum, qui mutus fuerat effectus, sanum per dei gratiam reddidit et loquentem. De hoc signo testimonium perhibet

f. 61 b.

¹ The practice of authenticating miracles with a list of witnesses was frequently adopted about this time, doubtless in order to avoid such criticism as that of which Walter Daniel complains. Jocelin's life of St. Waldef (c. 1210) and the various descriptions (edited by Raine in the *Historians of the Church of York*) of the miracles wrought at the tomb of St. John of Beverley, are cases in point. The most important and difficult example is, of course, that of St. Bernard; see above, p. 468.

idem ipse qui pertulit incomodum et per patrem sensit remedium, et dicitur Benjamin, et Willelmus Ruffus monachus et sacerdos, et Martinus diaconus conseruus meus in domino et amicus carissimus. Porro testes miraculi subsequenter hii sunt, Radulphus de Rodewella sacerdos et bene monachus, et Radulphus paruus, et conuersus opilio noster qui duobus diebus loqui non ualens meritis patris loquelam recepit. Nam de se reddit ipse testimonium et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius. Est autem Argarus nomen eius. Miraculum quod huic subicitur est de adolescente qui, tactus dolore intolerabili intrinsecus et uelut in extremis positus, ad tactum et benedictionem uenerabilis uiri continuo conualuit. Huic signo interfui et nonnulli fratres nostri mecum, ex quibus duos assumam in testimonium ut in ore duorum uel trium stet omne uerbum nostrum. Et unus quidem erit Arnaldus noster quondam cellerarius, alter uero Thomas Eboracensis diaconus bone uite adolescens et sancte filius conuersionis. Sane de miraculo quod sequitur nolo nominatim testes producere, quia non expedit, quia potest fieri ut non sit mortuus abbas ille, de quo continetur, propter quod uidetur esse, cum tamen de illo ita euenerit quomodo in libro scriptum habetur.¹ Istud miraculum uel, si ita placet dici, similitudinem miraculi. Illud de rana deglutita et homine monstruoso et laruali effigie | f. 61 c. deturpato, set per uenerabilem patrem sanato et a periculo mortis liberato, subsequi certum constat. De quo plane signo certificando testes presto sunt ueraces, uidelicet Robertus supportarius noster, uir bonus et optimus, et Henricus Beuerlacensis et Baldricus conuersus frater probatus in multis et pene innumerabiles uiri in Galwadia. Ceteris omnibus que sequuntur interfui ego ipse, excepto quod eum non uidi raptum in corpore, an extra corpus nescio, deus scit, ad mellifluas uisiones et inenarrabiles, nisi quod ipse michi secreto retulit tales se uisus degustasse, quorum comparacione in oblectacione dulcedimis quod in carne quoquomodo existeret penitus obliuisceretur, et omnia temporalia si ulla essent omni modo ignoraret. Credant ergo qui uoluerint et qui uoluerint legant, et qui utrumque noluerint utrumque contempnant et ea despiciant que scripsi de patre filius, dum tamen aduertant semper ignobiles animos degeneres parturire affectus, resque ueritate signatas non aliter approbare quam falsas, id est, iudicio iniuste indignacionis non equi libra examinis. Poterat sufficere ad credulitatem fidelium cordibus

¹ Below, f. 70 d, p. 511, and above, pp. 462, 470.

quod dixi me non nisi que uideram vel que alii conspexerant et michi retulerunt scripsisse; at prelati duo illi nisi testata non capiunt argumentatione uerborum puplica proclamacione prolatorum, tanquam crimen et uirtus una fidei facilitate fulciantur, ut hoc et illud parem agnitionis discrecionem admittant, cum uirtus utique uelut similitudo lucis ex sui qualitate sese conspicabilem prebeat eciam dormitantibus oculis, crimen autem uicii colore uestitum tanquam figura tenebrarum non facile uideri ualeat, sicut scriptum est¹: Delicta quis intelligit? Quicumque igitur quod uerum est credere contempnit, si honesti tamen habuerit lucem quod predicatur, ipse quidem tenebrosus se monstrat auditorem qui luminis imaginem non agnoscit. Nam si lux esset lucis agnosceret membrum quod est uerum, quia similia similibus familiarem conspectum prestare consuerunt. Malus autem mali causam tuetur ut suam. Et facilius credit huiusmodi horrorem tenebrarum lucis fulgorem induisse, quam naturam luminis perseuerasse quod fuerat. Prothpudor! non credunt prelati, negligentes prelati, merita sancti miracula peperisse, cum non sit difficile patri luminum in omnibus quod uoluerit generare, credentibus que christus | promittat² opera eius admirantibus: maiora hiis facietis. At qui bona non facit non credit. Qui autem faciunt credunt. Non autem credere non possunt que operantur. Boni ergo maliue actio fidem recipit uel contempnit. Mali igitur subsannant facta bonorum. Non itaque mirum si tales titubant accomodare fidem uirtutibus patris nostri. Tuum est prorsus repugnare³ nolentibus obaudire. Oppone turbam testium⁴ temeritati eorum et conuince ignauiam hesitare non gratiam. Dicit: Intellectus bonus omnibus facientibus eum. Quia enim non faciunt bonum intellectum, non intelligunt rectum. Quid autem rectius quam ut intelligamus sobrie et pie et iuste uiuentibus a deo dari uirtutis opera? Siquidem omni habenti dabitur et habundabit.⁵ Rectissime tu, ergo, pater mi, tibi enim loquor, tu inquam crede me scripsisse ea tantum que uidi et audiui de patre meo, nec plane omnia uerum et nonnulla pretermisi relacione dignissima. De quorum eciam multitudine hic iam in hac epistola quatuor ponam que tibi placere non diffido.

¹ Ps. xviii., 13.

² Joh. xiv., 12: Qui credit in me opera, quae ego facio, et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet.

³ MS. *repugnare*.

⁴ M.S. *testum*.

⁵ Matt. xiii., 12.

Igitur infantulus iacebat in cunis Aldredus et ecce aduenit ad domum patris eius archidiaconus quidam nomine Willelmus filius Thole uir preclare gratie.¹ Erat autem idem propinquus Aldredi secundum carnem et multum quoque matrem eius dilexit et patrem. Is ergo intrans in domum, ut dixi, ubi Aldredus iacebat in cunis, uidet faciem illius in speciem solis conuersam et splendidissimis choruscare radiis et tantum sibi mutuasse luminis, ut sue manus apposite umbra succederet a parte auersa, cum in plano palme quod respondebat ad faciem infantis quasi solaris lucis fulgore splendescere uideretur, tamque serenus innotuit intuentis aspectibus paruuli uultus ut tanquam in speculo in hoc sui perfecte imaginem intueretur. Miratur homo nouum solem exortum in domo, parentibus refert incomparabilem gloriam in nati sui facie sibi apparuisse. Fit gaudium audientibus hec et felicitatis exordia in primordiis Aldredi pululasse intelligentes exultant. Affirmant illum in matura etate hominem uirtutis esse futurum cui tam eminens gratia in etatula infancie arrisise. Hec pater Aldredi narrauit illi, hec mater, hec fratres retulerunt cum ad intelligibilem peruenisse etatem, hec ab ore illius accepi, hec ab eo et alii audierunt, Radulfus de Rodewell, Henricus Beuerlac, Radulfus paruus ceterique quam plures.

Verum et cum puerulus esset ad modum paruulus rediens a ludo quem habuit cum | coetaneis suis in locis publicis paternum f. 62 a. ingreditur domicilium. Quem pater intuens : eia, inquit, fili, quales edicis rumores ? Et ille, archiepiscopus Eboracensis² hodie obiit, pater mi. Ridet homo hiis auditis cum uniuersa familia et lepida urbanitate Aldredi uaticinium commendans : vere, fili, ait, ille obiit qui male uiuit. Et puer : aliter iste, pater, nam carne solutus ultimum hodie uale fecit mortalibus. Ad hec stupefacti omnes qui audiere, mirantur pueri animum circa talia occupatum et de absentibus indicare uelut prophetando, cupiuntque transitum antistitis quodam modo iam fuisse, ut annunciantis uerbum consistat in uero. Set quia locus ubi archiepiscopus obiit ab eis longo distabat itinere pendet in dubio exitus prophecie, nec eo die nec altero ulla certitudinis auctoritate roboratur. At in tercio celebris rumor per prouinciam uolitat, fertur

¹ I have suggested above (p. 339 n.) that this archdeacon was probably the William, named Havegrim, who was present at the translation of the book of St. Cuthbert in 1104.

² Thomas II., who died at Beverley, 29 February, 1114. Above, p. 340.

passim et per omnes pontificis transitus, tuncque qui ante ridebant quod puer Aldredus predixerat flere incipiunt et lamentari, non quia illa prophetauit sed quia papa occubuit. Nam de Aldredo dulcissimo illi qui hanc rem eum predixisse cognosciunt adiuuicem dicunt: Quid putas puer iste erit? etenim dominus hoc illi reuelauit. Et pater eius repletus gaudio conseruabat hoc quod de eo dicebatur, conferens in corde suo. Qui Aldredo facto monacho ueniens Rieuallē hoc ipsum plurimis fratribus loci eiusdem dulcissimum duxit indicare. Et ipse pater noster Aldredus uenerabilis Radulfo de Rodwell et Radulfo breuis stature et michi de hoc a parentibus audisse professus est.

Porro in hospicio Rieuall' cum esset pridie antequam reciperetur in cellam noniciorum tale quid per eum dominus operari dignatus est. Ignis ualidus accensus in ede illa porrexit perpurentes flamme globos, primo usque ad trabes, dein etiam usque ad laquearium iuncturas superiores, et ita seuiens uehementer preualebat ut culmen edificiū in momento consumere crederetur. Fit in abbatia lacrimabilis ululatus, uelox concursus conuersorum monachorum mercenariorum hospitumque ad illud genus infortunii, qui omnes modis omnibus, quibus tante miserie subuenire credebant, uti pro necessitate non cessarunt. Alii aquis, alii uino, alii liquoribus ceteris edacissima incendia temperare conabantur. Set quanto plus desudabant sedare liquidis calida tanto plus in aridis et humida consumebantur. Unde desperacio tandem cum dolore comitatur, quia inaniter tantarum conamina indicionum¹ impenduntur. Aldredus autem eadem hora cum ceteris ad mensam sedebat in latere australi eiusdem domicilii. Qui utique in omni perturbacione illa non est motus corpore uel animo set cum singuli dicerent, ue nobis ue nobis, non est ultra spes, ille cum uirili grauitate subridens apprehendit ciphum qui coram eo positus fuerat in mensa plenus anglicis poculis² et cum fiducia miserationis domini lenauit eum et extensa dextera siceram quam continebat uasculum illud projecit in medio flammarum et, mirum dictu, statim conciderunt et uelut mare inundarum ibi extincte sunt.³ O qualis tunc exultacio inter pauperes fratres. O quam solempnis laus ad deum, qualis deuocio in Alredum. Huic rei dominus Gualo interfuit, que tanta eius cordi quoque admiracione adhesit, ut hucusque concepti stuporis impressa uestigia obliuionis

N.L., I., 41 ;
II., 547-548, al.
most verbatim.

f. 62 b

¹ N.L., II., 547 : moliminum.

² N.L., " angelicis potibus ".

³ End of passage in N.L.

incuria obliterare non possit. Et ut per quatuor quater¹ huius continencia epistole insinuare studeo Alredum nostrum per omnes etatis gradus, quos attingit, uirtutis dedisse indicia, et sicut hoc predicto miraculo ignis ualidissimi sedauit incendium, ita et sequenti addiscas eum eciam aque fluidam substantiam a cursu proprio suspendisse, queso paucis aduerte.

In Galwadiam pergens ante duos annos² quam de corpore migraret, peruenit Dundrenan,³ sic enim uocatur abbathia quam ibi fratres Rieuall' construxerunt, et in eodem loco mansit diebus sex seu septem. At quoniam in terra illa patriote casas pastorales et tuguria uilissima potius quam domos uel quadrata edificia inhabitant, et abbathia illa parum ante ceperat edificare officinas regulares, in parua domuncula dominum abbatem cum suis fratribus deuotissime collocarunt. In cuius domatis angulo lectisternia patris ministri strauerunt et quam sedulo potuerunt, in quo quiete pausaret, lectum parauerunt. Set quia statim etiam ut tenuosissimam pluuiam de nube descendere contigisset furtiua detursione totum solebat madidare pauimentum, timuerunt fratres huius inquietacionis iniuriam uirum uenerabilem indebita molestia perurgere debuisse. Iam ne duorum quidem pedum spacium per tectum domus eiusdem ab imbrium infusione quin instillaret minime seruabatur. Set postquam Alredus ibidem dormiuit pluuiarum decursus a solitis latrociniis cohibiti defecerunt, et quamuis ingens et fere continuus fieret per illos sex dies descensus imbrium et super aliorum omnium cubilia, qui cum eo in specu illo quiescebant, largiter influerent per dissipati culminis hiatus latissimos, nunquam tamen tanto tempore super lectum patris uel una quidem guttula agnoscitur | cecidisse. Quod postquam aduertunt, ecclesie uide- f. 62 c. licet illius prepositus, et ceteri fratres supra quam credi potest admirantes non ob aliud quam ob uiri sanctitatem Deo gratissimam fieri arbitrantur, ut aqua sue nature obliuisceretur, que, cum sit fluida et humiditate labilis et ponderose liquiditatis, cursum debitum non teneret sed uacuum foraminum subter se patencium contorta deriuacione declinaret.⁴ Nam ut pro certo tota huius nouitatis mirabilis

¹ The writer is describing miracles from infancy, childhood, youth, and old age.

² For the date, see above, p. 480; and, for other visits, below p. 512.

³ See above, p. 462.

⁴ This type of miracle is very common. For a more startling story, see Jocelin's "Life of St. Kentigern," c. 35, ed. Forbes, *The Historians of Scotland*, V., 221 (Edinburgh, 1874).

mutacio merita commendaret Aldredi et extunc nil dubii resideret in cordibus fratrum, quin ad eius gloriam facta fuisset loci predicti desiccatio singularis, statim postquam stramenta patris exinde sublata sunt et celum dedit pluuias, ibi ubi dormierat, sicut alibi per omne pauimentum ipsius edis, more solito dissipate stipule disiunctiua reflexio aquarum infestas copias infundere non cessauit. Istud delectabile miraculum ueritatis testimonio sufficienter corroborat dompnus Walterus monachus noster et sacristes, quondam autem capellanus Walteri Espec, qui etiam tempore illo, quo hec in Galwagia facta sunt, in domo de Dundrenan prioratus officio functus ; rem quam uidit fideliter solet enarrare. Habemus et alium hoc ipsum contestantem Ogerum, uidelicet Rieuallie filium et testem fidelissimum. Dabo et tercium Henricum, scilicet Beuerlacensem, uirum eque amabilem et ueracem.

Ecce habes epistolam, onustam quidem littera, sed non uenustam eloquencia, non auream uel deauratam, sed ferream et deargentatam, eciam miraculis gemmatam et testium astipulacione confirmatam. Que licet iam hic congrue finiretur, ante tamen duobis amicis meis breuiter respondere temperabo equidem simplicissimus, qui me reprehendendum putarunt, quod Alredum nostrum quasi monachum uixisse in curia Regis Scocie ab primo inuentutis flore asseuerare uoluerim. O ignaros homines rethorice discipline que splendore colorum suorum sub multimodis figuris faciem artis delectabiliter specificando illuminat. Nam quid cause pretendunt? Idcirco uidelicet quod Alredus eodem tempore uirginitatem suam aliquociens deflorauerit talem hominem a me non debuisse monacho comparari. Ego autem illo in loco non de castitatem Alredi sum locutus sed de humilitate. Hanc itaque commendauit nomine monachi, non lasciuam introduxi. Triticum ostendi, non lolium predicauit. De uiciis tacui, uirtutes insinuauit. Et quando, queso, frumentum nichil habebit acuris? ¹ Sic nemo mundus a sorde, nec infans cuius est | diei unius uite super terram. Est autem figura rethorica que intellectio appellatur per quam res tota parua ex parte cognoscitur aut de toto pars. Hac uero ibi usus sum ut nomine monachi Alredo designarem, de toto astruens partem, uocans eum monachum, non quia castus tunc ad modum fuerit, set quia ualde humilis. Humilitas et castitas proprie monachum faciunt. Et quoniam sine humilitate bonus nunquam est

f. 62 d.

¹ So the MS. for *aceris*, genitive of *acus* (Columella, Pliny, etc.).

monachus et res tota parua ex parte cognoscitur, nec per hoc dicendi regula infringitur sed landibiliter seruatur, bene pro humili monachum dixi, male ergo uituperauerunt me amici mei isti. Et hoc inquit quod in libello tuo corpus Alredi defuncti luxisse ut carbunculum et ut thus redoluisse professus es? non satis caute posuisti, immo regulariter, at rusticis et idiotis aliter non immerito oportuit uideri. Talpa nempe licet oculos non habet solis tamen radios reformidat. Et amici mei ceci offendere in lumine non erubescunt. Etenim superlacio est oratio superans ueritatem alicuius augendi minuendique causa. Hoc colore mater sapientia in pictura eloquencie cum ceteris artificiose operatur. Hinc est illud Henrici dicentis cuius ore sermo melle dulcior profuebat. Et in libris nostris, aquilis uelociores leonibus forciores. Illudque in uita beati Martini, uitro purior lacte candidior. O hebetes! note iste non sunt notabiles, immo plane commendabiles, res magnas commendantes et stultos reprehensores irritantes. Quid enim? Alredi corpus num mihi non luxit cum lauaretur defunctum? Vere lux nobis omnibus qui affuimus. At quomodo? Plus multo quam si carbunculus affuisset. Quod etiam super odorem thuris redolebat, sic nobis uisum est, sic sensimus omnes. Nec mirum. Nunquam enim antea in uita sua carnem sic candidam gessit pulcher ille et decorus quomodo¹ quando iacebat defunctus. Dico sine scrupulo mendacii nunquam ego tam candidam carnem uidi alterius cuiuslibet uiui uel defuncti. Ignoscite ergo michi quod rem incomparabilem licita superlacione merito magnificaui. Alioquin auctores eloquencie stoliditatem uestram publica redarguicione dampnabunt. Ego interim parco uobis. Et hoc propter te, domine mi pater Maurici, ne prolixitas epistole intencionem exasperet animi tui sitque finis protractus onerosus auribus occupatis. Igitur ecce iterum ad te uenio. Libenter audi, nam breuiter dicam miracula patris Alredi. Magna sunt, bene nosti. Si magna non essent nemo minderet. Et enim splendida et gloriosa, non fusca et despica | bilia; emulacio f. 63 a. sequitur inuidencie. Sit ita? ita est; magna sunt miracula patris nostri. Set miracula et magna habere possunt homines mali. Set perfectam caritatem quam habuit Alredus boni possident soli. Si habuerim omnem fidem, ait apostolus, ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero, nichil michi prodest.² Quis non dicat

¹ The same use of *quomodo* at the foot of f. 63 a.

² 1Cor. xiii. 2.

magnum esse miraculum transferre montes? Et tamen sine caritate pro nichilo reputatur quicquid homo fecerit, licet possit uno digito suspendere molem uniuerse terre. Ergo caritas res mirabilis est, res dulcis, res amabilis, res utique que nunquam caret fructu remunerationis eterne suauitatis. Hanc habuit Alredus et talem certe qualem describit apostolus, id est, benignam, patientem, non inflatam, non agentem perperam, non querentem que sua sunt sed que Christi Jhesu.¹ Habitum ego miser monachi porto, ego tonsus, ego cucullatus, ego talis loquor, ego dico contestor confirmo iuro in eo autem uiro, qui est ueritas, Christo Domino nostro, ego caritatem Alredi plus miror quam mirerer si *iiii*^{or} fuisset suscitator mortuorum. Rideant auditores mei, derideant sermonem meum, proiciant epistolam in ignem, quod uoluerint agant, ego in hoc perseuero et perseuerare me spero, quia caritas Alredi omnem superauit miraculi nouitatem, quam habuit ex corde puro et consciencia bona et fide non ficta secundum apostolicam diffinitionem.² Et ut breui quasi argumento probem me sentire bene, audi, mi pater, narratiunculam filii tui perspicuam quamdam proferentem caritatis imaginem.

N.L., I.,
45-46.

Quodam tempore pacificus Alredus, laborans passione colica et torcione calculi, super nattam uetustissimam stratam secus focum limiauit miserabiliter doloriferos artus, et quasi membrane folium iuxta ignem appositum totum corpus in tantum contorsit, et inter genua capud prorsus habere uideretur. Etenim incomoditas saeuissima urgebat eum et dum lenire putabat dolorem per calorem prope modum linguam flamme liniatum lambere corpusculum crederes. Ita ergo dum conquiniscit nunc hac, nunc illac, ego filius cum patre solus affui sedens mestus ad modum, quia tristis anima mea conturbauerat me, nec tamen sic dolebam mentis proprie acutissimum stimulum quomodo patris incomodum. Nobis igitur solis duobus in domo consistentibus ecce quidam epicurus monachus iratus utique criminaliter | aspectu taurino, motu turpissimo, ingrediens ad nos uenit usque ad locum in quo iacebat Alredus. Fremens itaque crudeliter et dentibus frendens apprehendit utrisque manibus latus unum nate cum patre qui desuper iacebat, et excuciens utrumque totis uiribus, uirum certe centum monachorum patrem fratrumque laicorum quingentorum, tam in ignem, quam in cineres, proiecit, clamans et dicens, O miser, ecce,

f. 63 b.

¹ I Cor. xiii. 4, 5.

² I Tim. i. 5.

modo te occido, modo te morte dura perdo. Quia hic iaces fictissime, uanissime, stultissime, amodo non erit quod menciaris, quia nunc utique morieris. Ego hec respiciens contabui et patris periculum non paciens, concepi ardorem indignacionis contra tirannum et consurgens cepi hominem per barbam durissime, uolens uicem reddere in momento temporis. Ille autem gigas corporali mole in me post patris iniuriam insurgebat et ego, quia uiuacis animi eram et magni cordis, resistebam uiriliter et conatus iniquitatis retardabam. Inter hec monachi ueniunt et inueniunt lupum super ouem stantem, immo pastorem inuadentem et quasi dentibus discindentem et ore deuorantem crudeliter. Ut autem uiderunt, contabuerunt et zelo accensi uoluerunt inicere manus in filium pestilencie, set pater oblitus infirmitatis et caritatis memor precepit et ait: Nolite, nolite, queso, nolite, filii, patrem uestrum tunica paciencie spoliare. Non sum commotus, non sum lesus, turbatus non sum, quia filius meus est qui me proiecit in ignem et per hoc purgauit, non peremit. Filius meus est set infirmus est. Et ego quidem corpore non sum sanus, sed sanauit me in anima infirmus ille, quia beati pacifici quoniam filii dei uocabuntur. Itaque apprehendens caput eius uir beatissimus deosculatur, benedicit, amplectitur, et quasi doloris nil sensisset ex infirmitate corporea nulla-que mestitudine tangeretur ex illata iniuria, ita dulciter linire studuit furorem irascentis in se sine causa. O caritas hominis multis maior miraculis! Non iussit eum a monasterio expelli, non uerberari, non iussit quasi freneticum ligari uel compede constringi, non eum denique uel uerbo increpatorio patitur a quoquam conueniri. Quia ruguit in persona mea peccauit, ego, cum uolero, uindicabo, sed ego nunquam | quia caritas in patre uestro non est destruenda, set per talia ^{f. 63 c.} potius perficienda iugiter usque in finem, et sic salui erimus. Quando non, ubi non, cui non placet ista tam perfecta caritas que, a minore tam grauiter exulcertata, talionem non reddit, immo quod est perfectissime dilectionis insigne, pro temeritate beneficium impendit. Ista, mi pater Maurici, lege, queso, duobus prelati illis ut sciant Alredum merito miracula perpetrasse, qui tales protulit fructus in caritate, iureque fecisse uirtutes qui tam extitit benignus ad sibi subiectos fratres. Et reuera cencies et iterum tociens exemplis huiusmodi formam uite sue decentissime subornauit cocci bis tincti¹ mirabiliter ille artifex. Hanc uero

¹ MS. *cocti bis tincti*. The phrase is scriptural, e.g. Exodus xxv. 4.

epistolam ad capud libelli nostri deorsim quidem apposui ut ad eam uelut ad capitula quedam recurratur maxime cum opus fuerit rerum gestarum testes nominatim producere. Ora pro me pater mi.

[In the MS. the life follows the letter to Maurice without a break. As the chief facts are given in the summaries printed in Horstmann's edition of the *Nova Legenda*, I have not given the text in full. All passages throwing light on Ailred's personality or adding definite information about him are given, also Walter Daniel's comments on the monastic life, the true methods of theological study, and similar matters. I have omitted nearly all the detailed descriptions of Ailred's miracles, as they do not, as a rule, contain anything of particular interest which cannot easily find parallels elsewhere. I have added the numbers and headings to the chapters, which are clearly marked by illuminated capitals in the MS.]

f. 63 c.

[I. *Prefatory letter to Abbot H.*]

Virorum dulcissimo abbati H. suus W. Daniel, laborem et salutem. Quum quidem pater noster obiit et quasi lux matutina euanuit e terra nostra et multorum animo insidet ut radius tanti luminis refundatur ad memoriam et illuminationem futurorum, immo eciam et quorundam presencium quibus et ipsum lumen emicuit in fulgore suo, non possum, fateor tibi, in hac re sensus mei rationem et scienciam denegare, cuius debeo pro uiribus parere preceptis et maxime in caritatiua iussione que non sine uexatione anime poterit preteriri. Bene dicitur: Pre uictima est obediencia et ante pinguium arietum oblationem.¹ Ad hanc nihilominus tuam intentacionem accedit et imminet recens patris abscessio² que nos ultro prodire prouocat, obedire iubet, et tuis ammonet parere mandatis. At quid faciam miser inter has ambages discriminis, que sic latera mea stringunt et constringunt affectum et uoluntatem retundunt? Nam ille quidem plus cupit quam potest, hec uera tantum tenere suadet. Sed quid? Oret pro me paternitas tua et tuorum deuocio filiorum suis meo astipuletur conatui precibus et ueris uincam opinionem multorum. . . .

ff. 63 d-64 b.

[II. *Ailred's youth at King David's court.*]

Igitur pater noster in puercia mirabilis fuit et fere uirum fecit preclarum cum minusculam etatem ageret, nisi quod ibi habuit maiorem uirtutem ubi uicium esse non potuit. . . . Licet enim seruicium domini

¹ 1 Kings xv., 22.

² Ailred died in January, 1167.

sui, regis utique magni, secundi David, Regis Scocie, talem puerum, tam egregium florem uitis uere, teneret in seculo, in celo tamen mente ac uoluntate conuersabatur, et iam plane infantulus fecisset ne ulla ex parte seruiret mundo, nisi tam pure sanctitatis domino pro tempore in quibusdam deseruire uoluisset. . . . | Denique uitam prefati Regis ^{f. 64^a.} luculentissimo stilo composuit sicut postmodum declarabimus.¹ A quo tanto amore complexus est ut eum faceret magnum in domo sua et in palacio gloriosum, ita ut rebus preeset multis, mancipiis plurimis et omnibus palatinis quasi dominus alter et secundus princeps haberetur, egrediens et ingrediens ad imperium regis, in uniuersis fidelis, bonis tamen familiaris et cum amore gratus, malis uero terribilis et cum dilectione seuerus. Jam enim tunc adimplebat: "diligite inimicos uestros," et non dissimulabat illud: "omnia omnibus factus sum ut omnes facerem saluos". Unde Rex uehementer amabat eum, et magis ^{N.L., I., 41, ll. 24-26; II., 545.²} ac magis de die in diem ad altiora prouehere cogitabat in tantum ut eum episcopatu nobilitasset primario terre sue, nisi ad cisterciensem religionem cicius aduolasset. Erat tamen cum eo echonomus³ domus regalis et preter illum nichil agebatur intus uel foris, omnibus per omnia placens et in nullo unquam delinquens. . . . In tantum enim seruebat spiritum, in regali triclinio positus, ut magis monachus⁴ putaretur quam secularis potencie et pompatici ministerii officialis discipulus. . . . Hinc est quod sepe dum staret coram Rege ad prandium fercula distribuens et particiones diuidens ciborum uiritim unicuique conuescencium | ^{f. 64 b.} prout uolebat, ut primor⁵ in hac parte, uidelicet mense regalis dapifer summus, inter prandendum obliuiscens exteriora et que futura sunt cogitans, quasi per agoniam raptus ad superos, uentrium negocia obliuisceretur. . . . In uestimentis quoque et ornatibus corporis taliter incedebat comptus et coopertus ut nulla superfluitas notaretur in superficie uel uane glorie seu cupiditatis affectus, prognosia quadam ueraci future uite sue prophetans laudabilem paupertatem. . . . (*The rest of the chapter on Ailred's virtues is summarized in N.L., II., 545*).

¹ Below, f. 70 b.

² The summary in the Bury MS. contains a sentence not found in Walter's text: "in curia Dauid regis Scocie, cum Henrico filius regis et Waltheno postmodum abbate de Melros, nutritus fuit et educatus". (N.L., II., 545, ll. 20-21). See above, pp. 336, 343.

³ See above, p. 343.

⁴ Above, p. 471.

⁵ So MS. for primus or primoris.

N.L., I., 41,
 II. 30-42, I. i.;
 II., 545-546.

[III. *The story of the scurrilous knight who attacked Ailred.*]

Erat enim quidam durus et rigidus ualde stolidique cordis et penitus indomabilis qui militaris quidem discipline nomine tenus exercebat insignia et satis uiribus et crudelitate proficiebat in malum. Hic insaniens contra iuuenem eo quod a rege pre omnibus amaretur, omnibusque placeret in palacio, utpote inuidens et frendens dentibus ille infelix super hiis que uidebat, gratie donis quibus decorabatur noster Joseph adeo ut tanquam pater a militaribus ceteris coleretur, ueneraretur et solempniter publice et priuatim precipuus predicaretur, cepit persequi uirum uirtutis uir ille et graui odio insectari. . . . | Tandem inflacione sua commotus et agitatus rancore miles malus magno impetu insurgit in bonum hominem et benignum, rege presente et aulice frequentie solempni comitatu; sicque oracionis principio galeam impudencie innectit ut spurcissimis¹ uerbis et horrorem concucientibus illis qui audiebant, meretricis non militis litem et luxuriam redolerent, dicens et contestans indignum esse hominem regales dispensare diuicias, regio uultui assistere, tante glorie nomen et laudem optinere. Addit ad hec quedam que silencio pretermitto propter fetorem uerborum ne fedent os nostrum et aures audiencium, euomens contra electum Domini et future felicitatis heredem. (*Ailred treated this attack with such humility and generosity that the knight was abashed and finally sought forgiveness. King David's regard for Ailred was increased and he was admitted into his confidence in important matters. . . .*) | Congruit eciam eius nomini interpretatio magni consiliiarii, quod, uersum in latinum totum consilium uel omne consilium facit. Etenim "Alred" anglicum est, illudque quod diximus exprimit in latino. . . .

f. 64 c.

f. 64 d.

f. 65 a.

f. 65 b.

N.L., II.,
 546-547.

[IV. *Ailred's desire for the cloister.*]

[V. *Ailred's journey to York where he hears of Rievaulx.*]

Paulo post namque in partes Eborace ciuitatis pro quodam negotio deueniens ad Archiepiscopum eiusdam diocesis,² didicit a quodam familiarissimo³ sibi rumore laudabili quosdam monachos ferme ante duos annos ex transmarinis partibus uenisse in Angliam, mirabiles

¹ So I read the MS. Some words seem to have been omitted by the copyist.

² Archbishop Thurstan.

³ Perhaps Waldef, who about this time had been elected prior of Kirkham.

quidem et religione insignes, uestituque albos et nomine. (*The rest of the chapter, describing the Cistercian rule and Walter Espec's foundation near Helmsley is summarized in the Bury MS. N.L., II., 546-547, but the following passage is much abbreviated.*)

Omnia illis constant pondere, mensura et numero. Panem libra, potum | emina, olus et faba conficiunt pulmenta duo. Si cenauerint ^{f. 65 c.} partes prelibatorum iterum in publicum veniunt, excepto quod pro coctionibus binis quedam si affuerunt succedunt nascencia leguminum. Singuli et cincti lectis repasant suis, cuculla et tunica estate uel hieme nunquam minus habentes. Nichil possident proprium preter quod non loquuntur simul, nec propria quid quis aggreditur uoluntate. Ad nutum prelati excitata que geruntur simili exitu flectuntur ad quelibet.¹ Pusillus et magnus, puer et senex, prudens et ydiota una lege tenentur ad mensam, ad processionem, ad communionem usumque ordinum ceterorum. Personalitas idemptitatem parit, singulis unam ipsamque omnibus similem, nec est gratia² quemlibet exceptionis indicium preponderans equitati,³ nisi quem maior sanctitas aliis potuerit anteferre. Sola hec distincio digniorem approbat que nouerit dinoscere meliorem. Quanto ergo quis humilior tanto et maior est inter illos. Et quanto⁴ abjectior fuerit secundum estimacionem propriam, tanto aliorum opinioni et arbitrio plus placebit.⁵ Januas monasterii sui

¹ The punctuation in N.L. differs from that of the MS.

² N.L. *erga*. The Bury text appears to be better here.

³ N.L. *equitatem*.

⁴ MS. *quanta*.

⁵ Most of this passage is taken, sometimes verbatim, from the rule of St. Benedict or from the Cistercian constitutions. It may be compared with Ailred's description in the *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCIV., coll. 559-560). In one of his sentences Walter Daniel wrote a eulogy of the Cistercian rule in more general terms: "ordo cisterciensis est ut lampa inter astra, ut thiara Aaron inter pontificalia, ut ephod Dauid inter regalia, ut urna aurea inter tabernaculi testimonii uasa cetera. Dixit autem Dauid sponso de sponsa: astitit regina a dextris suis in uestitu deaurato circumdata uarietate. Ita pulchre sponse uarietas quasi uisibilibus distincta coloribus; nitore coloris albi albos cisterciensis ordinis monachos signare uidetur. Sicut enim uidetur. Sicut enim color albus pre ceteris coloribus naturali quadam uenustate oculos mulcet intuentium, ita ordo cisterciensis pre ceteris professionum sectis, pictura quadam egregia et spirituali, omnes in se recapitulat uirtutes in quo si quid minus habetur, hoc earum chatalogo certum est omnino deesse. Sciunt plane illi uera esse que dico, qui eundem ordinem strenue custodiunt quomodo a prioribus patribus in primordii sui est incoatus exordio. Ego etiam hec optime noui, quod professionis huius observatores perfecti pro uirtutum pulcher-

mulieres non ingrediunt, non accipitres, non canes nisi tales qui frequenti latratu fares ab edibus abigere consuerunt. Pestem indignacionis et omnem plantacionem iracundie superbieque fumosas figuras e medio sui exsufflant nimia dileccione, quibus secundum actus apostolorum cor unum creatum est et anima una spiritus sancti gratia et amore. . . .

f. 65 d.

[VI. *Ailred leaves York for Helmsley.*]

N.L., II., 547.

Hucusque uir uenerabilis ab amico fabulam non fictam sed factam audiens, et "eia," inquit, "que est uia que ducit ad istos angelicos homines, ad hec loca celestia?" "Noli," ait ille, "turbari, nam iuxta te sunt et nescis, facillimeque reperiri possunt si quesieris" O, inquit, "desidero plane multum et uehementer sitio aspectum illorum et loci prefatas opportunitates conspici." "Aggredere," refert ille, "iter, sed prius ab archiepiscopo licenciam pete et accipe benedicionem eius, et post ante diei presentis occasum si uolueris, implebit deus desiderium tuum". Currit cicius ad presulem, cupiditate ductus futurorum, et recepta licencia et benediccione antistitis ad hospicium concitus recurrit, equos ascendit nec moram innectit ingressui domus, immo pene insalutatos apud quos hospitabatur relinquens, iumenta urget ire quo nescit. Sed relator prefate fabule illum post se cogit sequi et sic agitantibus caballis et ualde uelociter ante noctem castellum introeunt Helmsley, quod a loco distabat miliariis duobus. In quo dum eos ouanter recepit uir nobilis et fundator illius cenobii Walterus Espec, noctem illam cum eodem letam duxerunt. Qui et ipse presencia quedam preteritis addens de religione monachorum illorum humillimi, Alredi spiritum magis ac magis gaudio accendebat inenarrabili.

[VII. *Ailred enters Rievaulx.* *This chapter, like the last, is summarized at some length in the Bury MS. The chief omission in the latter is the fact that Ailred did not decide to become a monk on his first visit to Rievaulx, but on the following day, after he had begun his journey back to Scotland.*]

N.L., II., 547.

Mane igitur facto peregit pater cum eo ad monachos et uernaculi nonnulli cum illis ueniunt. Occurrit prior, hospitalis et portarius, ducunt ad orationem iuuenem lacrimis faciem abluentem et cor conterentem

rimos flores [*sic*] tricesimum et sexagesimum centesimumque faciunt fructum. Sit pax et veritas cum his omnibus usque in finem. Amen." (Centum Sententiae, no. 97, f. 37^v-38^r.)

humiliter in confessione domini. . . . Tamen non illo die imperavit animo locum ipsum eligere ad ibi manendum, sed remeans cum domino W. Espec ad castrum ante nominatum alteram in eo peregit noctem priori consimilem. Loquuntur simul | qui aderant sufficienter de f. 66 a. pluribus et post dormitum est usque ad illud exortum stelle que primo mane micando resplendet et lucifer appellatur. Clamat iam expergefactus a sompno ille tociens nominatus quatinus ministri equis frena suspendant. Sellas eciam superponant et alia equitancium instrumenta componant. Quibus patris uale faciens nobilissimo Waltero iter arripuit in Scociam ad dominum suum regem. Quum autem oportebat eum transire per montis supercilium qui descendebat in uallem monasterii de quo diximus, et ducebat ad portam illius, cum uenisset illuc inflammatus calore spiritus sancti, amore uidelicet domini Jhesu, interrogauit quendam suorum, uocabulo amicum, utrum uellet descendere ad abbathiam et plenius quod pridie conspexerat contemplari. (*The event was decided by the desire of the companion to go down to the abbey, and Ailred became a monk, with one of his company.*)

[VIII. *Ailred in the probatorium.*]

f. 66 b.

Completo igitur in hospicio quaternario dierum numero recipitur in N.L., II., 548.¹ probatorium ; ante tamen coram toto conuentu conuentus de proposito quod spondit et ibi quoque ut alibi responsis gratie que procedebant de ore illius omnes commouit in fletum. In probatorio uero non facile dixerim qualiter extitit. Ibi enim terra in aurum uersa est. Adhuc in carne superest qui eum erudiuit in scola illa et est religionis famose uir ille, Simon uidelicet abbas de Sartis.² Qui licet senio lassatus iam iamque propinquet ad brauium, tamen interim dicat qualem uiderit patrem nostrum amantissimum Alredum in probatorio noniciorum. Dic, senex, dic, dic de illo, dum uiuis, ueritatem. Noli timere illud ne laudes hominem in uita sua, quia iste iam obdormiuit in domino et porrexit ad celum. Vere, inquit, socius meus fuit non discipulus et industria magisterii uicit doctorem. Ergo, o tu bone senex, super te predicas bene uixisse quem te in bono astruis meliorem. (*The rest*

¹ After the summary of the previous chapter, the story of the fire in the guest house follows in the Bury MS. This was taken from the later letter to Maurice. See above, p. 486. In his summary of Chapter VIII., the compiler omits the references to Simon, Abbot of Sartis.

² Above, p. 453.

of the chapter, which is briefly summarized in *N.L.*, II., 548, deals with Ailred's virtues as a novice.)

66 c.

[IX. *Ailred makes his profession.*]

N.L., II., 548.

Igitur cum orbita tocius anni uolueretur et ad sui principium tempus rediret et ipse totum expendisset in cella ubi Christi probantur tirones, ante altare, ut mos est, in oratorio coram omnibus uotum suum firmauit professione litterali, quam et manu sua scripsit, ut beatus ammonet Benedictus.¹ Deinde uestitur stola sancta, cuculla uidelicet abbatica benedictione sanctificata, et deinceps in congregacione reputatur. Et quoniam aliquantulum rufus erat ut Dauid, pulcher et decorus aspectu plurimum delectacionis intuencium oculis ingerebat. Qui tribus quoque inicia milicie monachus decorabat insigniis, uidelicet sancta meditacione, pura oracione, honesta exercitacione. Extra horum unum repertus est nunquam. In hiis delectabatur sicut in omnibus diuiciis. Aut enim meditabatur in lege diuina aut deum suum deprecabatur aut utili actioni operam dabat. Primo autem circa que meditacio illius fuerat intenta propalemus.

ff. 66 c-67 b.
N.L., II.,
548-549.

[X., XI., XII. *Meditation, prayer, work. The nature of Walter Daniel's reflections is sufficiently indicated in N.L.*, II., 548-549.]

f. 67 b.

[XIII. *General eulogy on Ailred as a monk, written in the manner of the Centum Sententiæ.*]

In hiis igitur et in huiusmodi uirtutibus uicitans miles inuictus, qui quasi apis argumentosa per campos uolitabat uirtutum, apothecam cordis tribus impleuit speciebus, melle uidelicet oleo et butiro. Et mel dixerim contemplacionem quia celestia oblectamenta hauriebat, oleum pietatem quia lucebat, biturum compassionem proximi quia pro eorum peccatis preces ad deum fundebat. In contemplacione mel sensit et gustauit per quam gustatur et uidetur quam suavis est dominus, sicut dicitur: "Gustate et uidete quam suavis est dominus".² Per pietatem expertus est lucem miseracionis domini, quia sicut oleum in superficie lucet, ita et pietas in miseracione resplendet. Comedit eciam butirum³ proximo compaciendo, quoniam sicut butirum ad ignem liquescit ita compassio in proximi subuencione resoluta infirmam animam refrigerat.

¹ Walter Daniel follows the *constitutiones*. See Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, p. 220.

² Ps. xxxiii. 9.

³ MS. *buturum*.

Quod propheta considerans dicit deo : "Remitte mihi ut refrigerer prius quam abeam et amplius non ero."¹

[XIV. *Ailred and Abbot William. The journey to Rome. Novice master.*]

Cum ergo sic floreret uir religiosus Alredus, considerans laborem eius et sollicitudinem in bono abbas suus dominus uidelicet Willelmus cogitabat admittere illum ad consilii sui secretas interrogaciones et necessarias causas examinandas domus Ryaull'. Quod cum fecisset decuplum inuenit in eo sapienciam ac prudencie super quam estimauerat. Nam res difficiles graues et permaximas multo facilius quam opinabatur expressit in lucem et prouexit ad gloriam. Neque desperare potuit de bono rei exitu uenerabilis Willelmus si eius ingressus Alredum non latuisset. Nam cognitis causarum principiis ad instar alterius Danielis solucionem earum | et finem prudenter inter- f. 67 c. pretabatur. Hinc est quod eum prefatus abbas Romam dirigens pro dissensionis Eboracensis causa² maxima mitiganda tanta gracia receptus est a domino papa, tam strenue negocium expressit et consummauit ut rediens multis admiracioni fieret et honori. Cui quoque reuerso iniungitur a domino Willelmo cura nouiciorum, quatinus uasa eos faciet digna deo et accepta ordine et quasi quedam perfectionis exemplaria eorum qui bene bonorum gestiunt formam emulari. Quod et fecit et tam dolatos ex illis monachos tradidit ut eorum quid adhuc in carne superstites illius predicabilem industriam tam morum suauitate quam uiua uoce affirmant, quorum conuersacio³ inter candidos flores candidiores ut ita dixerim flosculos preferunt, et maiorem pretendunt uenustatem decoris incomparabilis. Et ut uno compassio cordis eius et perfectio religionis intelligatur audiant, qui audire uolunt, quid proferre quodam fecerit uel pocius quid deus per illum fecerit pro fratre illo.

[XV. *The story of the clericus scolaris.*]

Venit aliquis illo tempore scolaris clericus ad Rieuallum monachi N.L., I., 42. nomen et officium desiderans adipisci. Recipitur primo in hospicio, ll. 4-19; II., 549, ll. 9-26.⁴

¹ Ps. xxxviii. 14.

² See above, p. 347.

³ Two or three words seem to have been omitted here.

⁴ The summaries of this story in the Sanctilogium Anglie (N.L., I., 42) and the Bury MS. (II., 549) are equal in length and very similar, but are clearly independent. E.g. the former takes the word *clericus* from Walter Daniel, the latter omits it.

paulo post in cella nouiciorum ubi Alredus precipiebat ut magister. Qui clericus ualde instabilis animo persepe ad diuersa titubabat, nunc huc nunc illuc, ut arundo pro aura mutabilis uoluntatis ferebatur . . . (*explicit*) lam in sancto habitu frater ille per puram oracionem Alredi inter eiusdem patris manus uite finem terminauit.¹

f. 67 d.

[XVI. *The spring in the probatorium.*]N.L., I., 42,
ll. 19-23.

Nec pretereundum quomodo in probatorio cassellum testeam ad modum paruule cisterne sub terra fabricauerat, cui per occultos riuulos aqua influebat. Os autem eius lapide latissimo claudebatur ne a quoquam cerneretur. In quam Alredus machinam intrans, si quando secretum silencium reperisset, et aqua frigidissima totum corpus humectans calorem in sese omnem extinxit uiciorum.

[XVII. *Ailred's writings during this period.*]N.L., II., 549,
ll. 26-30.

Per idem tempus cepit scribere ad diuersas personas epistolas quidem sensu serenissimas et litera luculentas. Scripsit eciam tres libros secundum iudicium meum pre omnibus quos scripsit laudabiles, quos uocauit speculum caritatis,² eo quod opus illud sic in se contineat imaginem Dei amoris et proximi, sicut in speculo imaginem considerantis constat peruideri. Et hic plane uolumus, deo nos adiuuante, ingenii eius limatam paulisper detegere subtilitatem.

[XVIII. *Ailred's intellectual qualities.*]³

Nempe acceperat animam ingeniosam, acceperat et habebat. Quid modo habebat, qui parum sciens in seculo, tanta postmodum sciuit eaque que sciuit tam sapide sciuit? Artes quos liberales uocant auctores iste magis palpando sensit quam bibendo gustauit, quantum attinet ad erudicionem illam que ore magistri discipuli pectus ingreditur. Alias autem omne tulit magisterium secum, intelligens bene super eos qui scolaria didicerunt rudimenta iniectione uerbi pocius quam infusione spiritus sancti. Et isti aristotelicas figuras et pitagorici computationis infinitos calculos doctore indicante vix capiunt, iste autem omnem numerum transuolans uelocitate ingenii sui et omnem compositionem | figure fecte uel facte supergrediens, ipsum intellexit in scripturis et docuit, qui solus habet immortalitatem ubi non est numerus

f. 68 a.

¹ See above, p. 312; and below, pp. 502, 504-506.

² Above, pp. 454-455.

³ Above, p. 473. This important chapter was not summarized by Tyne-mouth nor by the author of the summary in the Bury MS.

et lucem habitat inaccessibleem ubi non apparet figura sed ipsa ueritas que finis recte intelligitur uniuerse doctrine naturalis. Qui non fucos quesiuuit assumere uerborum in assercione sua, que dignitatem sensus magis onerant quam honorant, nam amputant a uero indicium ueritatis dum post se trahunt quod aliena declinacione non indiget et in hoc ducunt quod ueritas dedignatur. Se sola enim ueritas contenta est nec uerbis indiget ad deprecandum compositis uel intelligendum. Sicut sol nullius rei opus habet ut luceat quo magis luceat quam lucet, si autem ei aliquid aliud coniunxeris iam minus lucet, ita ueritas se sola sufficit intelligenti ut uideatur, cui si aliquid aliud inpresseris uel admiscueris, eo minus comprobatur sufficiens, quo dignitatem propriam aliena munire presumit insipientia. Neque enim uerba sine ratione, que membrum quoddam est ueritatis ad boni aliquid suadendum uel deprecandum uel tenendum, ulla sufficiencia fulciuntur. Nam innumera uerba esse possunt sine sensu et nichil distabunt a latratu canis. Quod iccirco dico quia pater noster refutabat omnino regulas gramaticas ueritati anteferre, quas illi ubique postposuit, utpote cultum contempnens eloquii superuacuum reique de qua diceret,¹ approbans puram et meram ueritatem. Nec tamen ad modum rusticus in pronunciando sermonem innotuit, cui et diserto suppeccit splendidissima et non parue glorie uenustam eloquiam habundauit. Habuit autem ad manum facile dicere quod uellet et ita proferre ut deceret. Sed de hiis satis. Siquidem scripta illius ostendunt sufficienter qualiter sit locutus que manu mea et labore memorie posterorum reseruate sunt. Jam ergo ad sequencia procedamus.

[XIX. *Foundation of Revesby.*]

Domus igitur Rieuall' concipiens in utero terciam filiam² genitui tumeris distensione partum propinquum nuntiauit.³ Que uero cum peperisset, obstetrices Alredum nostrum ad prolem recentem fusam gerulum et nutricium elegerunt, affirmantes cito grandiusculam futuram, si eius sollicitudinis lacte nutriretur. Et factum est ita. Quid? Elegerunt illum in abbatem fratres qui de Rieualle ad locum quemdam mittendi fuerant in prouinciam Lindisse, qui locus a Lincolnia ciuitate f. 68 b. regia uiginti distat milibus.

¹ *diceret in margin.*

² The two earlier daughter foundations were Wardon and Melrose.

³ MS. *minictauit.*

f. 68 b.

[XX. *Ailred as Abbot of Revesby.*]

Veniens igitur cum illis illuc in paruo tempore numerum fratrum multiplicauit uehementer gratia Jhesu Christi. Abbacie autem nomen bipartitum est, nam de sancto Laurencio dicitur eo quod in uilla qua eadem constructa est abbacia ecclesia olim sancti colebatur Laurencii, que usque modo manet ; et ex uilla alterum sortitum est uocabulum que Reuesby dicitur, unde uero et abbacia sic appellatur. In hac

N.L., II., 549,
l. 33 to 550,
l. 3.

pater sanctus miraculis florere cepit. (*The rest of the chapter describing the growth of the abbey and Ailred's busy life, for he found favour both with King and bishop, is given almost verbatim in the Bury MS.*)

f. 68 c.

[XXI. *Ailred cures the subprior of Revesby of a fever.*]

Supprior itaque eiusdem domus uir religiosus et timens Deum acutissimis febribus tenebatur longo iam tempore. . . . Et ecce pater sanctus cellam infirmorum ingrediens lectulosque inuisens singulorum, tandem in illum inpingit, et eum intuens iacturam domus et inuisam uiro ualetudinem dedignatur, sicque tandem affatur iacentem : "Cras in nomine domini ad ecclesiam perge, in spallencium chorum irrumpe, canta cum illis, ora deum et per ipsum, ut credo, sanitate pocieris". (*The monk did so, recovered his health, and lived long.*)

[XXII. *The unstable monk again.*]

Eodem tempore isdem frater de quo in superioribus diximus, ille uidelicet cuius animam deum rogauit Alredus ut sibi daretur, pristina mutabilitatis incendio conflagratus de monasterio recedere uolebat.

N.L., I., 42,
ll. 23-43 ; II.,
550, ll. 3-30.

f. 68 d.

(*After a conversation which is copied in the summaries, the monk went to the gate, Ailred to pray.*) . . . Jam accedens subcellerarius

ad eum, proximus uidelicet ei secundum carnem, dicit, "O tu, quid facis, excecans oculos tuos pro miserrimo illo ? Insuper et uotum fecisti ut te fame occidas si non redeat ille." Et sanctus, "Quid ad te ? Noli, queso, dolorem dolori meo addere, nam crucior in hac flamma, et cito morior nisi subueniatur filio meo. Quid ad te ?" Fugitiuus autem ad portam ueniens exire festinabat. (*The rest is given in the summaries. The monk, although the gates were open, was invisibly restrained from proceeding.*)

[XXIII. *The monk with the dead arm, who was cured by Ailred's staff.*¹ N.L., I., 42,
ll. 43-45.

Per idem tempus frater quidam in monasterio eius artificiosus ualde unius brachii mortificationem incurrens, totum corpus perinde arbitratur mortiferum. Nam uis inualitudinis totum occupans membrum triplici reflexu tanquam arietis cornu interius replicauerat et manum emortuam infra triplicationem eandem miserabiliter contorserat, ita ut in lecto super latus partis infirme nunquam pausare potuisset, quoniam uni membro infirmanti cetera omnia compaciebantur. | Erat isdem^{f. 69 a.} monachus bene simplex et admodum religiosus et bone fidei innitens ualde. Qui cum quadam die adiret ecclesiam quatinus missarum sacris interesset solempniis, intuens baculum abbatis infixum in ligno quodam secus ostium oratorii, eadem uirga per merita beati uiri et gratiam Jhesu Christi sanitatem recuperare presumpsit. Accipiens enim sana manu eundem baculum trina circuicione circumduxit eum infirmanti particule, signo crucis tercio repetito, et mox ad tertium circuitum ligni et tertium salutiferi signi brachium resilit ad solitam longitudinem, manus redit ad naturalem mobilitatem et sanitas abegit omnem incommoditatem.

[XXIV. *Death of Abbot William.*]

Cum igitur multis aliis et huiusmodi uirtutum et miraculorum splendidissimis radiis pater uenerabilis Alredus fulgeret, domino Willelmo abbate Rieuall' ultima inimica mors extremum clausit diem uite presentis.² Cuius uita uere in benedictione est quia benedictionem dedit illi dominus et testimonium suum confirmauit super capud eius. Ex eo siquidem tanquam ex indeficiente fonte religionis riuiuli ad posteros deriuati sunt, qui usque hodie in domo Rieuall' et in filiabus eius sufficienter fluunt et superfluunt, ad potum habiles et commodi, et ad ablucionem infirmorum salubres et indeficientes effecti.

[XXV. *Abbot Maurice.*]

Huic successit Mauricius magne sanctitatis uir et preclare prudentie utpote qui potauerat a puero uiuum leticie spiritale in claustro Dunolmensi, et ex pane Cuthberti uiri Dei reffectus creuerat in sub-

N.L., II., 550,
ll. 30-35.

¹ For this cf. above, p. 466. Tynemouth devotes three incorrect lines to this miracle; the Bury MS. omits it.

² Abbot William died 2 August, 1145. See the references and extracts in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 108-109.

lime ita ut a sociis secundus Beda cognominaretur ; cui reuera erat in tempore suo tam uite quam sciencie prerogatiua secundus. Hunc uero ego ipse uidi et bene noui et scio quia paucos tales modo terra tenet morientium. Hic autem moleste ferens inquieta onera cure pastoralis portare, uilicacioni abrenunciens post duos annos in claustro maluit consedere.

N.L., II., 550, [XXVI. *Ailred elected Abbot of Rievaulx. His critics.*]
 II. 35-40.

Cui Alredus a fratribus iure subrogatus amplius solito lucere iam cepit et quasi sol in centro eleuatur claritatem sue lucis is latius effudit. Quidam uero ad huius domus regimen proprie uoluntatis ambitione ascendisse illum arbitrantur, quod falsum esse boni omnes nouerunt. Quid enim mirum si uirtus uiri emulos ad falsum prouocauit ? Res est uirtus que nunquam caret inuidia. Et quantos male zelantes pacificus ille sustinuit ? Adhuc uiuunt eorum aliquanti, sed mors eius preciosa in aspectu domini errorem inuidencium amputauit. Et in uita quoque | sua monstra placauit. Quasi enim monstra quidam insurrexunt in eum malignantes et peruersi homines quorum lingua contra iustum locuta est mendacium, et superbia eorum qui oderunt eum ascendit semper. Alii dicebant " quia bonus," alii " non, sed est homo uorax, potatorum uini et publicatorum amicus, balneis et unguentis dedens corpus suum ". Quibus respondeo.

f. 69 b.

[XXVII. *Walter's answer to Ailred's detractors. This chapter is summarized sufficiently in N.L., II., 550, l. 39 to 551, l. 4.*]

[XXVIII. *Ailred's prophetic vision of the death of the unstable monk.*]¹

Qui plane eodem tempore per sompnum futura manifesta uidit de supradicto uidelicet fratre cuius exitum per portam in seculum prece sua retardauit. Iam idem frater missus cum domino Daniele patre meo et quibusdam aliis de domo nostra a uiro uenerabili Alredo ad abbathiam quamdam religione Cisterciensi ab eis illuminandam, nomine Swinesheued,² in redeundo domi appropinquabat. Nocte autem illa

¹ Above, p. 312.

² The abbey of Hoiland or Swineshead, in Lincolnshire, whose abbot, Gilbert, was a friend of Ailred (above, p. 312) was founded by Robert Grelley and settled by monks from Furness (see Tait, *Mediæval Manchester*, p. 132). The statement in the text that Daniel and his companions were sent to enlighten or advise the monks of Swineshead suggests, so far as it

que diem crastinum induxit in quo ad portam Rieuall' uenturus erat uir ille, | abbas Alredus dormitans uel dormiens, nescio, deus scit,¹ in lecto f. 69 c. suo iacebat. Et ecce homo uultu uenerabilis astitit coram eo et dixit, "Abba, mane hora prima ille tuus monachus ad portam monasterii apparebit. Fac ergo eum ingredi claustra monasterii, quia post paucos dies grauissima infirmitate corripietur et inter manus tuas morietur." Quibus prophetatis uates in uisione disparuit, et uir sanctus a sompno euigilauit. Recedente itaque nocte dieque subsequente secundum ordinem temporis prima lucis hora mundum ingreditur, et homo prophetatus pre foribus abbatie adesse abbati nunciatur. Qui mandans patri quatinus ad eum dignetur exire, et (*sic*) libenter paret sanctus ad illum descendere. Quem, ut uidit, osculatus est dulciter et de uisione cogitans fleuit super eum ualde suauiter. Rogat eum ingredi et letari spiritali leticia, quia "iam, iam," inquit, "deo uolente perficies in gloria". Cuius eloquium non capiens homo subridet et submurmurat ut "quid inquietis, intrabo ad mortem illam interminatam quam semper paciuntur claustrales? Immo uel saltem per unum mensem licencia tua uisito parentes meos et cum eis uel tantillo tempore fruor bonis presentibus et sic iterum ad te redeo." "Non erit ita, fili mi," ait pater, "sed nunc intra, quia sine te diucius non uiuo nec tu sine me morieris". Blanda igitur allocucione illexit monachum ut secum intraret in monasterium. Quo introeunte supra quam credi potest gaudet abbas et in corde iucundum licet occultum festum inchoat celebrare. Transactis autem quinque diebus uel sex hospes² qui aduenerat infirmatur et fortissimo languore concutitur. Sanguis ex naribus profluit sine intermissione; incipiunt fratres omnes de illius uita desperare. Inter hec currit et discurrit pater solaciando filio et seruatoris officium sedulo inpendit egroto. At post dies perpaucos eger urgetur reddere animam, pro qua exeunte de corpore abbas more solito solempnem recitat letaniam³; sed, cum dicit, sue uisionis immemor

goes, that the abbey had been recently founded and thus supports the date 1148 (given in the *Coucher of Furness*) as against the less likely date 1134 given in other sources. For the date see *Coucher Book of Furness*, ed. Atkinson (Chetham Society), I. i. 11-12.

¹ MS. *sit*.

² Walter, of course, is not using this word in a precise sense.

³ *Consuetudines*, ch. xciii in Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, pp. 206-207.

manibus morientem non amplectitur; unde semel atque iterum letaniam concludit et tercio eandem incipere cogitur. Tandem in mentem reducens que uiderat, caput inter manus apprehendens, proclamat, "Sancte Benedicte, ora pro eo". Qui cum caput tetigit et sanctum nominauit, statim inter manus eius ultimum monachus spiritum efflauit. Sed iam sequencia prosequamur.

[XXIX. *Rievaulx* under *Ailred*.]

l. 69 d.

Hic ergo domum Rieuallē fortissimam reddidit ad tollerandas infirmos, | ad fortes nutriendos et perfectos, ad pacem habendam et pietatem et ad plenissimam possidendam Dei et proximi caritatem. Quis ibi licet abiectissimus et contemptibilis locum quietis non inuenit? Quis debilis unquam¹ uenit ad eam et in Alredo non reperit paternam dilectionem et in fratribus debitam consolacionem? Quis aliquando fragilis corpore uel moribus a domo illa expulsus est nisi eius iniquitas uel uniuersitatem offenderet congregacionis uel propriam omnino salutem extingueret? Unde quidem ex exteris nacionibus et remotis terre finibus conuolabant ad Rieuallē monachi misericordia indigentes fraterna et compassione reuera, qui ibi reperunt pacem et sanctimoniam sine qua nemo uidebit Deum. Et utique illi qui uagantes in seculo quibus nullus locus religionis prestabat ingressum, accedentes ad matrem misericordie Rieuallē et portas apertas inuenientes libere² introierunt in eas confitentes Domino. Quorum si quis postea insulsos mores cum strepitu iracundie reprehendere presumpsisset, "noli," Alredus inquit, "noli, frater, occidere animam pro qua Christus mortuus est, noli effugare gloriam nostram a domo ista, memento quia et nos peregrini sumus, sicut omnes patres nostri, et hec est suprema et singularis gloria domus Rieuall' quod pre ceteris didicit tollerare infirmos et necessitatibus compati aliorum. Et hoc est testimonium consciencie nostre, quia sancta est domus hec, quoniam pacificos filios generat Deo suo. Debent," inquit, "omnes, et infirmi et fortes, locum in Rieualle pacis inuenire, ibique, uelut in maris latitudine pisces, gratam et iocundam ac spaciosam caritatis possidere quietem, ut de illa dicatur: Illuc ascenderunt tribus, tribus domini, testimonium Israel ad confitendum nomini Domini.³ Tribus utique forcium et tribus infirmorum. Neque domus illa religiose creditur que infirmos tolerare

¹ MS. *unquam*.

² In margin.

³ Ps. cxxi. 4.

contempnit. Inperfectum meum uiderint oculi tui et in libro tuo omnes scribentur.”¹

[XXX. *The same subject continued.*]

Nec pretermittendum quomodo creuerit sancta hec habitacio, uide-^{N.L., II., 551,}
 licet domus Rieuall', sub manu uenerabilis patris. Omnia duplicauit^{I., 43 to 552,}
 in ea, monachos, conuersos, laicos, fundos et predia et suppellectilem
 uniuersam. Religionem uero et caritatem triplicauit quidem. Videres
 festis diebus in oratorio, tamquam in alueolo apes, fratrum turbas con-
 stringi et conglomerari, nec pre multitudine usquam progredi ualentes,
 set consertas aduincem et collegiatis unum quoddam | exprimere corpus f. 70 a.
 angelicum. Hinc est quod post se Rieualli reliquit monachos bis sepecies
 decem et decies sexaginta² laicos fratres pater recedens ad Christum.^{N.L., I., 43,}
 Substantias eciam tantas dimisit illis que ad uictum et uestitum maiori^{II. 1-3.}
 sufficiant multitudini, si res cum prudentia tractentur, et preteris super-
 habundent. Qui uero in recipiendo uolentes conuerti ad ordinem
 fingeat se longius ire, ut fratrum precacionibus nolens urgeretur ad
 consensum; unde factum est quod plurimi exciperentur in monasterio
 quos ipse ignoraret. Nam sepe illorum iudicio et discrecioni relinque-
 bat ut quos uellent assumerent. Erat nempe uerecundissimus et
 condescendens imbecillitati singulorum, nec quemquam adiudicabat
 contristari, preces ad illum porrigentem causa caritatis.

[XXXI. *The privileges allowed him on account of his illness.*]

Hic igitur tam sanctus uir per decem annos ante obitum suum^{N.L., II., 551,}
 artetica passione nouos pristinis adiectos persensit sepiissime cruciatus, qui^{II. 5-18.}
 bus tam horribiliter detentus est ut uiderim eum in lutcheamine³ iniectum
 per quatuor eius inicia, quatuor manibus uirorum apprehensa, inter celum
 et terram suspendi, et sic ad necessitatem nature deportari, uel ad
 lectorum alternacionem remoueri; qui cuiuslibet attacku corpulencie,
 uelut diri uulneris mucrone percussus, clamando doloris magnitudinem
 indicabat. Causa uero huius passionis in generali abbatum capitulo
 apud Cistercium concessum est illi, quatinus in infirmatorio manducans

¹ Ps. cxxxviii. 16.

² The original reading was apparently “decies quinquaginta,” a figure given in both the summaries. The total number subject to the abbot in 1142 was about 300, if a passage in the *Speculum Caritatis* can be taken literally (P.L., CXCv., 563).

³ Probably a local Latinised word; cf. the Yorkshire dialect word, *lutch*, to lift.

et dormiens et cetera necessaria infirmitati sue sedulo exhibens, non tamen se in officio suo ut infirmus haberet, sed potius per omnia in conuentu quando uellet ordinis sui administraret negocia, cantando uidelicet missas publice et priuatim, ad grangias pergendo et quando uellet redeundo horas regulares in curia ubi sibi placeret decantando, et in chorum temporibus ceteris abbatibus non determinatis ueniendo, et nonnulla alia utilitatibus ecclesie sue subministrando. Quam liberalem condicionem uerecunde quidem suscipiens et grauitate ferens, iussit sibi fieri mausoleum iuxta communem cellam infirmorum et ibi consistens duorum solacio fratrum curam totius infirmitatis sue subiecit, omnem detestans uoluptatem deliciarum et blandinas uanitatis. Quod quidem tugurium patris ad tantam consolacionem fratrum edificatum est, ut uenientes ad illud et in eo sedentes uiginti simul uel triginta¹ singulis diebus conferrent ad inuicem de spirituali iocunditate scripturarum et ordinis disciplinis. Non erat | qui diceret eis, "recedite, abite, lectum abbatis nolite tangere," sed super grabatum illius ambulantes et decumbentes loquebantur cum eo ut paruulus confabulabatur cum matre sua. Dicebat autem eis, "Fili, loquimini que uultis, tantummodo non exeat de ore uestro uerbum turpe, detractio in fratrem et blasphemia contra deum". Non sic infrunte agebat cum suis ut est quorundam consuetudo abbatum insipientium qui, si monachus socii manum tenuerit sua (*sic*) uel aliqua dixerit quod illis displiceat, carpam postulant. Non sic Alredus, non sic. Decem et septem annis uixi sub magisterio eius et neminem in omni tempore illo de monasterio fugauit mansuetus ille super omnes qui morabantur in terra. Quatuor tamen de illo interim exierunt eo nesciente, sed omnes reduxit dominus preter unum cuius conuersacio sequitur Sathanam. Plane in angulo supradicte celle quasi quoddam interim cubiculum constituens, claudi illud lignea interiectione precepit. In quo crucem et reliquias quorundam sanctorum collocans, locum ibi orationis dedicauit. Et cogitans quia non dormitat neque dormit qui custodit Israel, tanquam ipsius uicarius et ipse parum dormiuit in lecto, plurimum orauit in eodem loco. Ibi permittente infirmitatis eius quamculacumque quiete² flexis genibus patrem pulsabat precibus in animo contrito et spiritu ueritatis.

f. 70 b.

N.L., I., 43,
ll. 5-7.

¹ The Bury MS. reads "nunc x., nunc xii., nunc etiam plusquam uiginti monachi simul conferrent ad inuicem" (N.L., II., 551, ll. 17, 18).

² *quiete* in margin.

[XXXII. *Ailred's writings.*]

Multa in illa mansione memoria digna conscripsit. Ante tamen hoc tempus uita Daud Regis Scocie sub specie lamentandi edidit cui genealogiam Regis Anglie Henrici iunioris uno libro comprehendens adiunxit.¹ Eciam ante illud tempus de lectione euangelica que sic incipit, *cum factus est Jhesu annorum xii^{im}*, expositionem nobilem et tripharia distincione, historica uidelicet et morali atque mistica fulgentem, cuidam monacho de Sartis, nomine luone, ex bibliotheca sui cordis transmisit.² Ac in illo secretario supramemorato triginta tres omelias super onus babilonis in Isaia et quedam de sequentibus ualde subtiles et utiles manu sua scribendo consummauit. Post quas edidit tres libros de spirituali amicitia sub dialogo. In quorum primo luonem supradictum se interrogantem introduxit et me in sequentibus loquentem secum ordinauit. Et post hos unum librum scripsit sorori sue incluse | castissime uirgini, quo docebat huius professionis sequaces, institutum inchoacionis, eiusdem feruorem et illius perfectionem.³ Quo completo uitam edidit sanctissimi Regis Edwardi literali gloria magna lucentem et fulgore miraculorum. Deinde euangelicam lectionem exposuit ad honorem eiusdem sancti et ad eam legendam in eius solempnitate ad uigilias, que hoc modo incipit, *Nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio sed super candelabrum*. Hec scripsit rogatus a Laurencio abbate Westmonasterii cognato suo et fratribus ibidem Deo studentibus complacere.⁴ Post que de anima, id est de illius natura et quantitate ac subtilitate, atque nonnullis aliis ad animam pertinentibus, duos libros perfecit, et tercium pene usque ad finem deduxit, set ante finem suum in hac uita eius in terra finem non conclusit. Nam debitum uniuerse carnis antequam ille fineretur exsoluit.⁵ Inter hec epistolas ad dominum

N.L., II., 551
ll. 19-43.
f. 70 c.

¹ The description of Henry as *junior*, shows that Walter Daniel wrote his life of Ailred before the coronation of the young King Henry in 1170.

² This is the "de duodecimo anno aetatis Christi" or "tractatus de Jesu puero duodenni," edited by Mabillon with the works of St. Bernard, and reprinted in Migne (P.L., CLXXXIV., col. 849 ff.).

³ The "liber de institutione inclusarum" was printed by the Benedictines of St. Maur with the writings of St. Augustine and is reprinted by Migne in the same connection (P.L. XXXII., col. 1451 ff.). The medieval English translation was made from a fuller text. See Horstmann's edition of the translation (Vernon MS.) in *Englische Studien*, VII., 305-344 (1884).

⁴ Above, pp. 349, 479.

⁵ For the existing MS. of the *De Anima*, see above, p. 477.

papam, ad regem Francie, ad regem Anglie, ad regem Scocie, ad archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et Eboracensem, et fere ad omnes episcopos tocius Anglie atque ad illustrissimos uiros regni eiusdem et maxime ad comitem Leicestrie, illustri stilo exaratas transmisit, et ad omnem ordinem ecclesiastice dispensacionis, in quibus uiuentem sibi reliquit imaginem, quia quod ibi literis commendauit hoc in uita ipse compleuit et multo melius uixit quam ibi dicere potuit. Sermones disertissimos et omni laude dignos in capitulis nostris et in synodis et ad populos perorauit, qui ad ducentas infallor determinaciones peruenerunt.¹

[XXXIII. *The miracles.*]

Igitur cum tales fructus parturiret uenerabilis pater, comitabantur eum nichilominus miracula que nunc ueraci stilo prosequemur. In- iustum enim indicamus testam,² lignum, es et ferrum,² quibus in exterioribus habundauit pater, ostendere legentibus hoc opus, argentum uero et aurum et lapides preciosos, quibus in spiritu superhabundauit, reticere.

N.L., I., 43,
ll. 13-17; II.,
552 ll., 6-10.

[XXXIV. *The monk with heart trouble who became dumb.*]

f. 70 d.
N.L., II., 552,
ll. 11-13.

[XXXV. *The opilio who was dumb for three days and was brought to Ailred.*]

f. 70 d.

[XXXVI. *The young monk with syncope, who lost the use of his senses.*]

N.L., I., 43,
ll. 17-20.

Adolescentem quemdam monachum sincopis passio perurgens urgebat spiritum eius relinquere corpus. Oculi enim nil uidentes et aures nichil audientes. . . . Pater uero illa hora in pomerio cum cellerariis quarundam causarum acta residens disponebat. Et ibi

¹ The writer in the Bury MS. (N.L., II., 551, ll. 36-42) tries to give an idea of the extent of Ailred's literary work. His summary modified the original as follows: "Sermones eciam disertissimos in capitalis et in synodis centum perorauit. Inter hec epistolas ad papam et regem Francie et Anglie et Scocie, ad archiepiscopos cantuarienses et eboracenses, et fere ad omnes episcopos Anglie et alias plures personas, trecentas edidit. Opuscula autem eius in libris et tractatibus pretactis, et aliis similibus, ad uicenarium numerum uel ultra pertingunt, preter sermones centum, et xxxiii omelias in oneribus superius memoratis et preter epistolas trecentas." In the fifteenth century John Boston refers to a copy of Ailred's letters in the library of Glamorgan (Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, II., 294).

² Daniel ii. 45.

presens affui, cum ecce quidam nunciauit abbati sic se habere fratrem. Et adiungens, "festina," inquit, "domine, priusquam moriatur". Erat autem nox. Cerneres tunc senem cursitantem offendere pedibus et repurgium baculi, quo semper utebatur, contempnere. Ast ubi uenit ad miserum extinctum putauit, quia signum uite ubi quesunt nullum inuenit. Nam a pulsu motus omnis abscesserat. Cucurrit itaque tristis et gemebundus magister ad oratoriolum suum et inde assumens reliquias quorundam sanctorum et textum euangelii Iohannis quod super se portauerat annis multis, indutus cilicio ad nudum tulit omnia et ad pectus infirmi astrinxit et cum lacrimis proloquens dixit, "Dilecte fili, sanet te dei filius". Et confestim dolor omnis conquieuit.

[XXXVII. *The mysterious death of the scurrilous abbot of a daughter house.*]¹

Eodem tempore spiritualis quidam sponsus unius filiarum Rieuall' N.L., I., 43, uisitandi gracia peccit matrem suam. Qui quoque abbas promptulus ll. 20-27. ualde ad conserendas contumelias et male astutus ad tendenda retia ante oculus pennatorum, irruit eciam in patrem nostrum et impetens illum cum iaculis maledictionum uehementer, et multarum blasphemiarum spiculis persequens crudeliter, comouit spiritum eius ad indignationem contra se et merito in se prouocauit iratum. Nam lis eius iniusta controuersiam confecerat contrariam sibi, quam dum nititur excedere, ruit ipse in malum et luminis rebellio super se congerit densum lucum, dum cor sancti lustratum luce iusticie opinatur extinguere. Quam uiri maliciam grauiter ferens, ueritatis amator ad celum eleuat oculos unacum illis in altum dirigens manus, uerba exserit terribilia nimis aduersum seuientem linguam hoc modo: "Domine rex eterne glorie, sentiat, queso, cito iste finem malicie sue, quia tu scis falsa esse que nomini meo stomachatur ascribere". At quid? Postquam uero delirus ille animo inflato satis egerat reumatizando in patrem sputa mendacii, rediit ad domum suam sine benedictione uenerabilis patris Alredi cum magna eciam indignatione omnium fratrum Rieuallis. At quum sanctorum uerba non pereunt, quorum non unum quoque iotha sine causa prolatum cognoscitur, idem ipse, qui paulo ante incinnuerat contra iustum, mox ut tangit proprie limen domus miserabiliter decidit in lectum et die septimo post initium mali uite finem cum magnis cruciatibus terminauit.

¹ See above, pp. 462, 470, 483.

[XXXVIII. *Ailred's visit to Galloway. Social conditions.*]¹

N.L., I., 43,
ll. 27-43.

Post hoc pater in Galwadiam descendens ad filiam unam Rieuall' uisitandam et consolandam, inuenit regulum terre illius contra filios suos iratum nimis et filios in patrem seuiantes et in se inuicem fratres.² Est autem terra illa fera et homines bestiales et barbarum omne quod gignit. Veritas ibi non habet ubi caput suum reclinet, quia a planta pedis usque ad uerticem non est in terra illa ulla sapiencia. Nam neque fides neque uera spes neque caritas constans perdurat in ea longo tempore. Ibi castitas tociens patitur naufragium quociens libido uoluerit, nec est inter castam et storcum ulla distancia nisi quod castiores inibi per menses uiros alternent et uir pro una bucula uendat uxorem. Quidam tamen homines terre illius, si fuerint in domo quauis regulari constituti, redduntur ad modum religiosi, aliorum tamen consilio et ducatu, nam propria industria uix aliquando in uirum occurrent perfectum; sunt enim naturaliter ebetes et animalem habentes spiritum ac per hoc semper intendentes uoluptatibus carnis. In hoc tamen barbarie plantauit Rieuall' plantacionem unam, que nunc fructificat fructum plurimum adiutorio dei, qui dat incrementum nouelle plantacioni.³ Quam, ut dictum est, uisitans pater inuenit principes illius prouincie dissencientes inter se, quorum odia et rancores animorum et tirannidem ad inuicem nec rex scocie humiliare potuit | nec episcopus mitigare suffecit, sed filii in patrem consurgentes et pater in filios et frater in fratrem et e conuerso multo sanguine infelicem terrulam polluerunt cotidie. Quos omnes conueniens Alredus

f. 71 b.

¹ Considering that Walter Daniel wrote within ten years of the events which he describes, his chronology is strangely confused. He says that Ailred's visit to Galloway, during which he reconciled the prince (regulus) and his sons, took place four years before his death (i.e. in 1162-3). But Fergus of Galloway resigned and took vows at Holyrood, Edinburgh, in 1160 after the subjection of Galloway by King Malcolm in three campaigns. He died in 1161 at Holyrood (see the passages from the annals of Melrose and Holyrood, quoted by Lawrie, *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, pp. 56, 67). It is clear from Walter's narrative that Ailred's visit occurred before the campaigns of 1160, or at least before their victorious completion. Probably the writer has combined the events of two different journeys, one in 1159, in which year Ailred is known from the life of St. Waldef to have been in Scotland (above, p. 479), and another in 1162-3. Ailred was again in Galloway in 1164-5 (above, pp. 480, 487).

² See the last note.

³ Dundrennan Abbey.

pacificus uerbis pacis et uirtutis natos iratos firmissima pace federauit in unum dilectionis uinculum, et ueteranum genitorem illorum religionis habitum suscipere uiuaciter admonuit et admonicione mirabili ad quod intimauit flexit, et illum qui multa milia hominum uita priuauerat, uite participem eterne fieri docuit et docendo ad hoc profecit, ut uir ille in monasterio religiosorum fratrum¹ diem uite clauserit extremum, et iam de eodem recte dici possit, ubi ceciderit lignum ibi erit.² Filii uero eius, postea colentes patrem multa ueneratione, adhuc perdurant in tranquilla pace.³ Hiis quasi per excessum expeditis ad miracula reuertamur.

[XXXIX. *The young man who swallowed a frog while drinking.*]⁴

Itaque cum in terra illa reuertens Rieualem cum suis dominus^{N.L., I., 44, II., 1-6; II., 552, II., 13-22.} equitaret, obuam sibi habuit adolescentem distentum ante et retro, et tergo uidelicet et uentre horribiliter tumidum . . . (*explicit*) Deinde^{f. 71 c.} ceptum carpens iter ad filios abbas in breui prospero cursu consummauit. Hec ab eo acta sunt ante *iiii*^{or} annos transmigracionis eiusdem ad celestia.

[XL. *The last four years of Ailred's life.*]

In illis autem annis quatuor quomodo, tanquam alter quidam Noe, archam uite sue in unius cubiti latitudine constrinxit, et sarca tecta templi mundissimi sui corporis restaurauit in melius, et omnes lapides sanctuarii immaculati pectoris polliuit et quadratos reddidit et perpendiculo arctioris conuersacionis in parietem perfectionis copulauit, breuiter deo uolente comprehendam. Non enim omnia scribimus que mirifice ab eo factitata noscuntur. Set uelut quibusdam laudabilibus notis⁵ militis Christi designamus triumphos aliquantulos, pro modulo ingenii quo innitimur . . . (*He will describe only fully attested and well-known facts.*)

¹ Holyrood, see p. 512, note 1.

² Cf. Ecclesiastes, xi. 3.

³ The two brothers, Gilbert and Uchtred, revolted in August, 1174, after the capture of King William the Lion at Alnwick in July. In September Gilbert murdered his brother (William of Newburgh, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 186-187). If proof were needed, this reference to the peaceful condition of Galloway under the two brothers is additional evidence of the early date of Walter Daniel's work.

⁴ Above, p. 471.

⁵ MS. *noctis*, the *c* punctuated.

f. 71 d.
N.L., I., 44,
ll. 6-11.

[XLI. *During the last four years of his life his austerities increased and, rejecting the advice of his physicians, he considered only the welfare of the soul.*]

[XLII. *His private devotions.*]

In uigiliis autem et orationibus ita extunc se armauit assiduitate infatigabili et uelut immersit in contemplacionis abysso ut multociens in oratoriolo inclusus regulares horas obliuisceretur et cibi refectionem. Solito enim sedulior in lectione, in oratione, in contemplacione, neglexit ex multa parte presencia et se iugiter representauit futuris. Legebat autem libros quorum litera¹ lacrimas elicere solet et edificare mores, et maxime confessiones Augustini manibus portabat assidue, eo quod illos libros quasi quasdam introductiones habebat cum a seculo conuerteretur. Sedebat eciam in fouea quadam in solo prefati oratorioli sui et cogitans quia puluis esset; in ea singulis diebus flebat et dicebat deo in oratione: "Quam diu, domine, ista complectetur miseria, quam diu nox, quam diu tenebre circumdabunt me, quam diu abhominabuntur me uestimenta mea?"

f. 71 d-72 a.
N.L., I., 44,
ll. 15-17.

[XLIII. *His heavenly visitors.*]²

Set non erat in tenebris pater noster in illo loco. . . .

f. 72 a.
Ibid., ll. 17-20

[XLIV. *The spirit of prophecy given him so that he knew the sins of the brethren before they confessed them.*]

Ibid., ll. 20-25.

[XLV. *His comment, when he was told that two monks, tempted by the devil, had cried out in the dormitory at night.*]

Ibid., ll. 26-32.

[XLVI. *His sermon in the chapter house.*]

f. 72 a-c.
Ibid., I., 44,
l. 32 to l., 45,
l. 19.
f. 72 c.

[XLVII. *The vision which one of the monks had about the death of Ailred.*]

[XLVIII. *The Abbot's sufferings during the last year of his life. His words in chapter.*]

N.L., I., 46,
ll. 19-23.

Igitur per illum annum integrum qui decessionem patris precessit, tussis quidem sicca pectus eius uentilans eciam cum aliis plurifariis infirmitatum generibus in tantum debilitauit eum et cuiusdam tediosa lassitudinis affecit, ut non nunquam rediens de oratorio missarum solempniis celebratis in cellam suam et per unam horam nec loqui nec

¹ N.L. lectio.

² The Sanctilogium Anglie (N.L., I., 44-45) gives a full summary of the following five chapters. The Bury MS. omits them.

mouere se usquam preualens, cubaret in stratu quodammodo insensibilis. (*After describing the nature of the cough Walter Daniel proceeds:*) Hanc itaque molestiam paciens per annum, ut dictum est, integrum, tandem in uigilia natalis Domini cepit non solum dolore corporis solito plus torqueri, uitamque presentem inualitudinem agitare,¹ set et animo ualidissimo et inuictissimo cupere dissolui et esse cum Christo. Unde dicebat, "cum Christo," inquit, "esse | multo magis f. 72 d. optimum, fratres. Et quomodo diu durare potero in hac durissima molestia carnis? Ego igitur uolo et desidero, si deo placet, quatinus me de hoc carcere cito educat et in locum refrigerii deducat, in locum tabernaculi admirabilis usque ad seipsum." Hec fratres audientes, nam in capitulo ista dicebat, hoc, inquam, audientes fratres, suspirabant et lacrimabantur. At unde suspiria eorum, unde lacrimae? Quia nimirum uiderunt infirmitatem et uoluntatem patris unius esse consensus et per hoc occurrebat mentibus filiorum illum quantocius migraturum ab eis. Quo die multum illos edificans testimoniis diuini uerbi reuersus est in cellam suam.

[L. *Ailred's last days. He calls the brethren together.*]

Qui ad uesperas ueniens et iterum nocte ad uigilias et mane ad capitulum² sermonem habuit ad nos humillimo coronatum proemio et prolatum cum affectu cordis et corporis multa fatigacione. Affuit eciam ad missas et ad uesperas quidem illo die sedens iuxta gradus presbiterii. Vesperis autem completis in cella sua recipitur et per manus ministrorum in lecto reclinatur. Iacet ergo quasi per duas horas uelut insensibilis et demimortuus, cum cite venio et uideo patrem sudare pro angustia et faciem uersam in pallorem subrufam et oculos lacrimantes et pirulam narium fluctuantem et labia constricta dentibus, et dico cuidam fratri, "Vere, dominus abbas ualde dure patitur modo; nam sunt indicia magni doloris iste uarietates membrorum". Ille autem dulciter me intuens, ut erat dulcissimus, "ita, fili mi, ita, ita," inquit, "est ut loqueris, ualde uxor ualitudinis huius cruciatibus ac cito finis erit calamitatis tante per uoluntatem domini ihesu". Volebant illa hora loqui cum eo fratres quidam super domus negociis et stabant circa lectum eius. Ille uero rogauit me quatinus eis dicerem, quod non sufficeret spiritus eius ad formanda uerba et languor intencionem circa

¹ So the MS.

² Christmas Day, 1166.

se¹ retineret. Quod feci et non sine lacrimis. Nocte uero sequenti lenius aliquid senciens et die postero, et me uenientem ad illum hilariter respiciens dixit, "Heri, fili mi, turbati fuimus et parum potuimus loqui et iccirco non parum doluimus, maxime quia consolari fratres non suffecimus uerbis nostris, nec sicut quidem fecimus nudius tertius". At subsequens nox dolorem patri magnum induxit, nobis autem maximum, quia illius corporis tantum erat, noster uero animi merentis et contristati pro eo uehementissime. Siquidem deinde carne nimium fragilis, spiritu tamen fortissimus existens, corpore sensim deficiebat ex nocte illa et in reliquum quinque, animi uirtute semper idem, qui esse solebat, perduraret. Exinde enim lecto decumbens assidue hanela uoce loquebatur, et de die in diem corpus illius debilitabatur in tantum ut iij^o Non Januarii² iusserit ante se vocari omnes monachos, quos hoc modo allocutus est :—

[Ll. *His speech.*]

f. 73 a.

"Sepe pecia a uobis licenciam uel cum transfretare habuissem | uel debuisssem ad remotas quasque prouincias propare uel institissem regis curiam petere; at nunc uestra cum licencia unacum orationum uestrarum suffragiis uado de hoc exilio ad patriam, de tenebris ad lucem, de hoc seculo nequam ad Deum, quia iam tempus est ut me recipiat ad se qui me redemit per se sine me, sibi que gratia sua inter uos uite melioris uinculo dignatus est colligare arcus. Satis est, inquit, quod hucusque uiximus, quia bonum dominum habemus et uultui eius assistere iam placet anime mee. Vos autem ipse custodiat in bono semper et ab omni malo liberet, et qui sanctos suos non deserit unquam nunquam uestri obliuiscatur qui est benedictus in secula." Quibus respondens "Amen," adiecit piissimus pater: "ego cum bona consciencia conuersatus sum inter uos, quia dominum testem inuoco in animam meam utpote constitutus, ut cernitis, in articulo mortis quod nunquam postquam habitum huius religionis accepi cuiuslibet hominis malicia uel detraccione uel litigio in illum exarsi aliqua commocione, que diei finem in domicilio cordis mei expectare preualuisset. Semper enim pacem diligens et fraternam salutem et propriam quietem, hoc gratia christi animo imperaui ne turbata mentis mei paciencia solis

N.L., I., 45.
ll. 23-29.

¹ MS. originally read "languor circa intencionem se retineret". The scribe put a mark of omission before the word *se*, and added *circa* in margin. The first *circa* is crossed through by a later hand.

² 3 January.

occubitus pertransiret." Ad hec uerba fleuimus omnes, et pro lacrimis uix uidit quis proximum suum, et maxime cum ille flens diceret nobis, "scit ipse qui scit omnia deus, quod uniuersos uos diligo ut me ipsum, et sincere ut mater filios cupio uos omnes in uisceribus ihesu christi".

[LII. *His advice on the choice of a successor.*]

Post hec precepit afferri coram se spalterium glosatum et confessiones augustini et textum euangelii iohannis et reliquas quorundam sanctorum et paruulam crucem que fuerat bone memorie archiepiscopi Henrici Eboracensis,¹ et dixit nobis, "ecce hec in oratoriolo meo penes me retinui et in hiis pro posse delectabar, solus in eo sedens cum uacarem ocio; argentum et aurum non est michi, unde non facio testamentum, quia nichil possideo proprium, uestrum est quicquid habeo et ego ipse". Admonuit nos eciam ut in electione successoris eius queremus non que nostra sunt set que sunt dei, et ut iuniores priores domus et maturiores et sapienciores in hoc iudicio maxime sequi dignarentur.² Deinde dedit omnibus paternam benedictionem et optauit diuinam.

[LIII-LXI. *Ailred's death.*]

Die uero altera oleo sanctificationis perlinitur a Rogero uenerabili abbate de Beilandia³ et uiatico uniuert misterii sacrosancti dominici corporis et sanguinis, illo cum lacrimis clamante, "domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum". Quibus completis faciem uiuaciorum et corpulenciorum mutuasse uidebatur, et toto die illo et sequenti usque ad secundam horam noctis uegetacionem eandem in uultu pretendebat. Nullus tamen masticabilis cibus in os eius insumitur a die x^{mo} usque ad obitum.

[LIV.]

Igitur post secundam horam noctis alterius postquam sacramentum sacri dei suscepit, cepit eciam in uerborum deficere prolatu et quasi iam

¹ Henry Murdac.

² "In abbatis ordinatione illa semper consideretur ratio: ut hic constituatur quem sibi omnis cohors congregationis secundum timorem Dei siue etiam pars quamuis parua congregationis saniori consilio elegerit."—Rule of St. Benedict, as observed by the Cistercians (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 51).

³ Roger, Abbot of Byland (c. 1146 to 1196). This was 5 January, 1167.

. 73 b.

interesset celestibus terrena sapere minus. Sensus quinquepartiti perdurantes in eo integerrimi et inuiolabiles usque in finem, verba tamen breuissima | et diuisa fatiebant. Iam omnes in uno conuenimus et de itinere patris ad deum non dubitamus et pio zelo unusquisque contendit paterne infirmitati ministrare necessaria. Erasmus autem circa illum nunc xii^{cim}, nunc xx^{ti}, nunc vero xl^a, nunc eciam monachi centum quia sic vehementer amatus est a nobis amator ille omni nostrum. Et beatus ille abbas qui sic a suis amari meruerit. Hanc enim ille maximam beatitudinem estimauit ut sic amaretur dilectus a deo et hominibus cuius memoria in benedictione in eteruum.

[LV.]

Et ego fateor in diebus illis sensi et ter[r]ribile nimis lecto illius assistere, sed porro plus iocundum. Terribile quantum ad hoc quod, ut conicio, angeli confabulantur cum eo, sed illo solo audiente quibus ni fallor sine intermissione respondebat. Hoc enim iugiter ex ore illius sonuit in aures nostras, "festinate, festinate". Quod multociens per nomen christi commendauit, et anglice quidem, quia nomen christi hac lingua una silliba continetur et facilius profertur, et dulcius quodammodo auditur. Dicebat igitur, ut uerbis suis utar, "Festinate, for crist luue," id est pro christi amore festinate. Cui cum dicerem, "quid, domine?" extendens ille manus quasi ad celestia et oculos erigens ut lampades ignis ad crucem que ibi aderat in facie, dixit, "ad illum quem uideo ante me, regem glorie, dimittite me quamtocius abire. Quid moramini? Quid agitis? Quid expectatis? festinate pro christi amore, festinate." Dico uniuersis qui hunc locum lecturi sunt nuncquam sic compunctus sum in omni uita mea ut uerbis istis tociens repetitis, ita terribiliter prolatis, et tali uero et in tali hora, a uiro uirtutis et in hora mortis. Et hec quidem uerba per tres dies continue procedebant de ore illius. Tribus namque diebus lento hanelitu spiritum trahebat, quia, spiritum fortissimum in corpore tenero possidens, eciam corpore deficiente ipse uix morti cedere potuit.

[LVI.]

N.L., I., 45,
II. 29-33.

Eodem tempore quidam ex sociis nostris, unus uidelicet ex seruitoribus patris, resupinus dormitabat pro tedio et ecce pater illi apparens, ut erat infirmus, dixit, "quando, frater, putas transibo?" Ad quem ille, "domine, nescio"; et pater, "pridie Idus Januarii migrabit ancilla domini anima mea a domo sua terrena quam hucusque

inhabitauit". Quod ita euenit ut dormienti fratri pater predixerat. Nam secunda die postea quam hoc audiuit frater a patre, pater recessit a corpore.

[LVII.]

Pridie sane quam obiret, abbas de fontibus¹ et abbas de Beilandia Rogerus | assistebant illi et pene omnes monachi et non nulli conuersi. f. 73 c. Legebat autem quidam frater passionem domini, illo audiente, qui verba iam formare non ualebat ut intelligerentur. At tamen ubicumque aliquid est recitatum uel ex humilitate domini uel ex constancia discipulorum, quum eloquio nequibat signis manuum mirabiliter collaudabat lectionis leticiam et interdum mocione labiorum et similitudine cuiusdam risus prorsus spiritualis. Alias autem, ubi uel Petrus negat uel Iudei accusant uel Pilatus addicit uel miles crucifigit, lacrimatur et significat digitis crudele esse quod agitur, et uultus tocius contristata figura. Inter hec uideres gaudia omni et dolores concurrere simul, risus et lacrimae, uox exultacionis et suspiria uno ex ore, uno in tempore, eadem in omnibus et omnia ex singulis in rem quandam publicam progredi; quia pium fuit gaudere cum patre, piumque cum patre dolere, dum et filii sit obitum patris plangere et eiusdem nichilominus patris leticie congaudere.

[LVIII.]

In illo die sedi ego et sustentauit capud eius manibus meis, aliis longius consedentibus nobis. Dixi autem demissa uoce, nemine nobis intendente, "domine, respice ad crucem et ibi sit oculus tuus ubi est cor". Statim igitur palpebras eleuans et pupillas luminum porrigens ad figuram ueritatis depictam in ligno, dixit ad illum qui pro nobis in ligno pertulit mortem, "Tu es deus meus et dominus meus, tu refugium meum et saluator meus, tu gloria mea et spes mea in eternum. In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum". Hec ita locutus est aperte ut scripta sunt, cum tamen ante per duos dies tanta simul non sit locutus, nec deinceps quidem tria uerba simul. Statim enim nocte sequenti spiritum solito lentius trahens usque ad quartam pene uigiliam sic iacebat. At tunc nobis² eum iam iamque obiturum sencientibus, positus est super cilicium et cinerem more monachorum, filiorumque turba circa illum adunata cum abbatibus quatuor qui affuerant, in

¹ Richard, abbot of Fountains (c. 1147 to 1170).

² *Nobis* in margin.

manus patris inpollutum spiritum emittens, quieuit in Christo. Obiit autem circa quartam uigiliam noctis pridie Idus Januarii, dominice uidelicet incarnationis anno millesimo c° lx^{mo} vi^{to}, qui fuit annus uite illius quinquagesimus septimus.¹

N.L., I., 45,
II., 33-36; II.,
552, II., 22-24.

[LIX.]

f. 73 d.

Cum autem corpus eius ad lauandum | delatum fuisset et nudatum coram nobis, uidimus quodammodo futuram gloriam reuelatam in patre, cuius caro uitro purior, niue candidior, quasi quinquennis pueri membra induerat, que ne parue quidem macule neuus fuscabat, sed erant omnia plena dulcedinis decoris et delectacionis. Neque defectio capillorum cateruum fecerat eum nec longa infirmitas curuum, nec ieiunia pallidum nec lacrimae lippum sed, integerrimis partibus corporis existentibus, lucebat pater defunctus ut carbunculus, ut thus redolebat, apparabet in candore carnis ut puerulus purus et immaculatus. Non me potui abstinere ab osculis quibus tamen pedes elegi, ne damnaretur michi affectio magis quam amor, et pulcritudo dormientis plusquam dilectio sic iacentis. Adhuc non me capio pre gaudio illius admirandi decoris cum de hoc cogito. Set quando non cogito? Quando non rumino dulcedinem illam, illam venustatem, illam gloriam? Deus meus, non obiit ille sic ut mortui seculi, non, domine, in obscuris set in limine tuo, quia in limine suo uidimus lumen tuum.

[LX.]

Cum igitur corpus eius pro consuetudine, non pro necessitate, baptizatum fuisset, nam aque ipse ab eo limpidiore reddebantur, cum ergo baptizatum esset aureum illum uasculum, in uasculo quodam parum balsami attulit quidam ad nos, quod ipse pater habuerat ad medicinam. Hoc ergo liquore, immo guttula liquoris huius, nam uasculum quidem quo continebatur uix amigdale magnitudinem excedebat, hac, inquam, guttula ego tres digitos patris dextere, pollicem uidelicet indicem et medium inungi adiudicauit, eo quod illis digitis multa de deo scripserat; alii autem linguam, alii faciem, maluerunt, cum tamen nulla uideretur sufficiencia uel ad unius articuli peruncionem habundare potuisse. At cum uenerabilis abbas Rogerus de Beilandia summitate pollicis totum pene tenuisset unguentum extractum

¹ 12 January, 1167 (n.s.). The Bury MS. adds, "et anno xx° postquam domum Rieuallie suscepit regendam". (N.L., II., 552, I. 24).

a uasculo iniectione minutissimi ligni, patris faciem inunxit, frontem aures et collum oculos et nasum totumque capud et adhuc tantum uncture illius superfuit quantum uidebatur esse quo incepit. Miramur omnes unguinis habundanciam tantam et mirantibus nobis manus patris abbas Rogerus unguere aggreditur et eadem copia perunxit qua cepit, nec sic in aliquo minuisse balsamum deprehendimus. | Unde f. 74 a. quidem et brachiorum partem non minimam ab eodem perfusam fuisse agnoscimus. Et nec sic utique cessauit unctio, set pendeat e digitis abbatis Rogeri infuse copie celestis benedictio. At nos, conuentu fratrum expectante, festinauimus patrem ad illos reportare, tuncque tandem balsamum cessauit habundare.

[LXI.]

Post que delatum est corpus eius in oratorium et in crastino, missis celebratis debitis circa patris exequias, obsequiis exhibitis et consummatis, in capitulo traditur sepulture iuxta predecessorem suum uirum uenerabilem et sanctum primumque abbatem Rieuall' Willelmum, cuius in superioribus fecimus mencionem. Cum quo iure pro meritis et gratia saluatoris per eum gaudebit et exultabit ante deum et dominum nostrum ihesum christum cui gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit uita uenerabilis Alredi abbatis Rieuall'. Incipit lamentatio auctoris uite eiusdem de eadem re.¹

¹ Walter Daniel's lamentation follows, f. 74 a-f. 75 b.

BRIEF NOTES ON SOME OF THE RARER OR
UNIQUE ARABIC AND PERSIAN-ARABIC MANU-
SCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY A. MINGANA, D.D.

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY.

IT has been decided to print, from time to time, in these pages, brief descriptive notes on some of the rarer works to be found in the collection of Arabic, Persian and other Oriental Manuscripts preserved in the John Rylands Library.

The whole of the items dealt with in the present issue have been already fully described in the manuscript catalogue, which has been prepared with a view to publication when the cost of book-production becomes more normal. In the meantime students who are interested in such studies may have ready access to the full catalogue, and also to the manuscripts.

The object of these notes is to direct attention to a number of works of importance in this particular field of research, the very existence of which would otherwise remain unknown, since the whole of the items at present dealt with are either unique, or of such rare occurrence in the public libraries of Europe as to render them almost so.

To have dealt with the whole of such manuscripts in the collection would have taken up more space than can well be spared. We have therefore confined our attention to those coming under the head of Theology.

In subsequent issues it is our intention to deal in the same manner with other rare items in the departments of History, Natural Science, Philosophy, Literature, Language, Prayers, Charms, etc.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

No. 96. "TUḤFAH'ĀMMĪYAH." It contains quatrains on the twelve months of the Christian year, their beauty and their defects, in the

form of a dialogued dispute. The author is Philippus Fadūl, of the second half of the eighteenth century. The MS. was written at Damietta in 1769, one year after its composition in Cairo.

No. 100. "KITĀB UT-ṬUBB UR-RUHĀNI." An anonymous work on Christian mysticism in general. It consists of thirteen faṣls dealing with various vices affecting human life. The MS. seems to be of Spanish origin and is written on European paper; the binding is also of European origin. Eighteenth century.

No. 802. ISAAC OF NINEVEH. Arabic version of the works of the Syrian mystic, Isaac of Nineveh, who died towards the end of the seventh Christian century. The MS. has no date but it may be ascribed to about A.D. 1450. It belonged to a certain Athanasius Ṭabutika, who dedicated it to the monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt.

The works of Isaac of Nineveh, which were translated from Syriac into Arabic in the ninth Christian century, exercised a great and lasting influence on Christian mystics and Muslim Ṣūfis of later generations

MUSLIM THEOLOGY.

1. KUR'ĀN.

Nos. 760-773. KUR'ĀN. This beautiful manuscript, in fourteen volumes, contains, in a fifteenth century script, the translation of the Kūr'ān into Persian and Turki (Eastern Turkish) languages. Every page of it is trilingual. The first line contains, in thick Naskhi characters, the text of the Kūr'ān and below every Arabic word is written, in much thinner letters, its Persian equivalent, and immediately below the Persian word comes its Turki equivalent. Both translations being very literal, the Eastern Turkish version furnishes the handiest text for the study of the imperfectly known dialect of Turki in its relation to that used in *Ḳudatku Bilik* and in Rabghūzi's works.

No. 347. "ḤUJJAT UL-ISLĀM." A work on the writing and pronunciation of the Kūr'ān arranged in sections under Sūrah headings. The author is called Muḥammad Badr ul-Islām and the date of the composition is given as 1157/1744. The MS. is either an autograph of the author, or written under his direct supervision.

No. 438 C. "SIRĀJ UL-ḤUFFĀZ." A treatise in Persian about the distinction and interpretation of doubtful words in the Kūr'ān. The author is Haddād b. 'Abd ul-Hakīm, and the date of the transcription of the MS. is apparently 1002/1593.

No. 601. Glosses on Baiḍāwī's commentary on Sūrah XIV (Nūr) by

Shihāb ud-Dīn Khafājī, who died in 1069/1659. The MS. is an autograph, and the text that it contains is different from that of Khed. Libr. (I, 181).

No. 337. "BAḤR UL-'ISHK." A commentary on Sūrah XII (Yūsuf). The work is anonymous, and the manuscript is dated 1233/1817.

No. 650 D. "SHARḤ WAJĀWAZNA." A commentary on Sūrah X, 90-92, written in 1133/1720 by Khalil b. Muṣṭafa Istanbūli, called Fā'id, who died about 1140/1727. The MS. is dated 1134/1721, a year after the composition of the book.

No. 650 L. "MABĀḤITH AS-SAYID MA'A TAFTĀZĀNI." A record of a discussion which took place at the court of Amīr Taimūr (Tamerlane) between Jurjāni, who died in 816/1413, and Mas'ūd b. 'Umar Taftāzāni, who died in 791/1389, on the force of Qur'anic comparisons.

2. TRADITIONS.

No. 800. "IRSHĀD US-SĀRI FI SHARḤ BUKHĀRI." An autograph of Kaṣṭallāni. The famous commentary of Shihāb ud-Dīn Kaṣṭallāni on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri. The MS. contains many additions on the margins and erasures in the text, all in the handwriting of the author, who died in 923/1517.

No. 679. "TAJZI'AT of KHAṬĪB on the SUNAN of A. DĀ'ŪD." The MS. contains the famous "Sunan of A. Dā'ūd," but the text that it exhibits is different from that with which we are familiar. From the indications of the MS. we are given to understand that this text is the one edited by Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who died in 463/1070. (The date 403 given by Brockel. (I, 329) is a misprint.) The MS. is dated 1117/1705, and contains in the handwriting of the Kaḍi of Macca a long note specifying the chain of authorities by which the text preserved in this Maccan MS. was guaranteed to be genuine.

No. 414 L. "AḤĀDĪTH FI FAḌĀ'IL AL-MADĪNAH." A work containing forty-one traditions on the merits of Madinah, by 'Alī b. Sultan Muḥammad Kāri Harawi, who died in 1014/1605.

No. 735. "SHARḤ SHAMĀ'IL NABAWĪ." A commentary in Persian upon Ibn Hajar's Arabic commentary on Tirmidhi's well-known *Shamā'il*. The author is Rāji Hājji al-Haramain, who composed his work in 978/1570. This precise date is formed from the numerical value of the letters of the title, as counted on the margins of fol. 217^b.

Rāji was a follower of the famous Sayid 'Alī Hamdāni, who, having incurred the wrath of Amīr Taimūr (Tamerlane) fled from Hamdan to Kashmere, where he arrived in 782/1380. He was also a pupil of Ibn

Hajar, whom, on fol. 3^a, he calls "my teacher and my sheikh". The MS. is dated 1225/1810.

No. 540. "FUTŪHĀT KUBRA." A work on traditions, with uncommon divisions. The first division comprises traditions of the Prophet in which the authorities of *six* traditionists are in agreement. The second those of *five*, the third those of *four*, the fourth those of *three*, the fifth those of *two*. Then proceed the traditions for which only a *single* authority can be cited. The author is Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah Ḥasani, who prefixes to his work the profession of faith of his Sayid Muḥammad b. Zaid Ḳairawāni.

The MS., which may be ascribed to about A.D. 1740, contains statements by judges who had read the book in Madina in 1199/1784.

No. 452 B. "JAWĀHIR UL-UṢŪL FI 'ILM HADĪTH I R-RASŪL." An anonymous work on the science of traditions, their value, and the history of traditionists. It is the handiest of all the treatises we have read on the science of traditions.

In order of date the latest author quoted in the text seems to be Muḥammad Shāmi, who died in 942/1535. The MS. was copied in 1184/1770.

No. 554. "MUNYAT US-SĀLIKĪN WA BUGHYAT UL-'ĀRIFĪN." A work on the forty traditions of the Prophet, related, commented upon, and interpreted after a legal and theological fashion. The book is mentioned by Haj. Khal. (VI, 226) but without its author's name and its date. The present MS. gives the author as 'Abd ul-Ḥaḳḳ b. Ḥasan Miṣri, and the year of his death as 838/1434. It was written about A.D. 1550.

No. 545. "TARJAMA' I ḲUṬB SHĀHI." A free translation into Persian of the forty sayings of the Prophet, as edited by Bahā' ud-Dīn 'Āmuli, who died in 1030/1621. The author is another 'Āmuli: Muḥammad b. 'Ali 'Āmuli, called Ibn Khātun, who died about A.D. 1680.

The work, as the title implies, has been undertaken at the instance of Sultan Muḥammad Ḳuṭb Shāh b. Ḳuṭb Shāh, who reigned A.D. 1612-1621. He was the fifth ruler of the Ḳuṭb Shāh dynasty of Golkanda, and succeeded his more famous brother Ḳūli Ḳuṭb Shāh.

The MS. is dated 1087/1676, and is, therefore, contemporary with the author.

No. 740. "SHARḤ 'AHDNĀMAH." The book professes to contain advices or instructions given by 'Ali b. a-Ṭālib to Malik b. Ḥārith Ashtar, when he sent him to take over the government of Egypt. The text is in Arabic, whilst the Commentary is in Persian. The MS. presents an Indian Ta'lik of about A.D. 1680.

No. 639 C. "KANZ UL-AKHYĀR." A collection of sayings of the Prophet. About A.D. 1780. It is in every respect different from that mentioned by Brock. (II, 183), as by 'Imād ud-Dīn.

3. SUNNI THEOLOGY.

No. 631. "KITĀB UD-DĪN WAD-DAULAH." A semi-official defence of Islām written at the court, and by order, of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861). The author is 'Alī b. Rabban Ṭabari, who died before 250/864. The MS. is dated 616/1219. We are glad to be in a position to announce that an English translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of this important work will be published very shortly.

No. 632. "KITĀB UL-IBĀNAH." A work concerning the life and the Caliphate of the four pious Caliphs, by 'Ubaidallah b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān b. Batat, who died about 460/1065. The MS. is very important, and was written not later than 510/1116, and may be considered as part of one of the copies made by the disciples of 'Alī b. Ubaidallah b. Zāghūni, who died in 527/1134, from his own original.

No. 428 C. "RISĀLAT MAULĀNA ṢŪFĪ." Glosses on some phrases of an anonymous commentary upon the 'Akā'id of 'Aḍu d-Dīn Ījī, who died in 756/1355. The author is Ṣūfī Kamān (?) Karrāti, a man absolutely unknown to us. The MS. is dated 1218/1803.

No. 449. "HĀSHIYAT 'ALA SHARḤ 'AKĀ'ID NASAFĪ." The author is given as Mulla 'Ismat Allah, a man about whom little is known. The MS., which is undated, may be ascribed to about A.D. 1600.

No. 262. "HADĀ'IK UL - ḤAKĀ'IK FI MAWĀ'IZ AL - KHALĀ'IK." A curious work of an eschatological and ethical character. The author is given as Fakhr ud-Dīn Rāzi, who died in 606/1209, but the indications of the copyist are probably erroneous, because the MS. seems to contain the work of Tāj ud-Dīn Rāzi, who died after 720/1320. See Haj. Khal. III, 20. The MS. is dated 1156/1743.

No. 422. "WĀJIB WA SUNNAH." A treatise on the duties of Muslims and on the best way of performing prayer. The author's name is given as Kidāni, doubtless Luṭf Allah Nasāfi Kidāni, who is presented in Haj. Khal. IV, 368, as the writer of a work on Fatāwi. He lived about 900/1494.

No. 373 "TUḤFAT UL-MUTAKALLIMĪN." A dogmatic work on points of faith according to the Sunnis, with the refutation of the principal sects opposing their belief, such as the Khārijites, the Mu'tazilites, the Ḳadariyahs, the Murjiyahs, the Karāmiyahs, the Jabriyahs, and the Rāfidites.

The author is Burhān Ḳuraishi 'Abbāsi, who cannot be identified with certainty with any other writer known to us. The book is divided into sixty-five bābs, and the MS. may be ascribed to about A.D. 1750.

No. 446 A. "ITHĀF UL-ḤUḌŪR BI SĀTĪ'NŪR." A theological and ethical explanation of Sūrah XXIV, 35-45. The author, whose name is purposely obliterated, was probably 'Abd ul-Ḳādir b. 'Abd ul-Wāhid Maghribi. The MS. is an autograph, and is dedicated to Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr, who reigned A.D. 1659-1707.

No. 614 B. "SHARḤ WAṢĪYAH." A commentary on the *Wasīyah* of the imam Abu Ḥanifa by Mahmūd b. Aḥmad Bābarti, who died in 786/1384.

No. 614 C. "TADKIRAH LI ŪLI N-NUHA." An anonymous treatise by a Ḥanafite Doctor, on some Ḳur'ānic and theological points. Dated 1053/1643.

No. 414 A. "FAID UR-RABB FI L'KHALḲ WAL KASB." An anonymous commentary on a work on the power and prescience of God and the free will of man, by Sayid Muḥammad Kūmaljanawi.

No. 414 B. "SHAWĀRID UL-FARĀ'ID." An incomplete treatise on religious beliefs, by Abu Ḥasan Sindi Athari, who died in 1136/1723.

4. SHĪ'AH THEOLOGY.

No. 362. "THAWĀB UL-A'MĀL." A work upon the rewards and punishments of human deeds. The author is Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Bābūyah al-Ḳummi, who died in 381/991.

It should here be stated that No. 14522, b. 14 (Vol. II, p. 163) in A. G. Ellis's *Cat. of Arabic printed books in the Brit. Mus.* entitled "Amālī" contains a work which exhibits a text which, if not always identical with, is at least very similar to, that contained in the present MS. It may be ascribed to about A.D. 1780.

No. 686 A. "RISĀLAT UT-TAUḤĪD." A treatise on the Unity of God, based on Ḳur'ān cxii, 1, the author of which is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Bākir Dāmād Ḥusaini, who died in 1041/1631. This precise date is taken from Muḥibbi's *Khulāṣat al-Athar* (Vol. IV, p. 302, Cairo, 1284 A.H.). We do not know on what authority Brockel. (II, 341) and others assign the year of his death to about 1070/1659.

No. 686 B. "RISĀLAH KHAL'ĪYAH." Another work by the same author, in which mention is made of a mystic vision in 1023/1614.

No. 686 C. "RISĀLAH 'ALAWĪYAH." A third work, written in 1024/1615, by the same author, on a saying of the Prophet concerning 'Ali.

No. 686 D. "ŞAHĪFAH MALAKŪTĪYAH." A work written in 1012/1603 by the same author on philosophical, theological and mystical subjects.

No. 686 F. "RISĀLAT UL-KHILĀAH." A treatise written in 1034/1624 by the same author on the creation of the world by God.

No. 686 H. "KITĀB UT-TAKDĪSĀT." A work by the same author on the divine ordination of human nature and existence.

No. 686 J. "RISĀLAH MAKKĪYAH." A mystic treatise by the same writer on the spiritual value of Macca and the Ka'bah.

5. ŞŪFI THEOLOGY.

No. 87 A. "ISFĀR 'AN NATĀ'IJ AL-ASFĀR." A work on spiritual journeying, and on the mystical communication with Heaven of many prophets. The author is the very famous Muḥyi d-Din ibn 'Arabi, who died in 638/1240.

No. 399 J. "KITĀB UL-JUMAL." A tract giving in short phrases the quintessence of religious beliefs and duties. The author is Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Ḥasan (not Ḥusain, as in Brockel, I. 199) Ḥakīm Tirmidhi, who died in 255/868. This date is taken from *Safinat al-Auliya* (in *Ethé's Cat. of Pers. MSS. in Ind. Off.*, p. 293, no. 182). We do not find any good reasons for adopting the date 320/932, given by Brockel (*ibid.*), Ahlwardt, and others.

No. 399 P. "UMMAHĀT UL-MA'ĀRIF." A treatise on the leading principles of Şūfism, by the above Muḥyi d-Din b. 'Arabi.

No. 399 R. "NATĀ'IJ UL-ADHKĀR FI L'MUḤARRABĪN WAL-ABRĀR." A historical and theological treatise on the *Dhikrs*. The work is important for the study of Şūfi practices, and is also from the prolific pen of Muḥyi d-Din b. 'Arabi.

No. 399 cc. "KITĀB UL-YAKĪN." A treatise on the meaning of the word *Yakin* as revealed in its letters, by the same Ibn 'Arabi.

No. 399 dd. "RISĀLAT UL-INTIŞĀR." Answers to various questions on mysticism asked by 'Abd ul-Laṭif b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hibatallah. The author is again Ibn 'Arabi.

No. 395. "RISALUT UL-MAKR WAL ISTIDRĀJ." Cf. *Qur'an* VII, 181, and XIII, 42. A work on the gradual progress of the Saints in the companionship of God. The treatise is anonymous, but on the back of the first page a Persian note states that it is a copy of some marginal notes edited by Khwāja 'Ali from Khwāja Abū Bakr. Undated, but probably the end of the eighteenth century.

No. 634. "RIYĀD UL-ADHKĀR." A Ṣūfī treatise upon the Muslim formula of faith and reverence and the esoteric value of each, with special emphasis on the worship *Dhikr* of the Dervishes. The author is Aḥad ud-Dīn 'Abd al-Aḥad Nūri, who died in 1061/1651. The work was composed in 1034/1624, and the MS. is dated 1180/1766.

No. 734 G. "MIR'ĀT UL-MUḤAKKIKĪN." A treatise in Persian on the knowledge of God and of the soul. The work, which is anonymous, is different from 418, III, in Rieu's *Brit. Mus. Pers. Cat.*

No. 734 I. "RISĀLAT MĪR KHAWĀND." A treatise in Persian on the minutiae of spiritual study and on the belief of the Ṣūfīs. The author is Muḥammad b. Khawānd Shāh b. Maḥmūd (called Mīr Khawānd) who died in 903/1498. About the author see E. Browne's *Hist. of Persian Lit. under Tartar Dom.*, pp. 431-433, in which, however, there is no mention of the present work.

No. 418. "MAJĀLI ILĀHĪYAH." A treatise on Ṣūfī tenets by Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī who died about 1175/1761. The MS. is an autograph and is dated 1154/1741.

No. 397 A. "SAWĀ'US-SABĪL." The work, which has nothing in common with Barzanjī's book mentioned by Brock., II, 389, deals with existence in general, but with special relation to God, to the created worlds, and to the soul. It was composed in 1134/1721 by Kalīm Allah b. Nūr Allah, the mystic writer, who died in the eighteenth Christian century. The MS. is dated 1184/1770.

No. 397 B. "UṢŪL ḤAFIZĪYAH." A collection of Ṣūfī doctrines, mostly in Persian. The MS. is dated 1193/1779. The author is not mentioned, but he was probably the above Kalīm Allah.

No. 397 D. "RISĀLAT AYYĀM AL-'ASHRA." A work on Ṣūfī doctrines and practices for ten days, written in 1092/1681 by the same Kalīm Allah.

No. 397 Ē. "FAKARĀT." A work, in Persian, on the exposition and explanation of some Ṣūfī doctrines and practices, by Khwāja 'Ubaid Allah Aḥrār, who died in 895/1490. See reference to him in *Safīnah* (*ibid.* no. 87) and *Haft Iḳlīm* (*ibid.* no. 1533). The MS. is dated 1193/1779.

No. 397 F. "'ILM AT-TAṢAUWUF." A short treatise on Ṣūfism. The work is headed "Naḳshband," referring doubtless to Bahā'ud-Dīn Naḳshband Bukhāri, the founder of the Naḳshbandi order, who died in 791/1389 (*Safīnah*, no. 82, and *Haft Iḳlīm*, no. 1489).

No. 439 D. "SHARḤ KĀFIYAH." A mystical work in Persian which brings into the Ṣūfī sphere the grammatical terminology of some Arabic

sentences dealing with *tauḥīd* and *'ishq*. The author is 'Abd ul-Wāḥid Ibrāhīm b. Ḳuṭb. Seventeenth century.

No. 439 E. " 'IBĀRĀT MAKTŪBAT.'" A Ṣūfī treatise in Persian on the words of mystic love, by Ḳuṭb 'Ālam Makhḍūm Shaikh akhi Jamshid.

6. WAHHĀBI THEOLOGY.

No. 618 A. "RISĀLAH MADANĪYAH FI MA'RIFAT BAHĀ' AL-ILĀHĪYAH." A treatise written and sent to Madina by Muḥammad b. 'Abd ul-Wahhāb, the head of the Wahhābi movement, who died in 1207/1792. This date is taken from Daḥlān's *Khulāṣat ul-Kalām* (p. 229 of Cairo edit., 1305).

No. 618 B. A lengthy refutation of the Wahhābi tenets by Muḥammad Abu Su'ūd Shirwāni, who died in 1230/1814. The author wrote it in 1211/1796, and the MS. is dated 1220/1805. It has no title.

7. NUṢAIRI THEOLOGY.

Nos. 721-722. Two different MSS. containing the prayers and the theological beliefs of the Nuṣairis. Undated, but about 1750. The best treatise on this sect is still that by C. Huart in *Journal asiatique*, 1879, pp. 190-261.

THE RE-BIRTH OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

“ Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum.”

BY THE EDITOR.

THE reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain, which has been in progress since December, 1914, was advanced another stage on the 28th of last July, with the laying of the first stone of the new building, which is to be erected on a splendid site at the highest point of the town, overlooking the Place du Peuple—the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in the dark days of 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany.

The actual ceremony was preceded by a brilliant academic function in the great amphitheatre of the Collège du Pape, presided over by the venerable and beloved Cardinal Mercier, who is the Président du Conseil d'Administration de l'Université.

Long before the hour fixed for the opening of the proceedings the hall was crowded with guests and students displaying the banners of their corporations. The hall was decked with the flags of all the allies, and there was an impressive display of colour in the uniforms, gowns and hoods worn by the delegates of the many countries, universities, and learned bodies represented. The French Academy sent a large contingent of members, who were attired in the traditional dress, embroidered with laurel leaves, and cocked hats. The staff of the University were arrayed in the quaint toga of pre-war days.

The guests included representatives of the United States, Canada, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Switzerland, Holland, Greece, Roumania, Brazil, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Japan, China, Denmark, the Argentine Republic, Monaco, and Luxemburg, surrounded by delegates of the scientific bodies,

and from the provinces S. of Belgium. "Tous accourus ici," remarked the venerable Prelate, "pour nous interroger sur nos espérances et pour nous aider à les réaliser."

The King and Queen of the Belgians, accompanied by the Princess Marie-José were greeted with cheers as they entered the amphitheatre, followed by Monsieur Raymond Poincaré, the Prince of Monaco, Marshal Pétain, the members of the Belgian Cabinet and of the Diplomatic Corps, and Dr. Murray Butler.

After solemnly blessing the assembly Cardinal Mercier opened the proceedings with an address of welcome, in which he recalled the dreadful night of 25-26 August, 1914, and his avowal of confidence in divine justice, which would not allow the burning of Louvain to be the final act in its long history. Here are the Cardinal's exact words:—

"Nous savions que l'heure de la justice viendrait. Nous l'attendions. À nos soldats, à nos alliés de nous apporter la victoire. A nous de la mériter.

"Jamais pour ma part, je n'ai cru un instant que le Régulateur Suprême des événements humains, qui avait permis que notre foi fût soumise à pareille épreuve, pût nous abandonner.

"Aux heures les plus tragiques de notre épreuve, les évêques belges, gardiens et protecteurs de l'Université de Louvain, ne doutèrent jamais de sa résurrection prochaine et de ses glorieuses destinées. . . . Nous avons eu une foi indéfectible dans le triomphe final de justice."

His Eminence, in the course of his address, remarked that there were two dates which would ever be remembered in Belgium, dates which mark ruin and restoration, the one (25-26 August, 1914) the date of the burning of the library, the other (28 July, 1921) the date of the commencement of the erection, near its ruins, of the new building which is to replace it.

The Cardinal's reference to the King, who, with the Queen and the young Princess, were present throughout the whole of the proceedings, was received with renewed applause, due not merely to personal popularity, but because, as the Cardinal said of him: "Sa Majesté le Roi, calme au milieu des orages et sans peur des dangers, représente en lui-même ce qu'il y a de plus noble dans la vie et le caractère du peuple".

It was eminently appropriate that Cardinal Mercier should take the leading part in the ceremonials of the day which were to commemorate restoration, for was he not the man who had valiantly faced danger and loss whilst so wisely guiding his people in the days of their tragic distress. Resplendent in robes of scarlet, tall, spare, but supremely dignified in bearing, the Cardinal, from whose countenance radiated benedictions, seemed to dominate the whole assembly, and as he descended from the tribune at the conclusion of his speech he was again greeted with tremendous applause.

A message from President Harding was then read by Mr. Brand Whitlock, the Ambassador of the United States to Belgium, the whole assembly standing to hear it read. It was a message of good wishes for the future of the University of Louvain, combined with a hope that the bond of friendship uniting it with the universities of America would prove to be one of the strongest ties which hold the two countries together.

Dr. Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, and Chairman of the American National Committee, which was formed to collaborate with the English and other European Committees in the work of reconstruction of the Louvain Library, and which has made itself responsible for the erection of the new library building, was given an enthusiastic reception when he rose to deliver an address in French, which was in every sense worthy of so great an occasion.

We reproduce the concluding passage, which was warmly applauded by every one present :—

“La guerre est finie. Le moment est venu de panser les blessures, de soigner les orphelins, les pauvres, les malheureux, et de rebâtir ces monuments qui expriment les plus hautes aspirations humaines.

“L'Amérique a vivement désiré vous aider dans cette tâche. Elle ne peut donner autant qu'elle le voudrait, mais elle veut donner autant qu'il lui est possible.

“La reconstruction de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain était son premier désir. Elle a saisi l'occasion qui lui fut offerte. Je suis heureux d'être ici, en cette noble assistance, et de représenter les nombreux Américains qui y ont, chacun selon leurs moyens, apporté une contribution. En leur nom je poserai la première pierre de cet édifice en vous assurant que

leur sympathie et leurs vœux suivront les progrès de la construction.

“Ce bâtiment, qui s'élèvera parmi les ruines, sera un témoignage du lien qui unit notre nation à la Belgique, à la France, à l'Angleterre, et à leurs alliés.

“Une nation qui défend une noble cause reçoit un nouveau baptême. Ce baptême, nous l'avons reçu ainsi que vous ; et nos cœurs, scellés dans cette pierre, vous affirment que jamais nous ne resterons en arrière, si la liberté du monde était du nouveau menacée, et si les canons et les flammes avançaient pour détruire ces nobles monuments de la pensée et du progrès.”

Monsieur Poincaré, the ex-President of the French Republic, followed with a spirited and eloquent oration, which, in spite of the overpowering heat, was greeted point by point with tumultuous applause, the audience sometimes rising to their feet to cheer. In the course of his speech he referred to the premeditated crimes of the Germans in Belgium, and closed with an appeal for a general unity which should guarantee peace :—

“À nous, maintenant, de faire en sorte que la victoire reste la victoire, et que la paix soit la paix. Une paix qui permettrait le recommencement des horreurs que nous avons vues, une paix qui laisserait les petits peuples à la merci de la force, une paix qui ne donnerait pas la réparation des dommages causés et des injustices commises, ne serait qu'une trêve mensongère et une nouvelle veillée des armes. Travaillons tous ensemble à conjurer un tel désastre. Faisons de la paix une oeuvre de justice pour en faire une réalité durable. Nous allons reconstruire la Bibliothèque de Louvain ; reconstruisons sur des fondements solides la maison de humanité.”

In one other fine passage Monsieur Poincaré declared that :—

“ . . . si brillant qu'ait été le passé de l'Université de Louvain, si justement réputée qu'elle fut encore à la veille de la guerre, c'est dans sa résurrection d'aujourd'hui qu'elle atteint vraiment au sommet de la gloire. L'armée allemande a cru la réduire en cendres ; elle lui a assuré l'immortalité.”

Other addresses followed, including an impassioned oration in Flemish by Monsieur Helleputte, Minister of State, and Professor Emeritus of the University. Monsieur Carton de Wiart, Belgium's

principal Minister of State, referred in moving terms to the manifestation of international regard which that gathering stood for, and concluded on the following high note :—

“ L’Humanité s’est sentie violée dans ce qui, dit Pascal, est la principe même de sa dignité : sa pensée, reflet de la sagesse divine. Spontanément, dans l’unité de son âme, elle s’est vouée à l’oeuvre qu’Émile Boutroux a parfaitement définie : réparer l’injure faite, par l’incendie de Louvain, à la civilisation tout entière.

“ C’est un acte infiniment grand, infiniment beau. Il n’a pas de précédent dans l’histoire. Puisse l’avenir ne jamais vouloir qu’il puisse se renouveler.

“ Pour cet acte de solidarité sociale et scientifique—qui va faire sortir la vie de la mort—la Belgique, profondément émue d’en être la bénéficiaire vous dit à tous, par la présence de ses Souverains aimés et respectés, le seul mot que la langue française connaisse, n’est il pas vrai, pour traduire le sentiment qui déborde en nous ! Merci !

“ Merci à vous tous, Messieurs, dont la pensée a tout compris et dont le coeur a vraiment saigné pour Louvain ! ”

At the conclusion of the academic function, which had lasted nearly two hours, a procession, composed of the guests and the professorial staff of the University, preceded by the students grouped behind their respective banners, was formed to proceed to the scene of the stone-laying, in which the King and Queen walked side by side with the Cardinal, who, vested in cope and mitre, with crozier in hand, blessed the waiting crowds as he passed.

Every avenue of approach to the Place du Peuple was blocked by the orderly but none the less enthusiastic crowds, which, in addition to the townsfolk, included peasant women and farmers from the surrounding country, many of whom were attired in the picturesque national costume of Flanders.

Amid the sweet singing of the Gregorian “ Te Deum ” by a choir of 300 voices, and the ringing of the “ carillon,” the traditional chimes of Belgium, and in the presence of a concourse of at least thirty thousand people, the first chapter of the spiritual restoration of Louvain was opened.

Facing the stage, and at the approach to the spot where the first

stone was to be laid, was a great scroll which set forth the meaning of the day's proceedings in the following inscription :—

HOSTILI INCENDIO Eversa Benevolentia Americana
CONSURGO.¹

Prior to the laying of the stone it was blessed by the Cardinal, and for this ceremony an altar had been set up, on which stood a famous ivory crucifix, more than three feet high, made by the celebrated De Bouchardon, and at one time owned by Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

The stone, which bears on one face the following inscription :—

LAPIS PRIMARIUS BIBLIOTHECÆ LOVANIENSIS NOBILITER
REFICIENDÆ,¹

was then well and truly laid by Dr. Butler, the band playing the while the "Brabançonne," and the trumpets blaring the "Aux Champs".

It was a thrilling moment when the Rector Magnificus, Monseigneur P. Ladeuze, in the blaze of summer sunshine, and in the midst of this distinguished gathering, after voicing the thanks of the University to all who had in any way assisted in the restoration, recalled what had passed at that very spot seven years ago. The destruction of Louvain began in the Place du Peuple, and the address delivered by the Rector of the University, himself an actual witness of the destruction wrought by the Germans, produced indescribable emotion among the spectators. Here, as we have already stated, was the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in those dark days in 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany.

At the conclusion of this imposing ceremony, which lasted until two o'clock in the afternoon, the guests proceeded to the Salle des Fêtes in the Collège de la Sainte Trinité, where a banquet had been prepared, over which Cardinal Mercier again presided. Nearly five

¹ In Belgium it is the custom to commemorate important events by a Latin inscription in the form of a chronogram in which certain numeral letters, made to appear specially conspicuous, on being added together express a particular date.

The letters are calculated according to the ancient method :—

M = 1000, D = 500, C = 100, L = 50, X = 10, U or V = 5, I = 1.

Hence, the outstanding letters in the above inscriptions, when added together, give the date 1921.

hundred guests were present. After the loyal toasts had been honoured there was another flow of eloquence, many well-known scholars taking part in the proceedings by offering congratulations on behalf of the governments or universities which they represented.

This was America's day. It was to America primarily that the gratitude of the University and of the people turned on this occasion. But the representatives of the English Committee, amongst whom were : Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., who was Chairman of the Governors of the John Rylands Library, when, in 1914, the scheme of reconstruction was inaugurated ; Sir Arthur Shipley, the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge ; Dr. Cowley, the Librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford ; and the present writer, who represented the Governors of the John Rylands Library, and the English contributors, recalled to mind with pardonable pride that it was in England that this movement began. The project arose from a desire to render assistance to the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the Germans, by providing them with the nucleus of a new working library to replace the famous collection of books and manuscripts which had been so ruthlessly destroyed.

The two succeeding days were spent by the writer in Louvain, as the guest of the University. They were never-to-be-forgotten days, for the Rector, Monseigneur Ladeuze, and Monsieur L. Stainier, who has been actively engaged in directing the work of reparation ever since the University was repatriated, were untiring in their efforts to make our first visit to Louvain interesting. Many new friendships were formed amongst the members of the university staff, all of whom conspired with the Rector to make the visit in every sense a memorable one.

On the day preceding our departure we were entertained at a banquet, given by the Rector, and attended by members of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, the object of which was to honour the representative of the English Committee by conferring upon him the degree *honoris causa* of Doctor of Philosophy, as a mark of the gratitude and appreciation of the University for the service which we in England had been able to render. We were deeply touched by the gracious and generous words in which the Rector referred to the English Gift Library ; and it gives us much pleasure to convey to each and every contributor, at the request of Monseigneur Ladeuze,

the affectionate regards and thanks of the members of the University for the inestimable service, which collectively we have rendered to them—a service which will ever live in their grateful memories.

This occasion gave us the desired opportunity for formally offering to the University through the Rector, on behalf of those we represented, our heartiest congratulations on what might be described as “the happy issue out of all their afflictions,” and also for expressing the confident hope that the future of the University might be richer and more glorious than even its memorable past.

We also ventured to explain to our hosts that when, in April, 1915, we launched our scheme of reparation by the issue of our first public appeal, we were anxious that the resultant gift should be not unworthy of the incomparable bravery displayed by our noble allies and their valiant sovereign, in their fearless, if at first ineffectual, resistance to the overwhelming hordes of devastating troops which were hurled against them, and at the same time be a tangible proof of the affectionate regard in which we hold them.

It was no part of our scheme to relieve Germany of her obligation to replace from her own libraries the equivalent of the treasures she had so senselessly destroyed. Since, however, much time was likely to elapse before the damage could be assessed and the work of restitution be entered upon, we were anxious to provide for our friends the nucleus of a working library in readiness for the time of their repatriation, when they would return to the scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to resume their accustomed work.

In the evening of the same day another banquet was arranged by Monsieur Stainier, at which the Rector and many members of the Faculty were again present, to welcome their new colleague and to take leave of him. Indeed, from the moment of our arrival in Louvain until the moment of our departure, we were simply overwhelmed with kindness.

The gratitude of our friends at Louvain knows no bounds. It is almost pathetic in its fervour. Said one of the professors: “You cannot fancy what it is to have been deprived of such an indispensable tool as a library, and then to see streaming in the choice and valuable books that make it possible for us to resume our work”.

The new library is temporarily housed in the Institut Spoelberch, and it afforded us unspeakable pleasure to see upon the shelves, and

again to handle some of the 38,000 volumes which had already passed through our hands on their way to their new home, as well as to turn over once again the catalogue cards prepared in Manchester, which now form the nucleus of the new library catalogue.

It will interest the many benefactors, who so generously assisted us with their valued contributions, to learn that whatever dimensions the new library ultimately attains, the English gift will be kept apart, both on the shelves and in the catalogue. It is to be an English library in the heart of Louvain, and it was frankly acknowledged that were no other books to be added to it, it would in itself be one of which any city might be proud.

Before leaving we naturally made a pilgrimage to the desolated ruins of the old library, which had been placed above the mediæval Clothworkers' Hall. There in flaming letters on the calcined walls we read the verdict of the civilised world in the words :—

“ICI FINIT LA CULTURE ALLEMANDE.”

The style of architecture of the new building is very appropriately to be that of the seventeenth-century Flemish Renaissance. No attempt has been made to reproduce the one destroyed, which was of a composite character, the ground floor being fourteenth century, whilst the first story was of the time of Louis XIII. Every detail of the new design is Flemish, and it will be constructed in brick and stone of local origin. The length of the façade will be 230 feet, with a depth of 150 feet. On the ground floor there will be a great open arcade, fronted by a row of fine arches.

In the ornamentation of the façade over the principal entrance will stand a figure of the Blessed Virgin, whilst two escutcheons will bear respectively the arms of Belgium and of the United States. Along the base of the slate roof will run a stone balustrade worked in the form of letters, composing the following words :—

“FURORE TEUTONICO DIRUTA, DONO AMERICANO RESTITUTA.”

It will be an imposing and beautiful building, recalling the purest traditions of Flemish and Brabançonne art.

The book stacks are to be of steel-construction, and will provide accommodation for two million volumes.

Mr. Whitney Warren, a leading American architect, assisted by Mr. Chartres D. Watmore, have been responsible for the design.

We must not conclude this brief account of the proceedings of a day which will be memorable in the annals of the University of Louvain, and which will live in the memory of all who were privileged to be present, without extending to those of our readers, who so readily and generously lent a hand in this great work of reparation, by responding to the appeals for help which from time to time we have made during the last seven years, the expressions of profound gratitude which fell from the lips of one speaker after another in the course of the day's proceedings.

These expressions were summed up, reiterated and emphasised by Monsieur Van den Heuvel, speaking in the name of the University, in a voice which was full of emotion, at the conclusion of the banquet, which terminated the day's official proceedings.

Here are a few paragraphs gleaned from his speech :—

“ L'Université de Louvain a encore un devoir à remplir avant que se clôtüre cette admirable journée. En son nom je viens réitérer l'expression d'une profonde reconnaissance à l'égard de tous ceux qui ont eu la délicate et généreuse pensée de collaborer à la reconstruction de sa bibliothèque.

Combien audacieux était le projet ! On ne s'occuperait pas de l'Allemagne. Elle avait détruit, elle avait la charge de réparer. Mais la bibliothèque incendiée devait au lendemain de la guerre être plus complète, plus riche, plus belle qu'elle ne l'avait jamais été. Comme on voit sur le frise du Parthénon la théorie des Panathénées apportant chacun leur offrande au Temple, ainsi les diverses nations seraient appelées à venir à Louvain les mains pleines de livres, d'objets d'art, et à exposer les progrès de la science de leur pays. Mais pour que le plan fût complet, l'une d'elles devait consentir à prendre à sa charge la construction du sanctuaire où serait réunie cette universelle documentation.

La conception était si grandiose qu'elle apparaissait presque chimérique.

Et voici qu'elle se réalise sous vos yeux.

Notre gratitude va aux gouvernements et aux comités des diverses nations ici représentées, et qui par leurs dons com-

mentent déjà à meubler les rayons et à préparer la décoration du grande édifice de demain.

Que le Ciel veuille nous accorder des années pacifiques ! Et puissions nous dans deux ou trois ans vous donner rendez-vous, non pas à la première pierre, mais au couronnement de ce grand monument commémoratif, qui sera la future Bibliothèque. Vous y trouverez, comme dans une ruche vivante, des milliers d'étudiants à la recherche du miel de la science. Sur la tour élancée du bâtiment flotteront les couleurs de la Belgique et des Etats-Unis, encadrées par les drapeaux des diverses nations amies."

It may not be out of place briefly to recall some of the impressions which we formed of those parts of Belgium, both urban and rural, through which we passed on our journey to and from Louvain.

Frankly, we were amazed at the evidences on every hand of the phenomenal recovery which the country is making. Less than two years ago the same journey would have revealed nothing but a wilderness of shell-holes and rank grass. In the meantime, efforts, which can only be described as superhuman, have been put forth to rebuild shattered railway stations and demolished bridges, and to replant the trees which had been either felled for military purposes, or wantonly destroyed by the devastating hordes of barbarian invaders, with the result that to-day shell-holes are the exception ; they have been filled in with the spade, and ploughed over with motor cultivators, until, in place of the foul and rugged wilderness, there are now clean and level fields.

Indeed, there is now little about the landscape to suggest that it has ever been devastated at all, and it would be a comparatively easy matter to forget the dreadful years which filled the air with tumult and drenched the very soil with blood.

A new feature of the landscape to-day is that, in place of the huts and squalid shanties in which for a time the pioneers of the returning population lived miserably, there are springing up everywhere farms with their red tiled roofs and spacious barns. In some cases the people have taken advantage of the rebuilding to bring their houses up to date, but in most cases they have simply put them back exactly as they were before.

The result is that agriculture has made a wonderful recovery, and during the last summer and autumn it was evident that every rood of ground had been brought back into cultivation.

The land is largely owned by small peasant proprietors, and it was interesting to notice from the railway carriage window the feverish haste with which the harvest was being gathered, the grain crop being stacked in small hive-shaped ricks or stooks at the end of the patch where it had been grown.

Even before the last sheaf had been stacked the plough was seen to be at work preparing the soil for the next crop. In one case we noticed that a young woman, perhaps the farmer's daughter, had been yoked to the plough, in another case a dog, in a third a donkey, and in yet another case a cow.

Another peculiarity which we remarked was that every scrap of ground was brought under cultivation. There were few encumbering hedges, as in this country. That they are beautiful no one can deny, but economically they are undoubtedly a mistake. The holdings were separated by a simple narrow foot-path, such as may be seen on our own allotments, or by a light open fence.

It is a favourite plan of many of the towns in northern Flanders to place the railway station on the outskirts, and to connect the two by a broad straight road lined with good houses and shops leading right into the principal place or square.

In the case of Louvain this road is nearly half a mile in length, and connects the "Gare" with the Hotel de Ville, which fortunately escaped unscathed and stands almost intact, with its delicate masonry, and over two hundred statues on pinnacles or in niches. But the road itself, and nearly all the houses on and near it, were entirely demolished. To-day the roadway is restored, the trams are running, and new buildings are rising the whole length of it, and it is newly named the "Avenue des Alliés".

The city itself is built in the form of a star-fish. All the old buildings were in the centre, and, as it were, along the rays. The destroying army burnt out the centre, and along its rays spread their incendiarism, demolishing no fewer than twelve hundred houses. Of these seven hundred have been rebuilt, and the seven-year-old wounds are gradually being healed.

We were told that by the end of next year there will be very few

traces of the war left, with the exception of those deliberately perpetuated as reminders, and we can well believe it.

This rapid reconstruction going on in Belgium should be an object lesson to the working classes of this country with their "ca' canny" methods. Wherever in Belgium rebuilding operations are in progress the sounds of the trowel and hammer are incessantly heard from early dawn as long as the light lasts, and the footpaths are encumbered with building materials. The trowels used by the bricklayers are larger than ours, and the bricks are smaller, but what really matters is that the men over there are not only earning good money on piecework, but they are keen to get through with one job and on to the next. It has been this desire on the part of the Belgian workman to work hard that is causing new Belgium to spring like magic from her ruins. The organised Labour Party, we are told, looks askance on this activity, but fortunately it is not strong enough to overcome the zeal of the irrepressible bricklayers.

At Malines, where we had the pleasure of dining with Cardinal Mercier, there is still evidence both inside and outside the Cathedral of the vandalism of the invaders. One stained glass window has miraculously escaped destruction, but monumental effigies have been decapitated, and the famous carved wooden pulpit has not escaped unscathed. Thanks, however, to the successful pleadings of the Cardinal, the bells, as at Bruges, have been preserved, and to-day the sweet notes of the carillon mingle with the harsher sounds of the hammer and trowel of the workmen who are engaged in healing the wounds and obliterating the scars inflicted by the barbarians who had not respect even for the sanctuary.

As we reflected upon this wonderful recovery, which the great little nation of Belgium is making, we recalled to mind the spirit which sustained our allies throughout their years of captivity and exile, as it was revealed in that moving editorial, with its confident note of faith in the justice of their cause, and in the ultimate success of their arms, which appeared in the first London issue of the exiled "Indépendance Belge".

Here is one of the most striking paragraphs :—

"So shall we return—let us doubt it not—to our liberated country. We shall raise anew our towns, set our factories afresh in motion, repair our railways and our harbours, resume our rank among productive

nations, and make a new and industrious Belgium great by her works, and high in the whole world's esteem."

When that manifesto was written, early in 1915, our allies could not foresee what bitter experiences were in store for them, but they could face the future with a courage and a determination, coupled with self-sacrifice, which have been not only abundantly justified, but have evoked our admiration and our envy.

Never for one moment did they abandon hope, and continuing in that spirit there will assuredly rise a Belgium more prosperous and more glorious than history has hitherto known.

AN INTERESTING CONFIRMATION.

BY RENDAL HARRIS, M.A. LITT.D., D. THEOL., ETC.

IN an article which I wrote two years since in this BULLETIN on *The Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults*, I ventured, in my zeal for the identification of the existing, or just disappearing, practices in the apple-orchards of the West, with the long since disappeared worship of Apollo, into the region of prophecy. This will seem dangerous in itself, but still more dangerous when we reflect on the association of the vaticination with the name of Apollo, of whom Milton reminds us at this season of the year that "he can no more divine".

The occasion for my exercising the mantic gift was as follows: I repeat a few sentences which are necessary to lead up to the oracle itself. They refer to certain practices which used to occur in Manxland on the Festival of Twelfth Night. "The next thing we come across in the Manx ceremony is a combination of music and mantic, in the person of the fiddler who directs the dance. He proceeds to tell the fortunes of the coming year to the young men and maidens: this is described as follows by Waldron:—

'On twelfth day the fiddler lays his head on some one of the wenches' laps, and a third person asks who such a maid, or such a maid, shall marry, naming the girls there present one after another; to which he answers according to his own whim, or agreeable to the intimacies he has taken note of during the time of merriment. But *whatever he says is as absolutely depended on as an oracle*; and if he happens to couple two people who have an aversion to each other, tears and vexation succeed the mirth. This they call *cutting off the fiddler's head*, for after this he is dead for the whole year. This custom still continues in every parish.'"¹

¹ Cf. A. B. Cook (*Folk-lore*, 1904, xv. 402-408), for the death and resurrection of the priestly king at Delphi.

Upon this custom I remarked that "The fiddler is a primitive Apollo, with a fiddle in place of a lyre, not a wide variation in music, and the suggestion arises that Apollo was originally oracular at a particular time of the year, and that at other times he was quiescent. The girl in whose lap the fiddler lays his head is the prototype of the Pythian priestess who gives the responses for the god".

When I wrote this I did not suspect that the oracle on which I ventured, was already extant in the Greek literature. Plutarch tells us in his *Quæstiones Græcæ*, c. ix., that originally the Pythia was not a prophetess all the year round, but only on the seventh day of the month Bysios, which is the birthday of the god and the time when they celebrate the return of the god to Delphi, under the term of Theophany and Epiphany. At such a time the Pythia gave oracular responses and apparently at no other.

The confirmation is interesting, not only for its own sake, but for its relation to Christian tradition. The Twelfth-Night is known to be the original birth-day of Christ, before the December Festival was instituted; and its Christian title of Epiphany has nothing whatever to do with the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles; its real parallel is a Delphic Festival of the same name. On one hand it appears to be the return of the solar hero: on the other, it is the occasion for taking the Luck of the Year, in causes matrimonial and otherwise. For the date of the oracle we may compare further Mommsen, *Delphika*, 281.



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