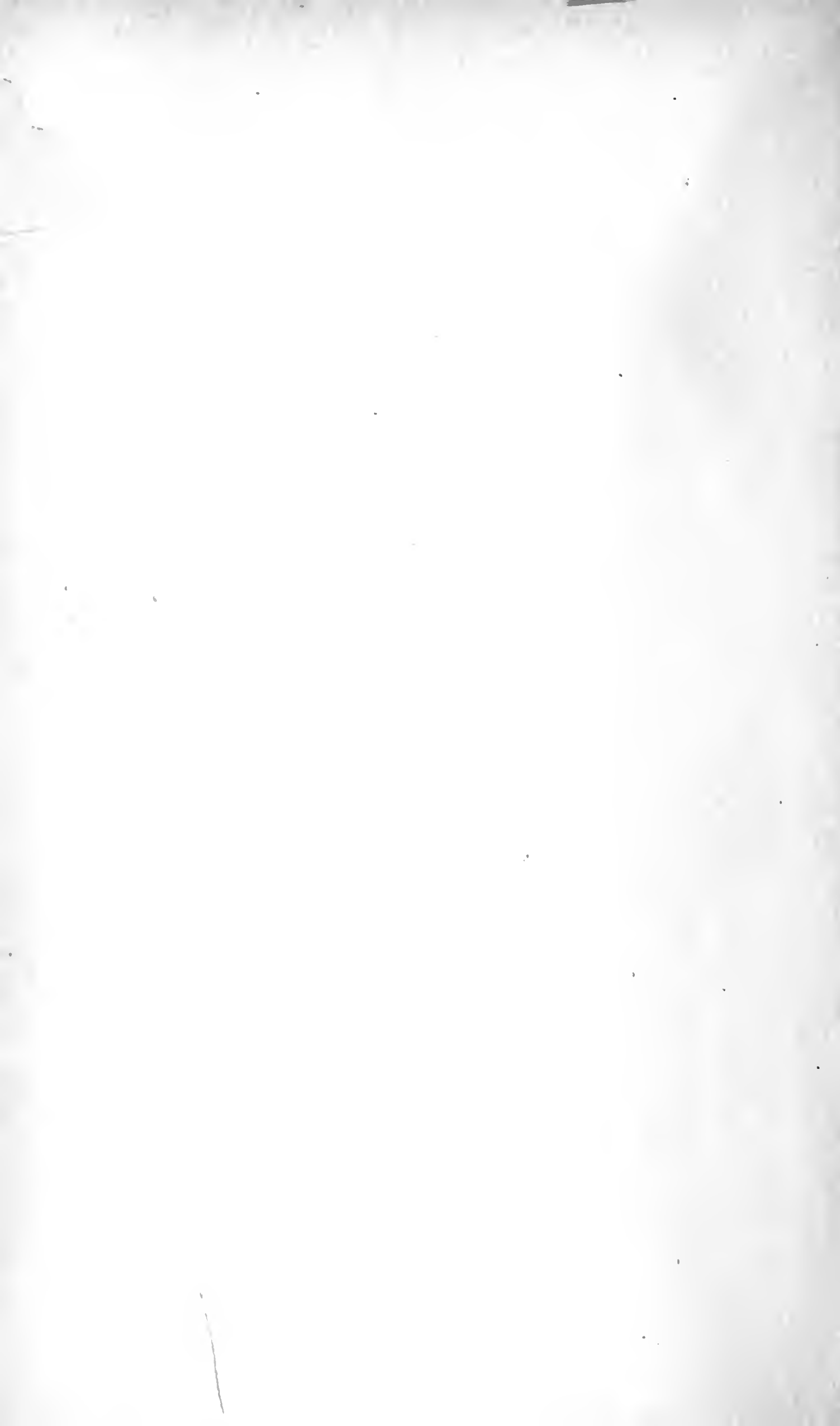
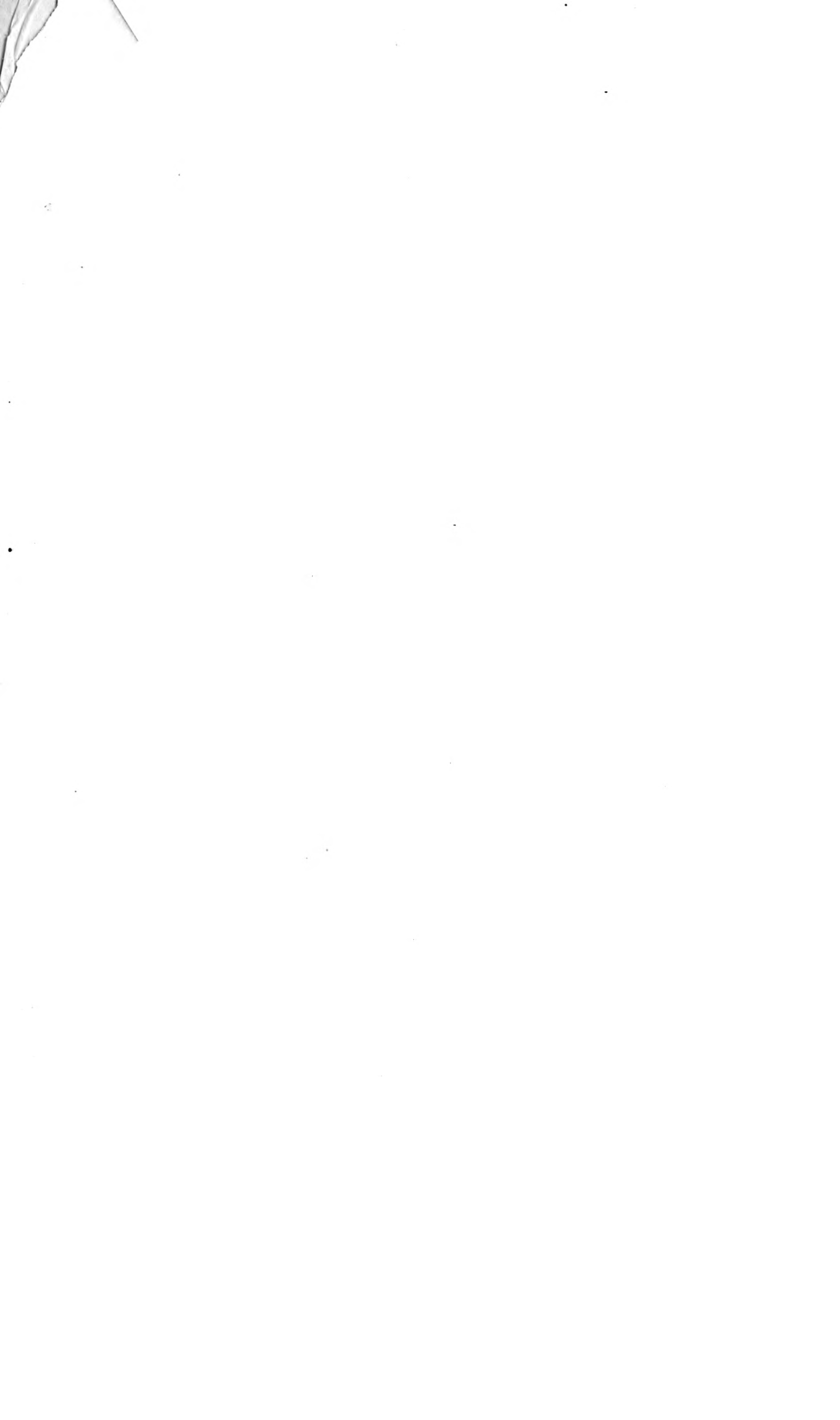
ornia
al

THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/studiesinenglish00irwi





Agnes Irwin

Radcliffe College Monographs

No. 15

STUDIES IN ENGLISH AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

BY

FORMER AND PRESENT STUDENTS
AT RADCLIFFE COLLEGE

PRESENTED TO

AGNES IRWIN, Litt.D., LL.D.
DEAN OF RADCLIFFE COLLEGE, 1894–1909

BOSTON AND LONDON
GINN AND COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
1910

COPYRIGHT, 1910, BY RADCLIFFE COLLEGE
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

The Athenæum Press
GINN AND COMPANY · PROPRIETORS · BOSTON · U.S.A.

TO

AGNES IRWIN, LITT.D., LL.D.

IN RECOGNITION OF HER CONSTANT
ENCOURAGEMENT OF ADVANCED STUDIES
WHILE DEAN OF RADCLIFFE COLLEGE

1002563

TO AGNES IRWIN

"I, too, have dreamed" [1]

I

To you, who have both dreamed and done,
  To you, who blessed our work and play, —
  These later gatherings by the way
That tell where Springtime had begun.
Sought for and gathered, one by one,
  From shadowy covert, leaf or clay,
  We bring them back, as children may,
To warm in your rewarding Sun.
As children, clustering at the start,
  After their roadside destinies,
Go violet-searching, all apart,
  All mindful of the smile that sees,
We proffer your believing heart
  Our handful of the Mysteries.

II

There shall no bound be set, we know,
  To forward dream and following feet;
  Save as unmeasuring Love shall mete
The distance Love gives strength to go.
There shall no pledge be ours to show
  Save Truth, forever: — no defeat,
  For us who hold one law complete, —
Life's one commandment, that we grow!
Take, in Love's name, these gathered leaves, —
  Greeted and gathered, one by one, —
With all your welcoming faith perceives
  Of things far sought beyond the Sun: —
The onward dream, — the homeward sheaves,
  For you, who have both dreamed and done.

Josephine Preston Peabody

[1] From Miss Irwin's Commencement Address, June, 1909.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PORTRAIT OF MISS IRWIN . . . . *Frontispiece*
From a painting by Cecilia Beaux, in Elizabeth Cary Agassiz House, Cambridge

TO AGNES IRWIN. *By Josephine Preston Peabody* v

VIRGIL'S USE OF MÄRCHEN FROM THE *ODYSSEY*. *By Grace Harriet Macurdy* 3

THE STORY OF VORTIGERN'S TOWER — AN ANALYSIS. *By Lucy Allen Paton* 13

AN ARTHURIAN ONOMASTICON. *By Alma Blount* 25

THE ISLAND COMBAT IN *TRISTAN*. *By Gertrude Schoepperle* . . . 27

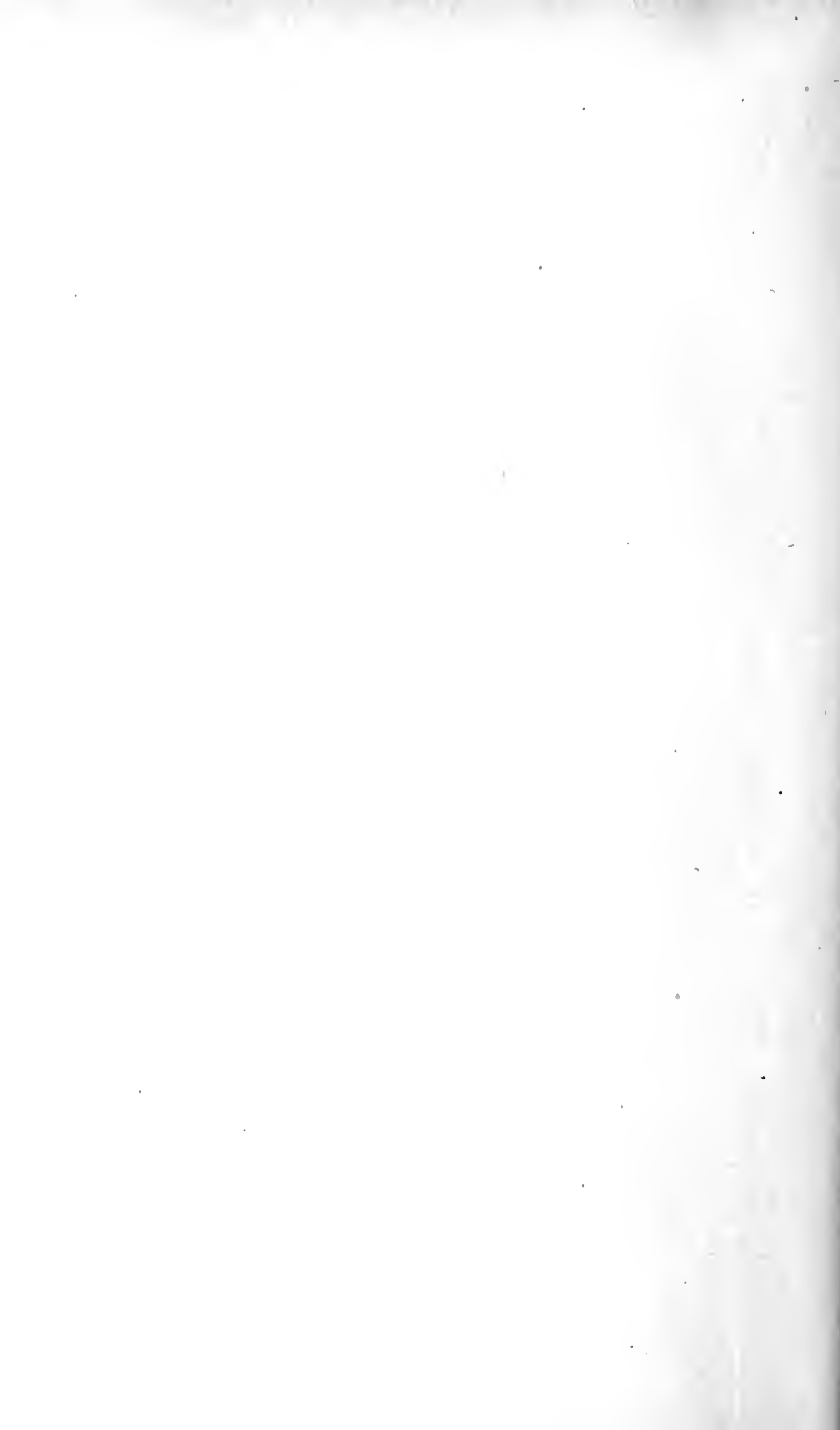
A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE BROME AND CHESTER PLAYS OF *ABRAHAM AND ISAAC*. *By Carrie A. Harper* 51

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ANCIENT ALLEGORICAL DEBATE. *By Margaret C. Waites* 75

THE ALLITERATIVE POEM: *DEATH AND LIFE*. *By Edith Scamman* . 95

PORTRAIT OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE 115
From Cotton MS. Faustina B. VI, in the British Museum

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *PRICK OF CONSCIENCE*. *By Hope Emily Allen* 115



STUDIES IN ENGLISH
AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

VIRGIL'S USE OF MÄRCHEN FROM THE *ODYSSEY*

By Grace Harriet Macurdy

The first book of the *Odyssey* opens with a scene on the island of Ithaca. In that and in the two succeeding books we keep close to the western waters and shores of Greece and to the Peloponnesus, with the geographical names familiar to modern ears. In the fourth book we come to Egypt, and there first, in the Proteus tale, the "charm'd magic casement" opens "on the foam of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn."

From the fifth book on, the *märchenhaft* character of the tale is clear up to the time when Odysseus reaches his native isle. Not that märchen do not appear in the later part, but they have in the last books been fitted into the scheme of human events and have lost much of the marvelous, having more the character of the saga. The brothers Grimm in the preface to their *Deutsche Sagen* express the difference between *Märchen* and *Sagen* in part thus: "Das Märchen ist poetischer, die Sage historischer, jenes stehet beinahe nur in sich selber fest in seiner angeborenen Blüthe und Vollendung; die Sage von einer geringern Mannichfaltigkeit der Farbe hat noch das Besondere daß sie an etwas Bekanntem und Bewußtem hafte, an einem Ort oder einem durch die Geschichte gesicherten Namen." And again: "Die Märchen also sind theils durch ihre äußere Verbreitung, theils ihr inneres Wesen dazu bestimmt, den reinen Gedanken einer kindlichen Weltbetrachtung zu fassen, sie nähren unmittelbar wie die Milch, mild und lieblich, oder der Honig, süß und sättigend ohne irdische Schwere; dahingegen die Sagen mehr zu einer stärkeren Speise dienen, eine einfachere, aber desto entschiedenere Farbe tragen und mehr Ernst und Nachdenken fordern."

The märchen element appears clearly in the Proteus episode of the fourth book, in the help given Odysseus by the sea nymph Leucothea, the Phæacian episode, the adventures with the king of the winds, the lotus-eaters, the Læstrygonians, the Cyclops, Circe, the visit to the dead, and the island of the Sun. Then from the

thirteenth book on we are suddenly back again out of fairyland, among the folk of everyday life, the swineherd, the nurse, Penelope, Telemachus, the suitors, and the old dog Argos. Athena of course is there, but she is an old familiar friend belonging to the heroic saga and not partaking of the elusive and tricksy character of the fairy goddess. The second part of the *Odyssey*, as I have said, possesses much of the *märchenhaft*, but this, as Monro[1] observes, is in solution. It is, indeed, throughout the *Odyssey* so cunningly intermingled that the stream of the story flows on unbroken, save to the eye of minute and laborious scholarship, — sometimes even to that. Wolf himself speaks of "illum veluti prono et liquido alveo decurrentem tenorem actionum et narrationum."

In comparing the märchen of the *Odyssey* with parallel tales in the folklore of other peoples, one feels the humanizing spirit of the Greeks. There is a quality of the reasonable and natural in the Hellenic stories that is lacking in the tales of wonder among other races. All is told with a spontaneity and freshness that carries conviction. Yet with all the beauty of the narration in the *Odyssey* there is nothing of the consciously literary or elaborate in the style. We have rather tales of the seaman who has seen floating palaces in the gleaming splendor of the iceberg, and has watched the seals flock in thousands from the deep in that northern land, where the limits of day and night meet, where a sleepless man might earn a double wage, tending the cattle by day and the white flocks by night; or has come near cannibal lands and has heard of horrid meals of man-eaters, or has sailed past foam-beaten cliffs where his fancy saw a Lorelei on the rocks, beckoning him to come. Proteus, rising from the sea at noonday, from the dark ripple of the waves that have hidden him; Calypso and Circe going to and fro before the standing loom, driving the shuttle home and singing at their work; Cyclops milking his ewes, putting the young lambs beneath their mothers, and curdling his milk, — with what fresh vigor and grace are they all depicted! These indeed are glimpses that make us "less forlorn."

How does Virgil treat this element of surprise and wonder in his borrowings from the *Odyssey?* Both in the *Georgics* and in the *Æneid* these folk tales from the *Odyssey* appear, and it is interesting to note the effect of the Virgilian touch upon the märchen.

[1] *Odyssey*, p. 299.

He is the poet whose work is marked beyond all others by "piety, gravity, sweetness,"[1] whose preëminent quality is tenderness. He knows the nesting places of the birds and the habits of the bee; the "*exiguus mus*" and the "*bufo*" in his hole (the latter little creature nowhere else mentioned in Latin literature) do not escape his eye. And he exquisitely depicts beautiful human youth. Can such a poet enter into and express the childlike spirit of the fairy tale? His old commentator has said of him: "Vergilius in operibus suis diversos secutus est poetas: Homerum in Aeneide, quem licet longo intervallo secutus est tamen; Theocritum in bucolicis a quo non longe abest; Hesiodum in his libris quem penitus reliquit." And it must be said that whether he surpasses or falls short of his exemplar, he has always his own quality, the impress of his own personality and genius, which gives the word "Virgilian" as distinct a character as "Homeric" or "Miltonic."

Virgil has taken directly from the *Odyssey* the Proteus episode, the Cyclops story, the visit to the dead; he has occasional references to Circe, the Cyclops, Æolus, Scylla and Charybdis, and the Sirens; and has dealt freely with other points of the "Irrfahrten" of Odysseus in recounting those of Æneas. As Heinze[2] suggests, the stay at Carthage is reminiscent partly of Odysseus's welcome at the Phæacian court, partly of his stay with Calypso; and again the slaying of the flocks of the harpies is dependent on the story of the killing of the cows of the Sun.

The märchen that Virgil has translated most directly is that of Proteus in the fourth *Georgic*. This passage was, according to Servius, composed to replace a eulogy of the poet Gallus, first governor of Egypt, after the disgrace and suicide of the latter, and it contains the tender and lovely Eurydice tale. It easily divides into the mechanical Aristæus episode and the other two, for the sake of which the first is introduced, i.e. the Proteus and the Eurydice tales. The "sight of Proteus rising from the sea" is still delightful ("eum vasti circum gens umida ponti Exsultans rorem late dispergit amarum"); but it lacks the freshness and *naïveté* of the Homeric picture. Cyrene, mother of Aristæus, is a poor substitute for the picture of the lovely nymph Eidothea in the *Odyssey*, now scooping out beds in the sands for the heroes to lie in, now

[1] Courthope, *Life in Poetry, Law in Taste*, p. 51.

[2] *Virgils Epische Technik*, pp. 107 f.

diving to the depths and returning with the skins of seals to cover them; again bringing ambrosia to put beneath the nostrils of each to kill the smell of the sea beast; so gleeful in her trickery of her father, the unerring old god of the sea, who knows all things, but does not know the devices of his daughter. She, too, has something of the elusiveness of the sea that characterizes the sea god with his Protean changes. Cyrene is indeed no happy substitute for her, and the charming labored picture of the sea nymphs at their household tasks ("Milesia vellera nymphae Carpebant hyali saturo fucata colore," etc.) does not, with its pretty Alexandrianism, recall for us the breath of the cool salt sea that blows so freshly in the page of Homer. Virgil's muse haunts the land, watching the sea

> quo plurima vento
> cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.

And the landsman plainly reveals himself in the line

> cum sitiunt herbae, et pecori iam gratior umbra est,

where the seals of the sea god are conceived as the cattle of the farmer. The ambrosia which the thoughtful nymph of the *Odyssey* puts under each man's nostrils, as he lay enwrapped in the sealskin, "to kill the stench of the sea beast," is more elegantly given by Virgil as a potent shower of sweet ambrosia, which makes the beekeeper Aristæus sweet and strong for the fight with Proteus. Not the hero for a mortal combat, with his smoothly ordered perfumed locks!

In the Homeric passage the sea god tells of the fate of the lesser Ajax drowned in his own folly, after a draft of sea water; of Agamemnon's fate, driven to treacherous shores by storm; of Odysseus, whom Proteus himself had seen grieving on Calypso's sea-girt isle. He prophesies that Menelaus himself shall not die, but be convoyed to lands in western waters, where Ocean sends her cooling winds for man's refreshment. All this breathes of the sea and is fitting on the lips of the one who knows all depths of Ocean; whereas the tender loveliness of the Eurydice tale is curiously inappropriate in the mouth of the teller, who is described thus as he begins the story:

> Ardentes oculos intorsit lumine glauco
> et graviter frendens sic fatis ora resolvit.

Surely not the mood adapted to the soft pathos of the lines that follow!

The Virgilian rendering of the Proteus myth is full of "piety, gravity, sweetness," to use Courthope's phrase again, but the quality of the *märchenhaft* is there only faintly reminiscent of, not reproducing, the Homeric wonder tale.

The story of the Cyclops Polyphemus is told in the *Odyssey* with incomparable buoyancy and humor. Aside from the horror of his man-eating habit, which is described with the same freedom and simplicity as that which marks our childhood's tale of Jack the Giant Killer, he is a delightful pastoral giant, a wicked one of course, with cannibalistic proclivities, but looking well to the things of his household, most careful of the little ones of his flock, and quite happy with his supper of curdled milk which he has made for himself, until he catches sight of the strangers cowering in the corner of his cave. His horrid meal that follows is, as Macrobius says, told in a spirit that softens the horror of it. "Narrationem facti nudam et brevem Maro posuit; contra Homerus πάθος miscuit et dolore narrandi invidiam crudelitatis aequavit." There is something almost winning in the simple joy which the giant takes in the draft of wine that Odysseus gives him, and the promise to eat Odysseus last is exquisitely in keeping with his whole uncomplicated nature. His address to his ram, κριὲ πέπον, so sadly misunderstood by Cicero,[1] is full of a natural and childlike affection. His simplicity of nature again appears in his naïve invitation to Odysseus to come back and receive a gift of hospitality and a convoy from him. Truly a most childlike giant, with something of the charm as well as the cruelty of childhood, on whom Odysseus could, at a safe distance, reflect with some pleasure. It is a more human picture than the "monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum" of the *Æneid*. The story is told there by a comrade of Ulysses, abandoned in the cave at the time when the hero and his companions escaped. All the horrors are given without the touches of humor. Heinze[2] notes that by the invention of the character of Achæmenides Virgil has been able to give this episode an ethos entirely Virgilian by the introduction of the pathetic and the quality of mercy shown by the Trojans. "So tritt der kühnen Verschlagenheit des Odysseus die pietas der Troer ebenbürtig zur Seite." He observes rightly that Virgil wished to picture Polyphemus in all his awfulness, which partakes of the

[1] *Tusc.*, v, 115. [2] P. 110.

awfulness of inanimate nature, — the rumbling of Ætna with its smoke and flame seen through the darkness. The only trait in the depiction of the Cyclops that has a distinctly human appeal is in ll. 659–661:

> Trunca manu pinus regit et vestigia firmat;
> lanigerae comitantur oves — ea sola voluptas
> solamenque mali.

This reminds us of the simple pastoral tasks and pleasures of the Homeric Cyclops before the coming of Odysseus. But no light touch, no clever guile, no wordplay is here; only grim forms of giant men in silent threatening lining the shore. In the fourth *Georgic* (ll. 170 ff.) we have the blacksmith Cyclopes, forging thunderbolts, of whose type Miss Harrison[1] says: "It is perhaps not to the credit of humanity that among the mythologies of many nations it is not the architect nor the craftsman Cyclops who most often meets us, but the one-eyed cannibal giant." Virgil has the giants at work in this passage:

> Ac veluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis
> cum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras
> accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
> aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus Aetna;
> ille inter sese magna vi bracchia tollunt
> in numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum.

These do not appear in the *Odyssey*. They are more symbolic of Rome than of Greece.

Theocritus, in contrast to Virgil, has been impressed by the lighter and more genial side of his giant countryman, ὁ Κύκλωψ ὁ παρ' ἁμῖν; and we have those charmingly graceful idyls, the sixth and the eleventh, showing us the power of love over the young Polyphemus and his affair of the heart with the mermaid Galatea. Virgil has borrowed from these idyls in his eclogues, but not for Polyphemus, who stands forever in his pages a grim and sightless monster without love or laughter.

The witch goddess Circe appears only casually in Virgil, and Calypso, *in propria persona*, not at all. Æneas lingers with no fair-tressed nymph on a mysterious sea-girt isle, but at Carthage with its proud queen. The chief Circe passage is a beautiful reminiscence

[1] *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 29.

of Homer, and is introduced by that wonderful Virgilian picture of the sea by night:

> Aspirant aurae in noctem nec candida cursus
> luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.

The Trojans are floating past the shores of Circe in the still night and hear the roarings of the beasts whom Circe's art has changed from human shape, and the clanking of their chains. Circe is weaving and singing always, and retains even in this brief mention something of her gracious charm. Miss Harrison, in comparing the Hellenic Circe with those of less favored lands, says that by her "the great type of the enchantress is forever fixed. No Irish lady brilliant to charm, but yet too slight to hurt; no ugly Teutonic witch, shapeless and dreary; no cruel, malignant demon surrounded by uncertain Eastern glamour; — none of these, but in their stead the clear fixed outlines of a mighty goddess, strong to comfort the broken-hearted, to ensnare the foolish, yet beautiful and human; beautiful for her hair and clear sweet voice; human in sudden helpless love for the hero, who availed to withstand her."

The adventure with Æolus the storm king is freely adapted by Virgil in his first book. Nothing of the original setting remains. We have no longer a charming sea märchen, but stately Roman mythology. The storm king is no longer surrounded by his numerous offspring, holding revel day by day on the floating isle, with its sheer wall impregnable, but sits in sceptered state above the struggling winds. Again we have the majesty of the Roman replacing the grace and humanity of the Greek.

The adventures with the other man-eating folk, the Læstrygonians, with the Sirens, with Scylla and Charybdis, and the sacrilege of Æneas's comrades in killing the cows of the sun god are passed over by Virgil with slight or no mention. Scylla is described in the third book of the *Æneid*, and also in the sixth eclogue. Helenus warns Æneas against the awful whirlpools and the wicked, lovely mermaid who draws men to destruction. But again it is a mythological allusion rather than a märchen. The Sirens, too, are dismissed with three lines as a danger avoided by the watchfulness of Æneas. Sellar well says of these creatures of the sea: "The lifelike realism, the combined humor and terror of Homer's representation, are altogether absent from the *Æneid*. These marvelous creations appear natural in the *Odyssey*, and in keeping

with the imaginative impulses and adventurous spirit of the ages of maritime discovery, but they stand in no real relation to the feelings and beliefs with which men encountered the occasional dangers and frequent discomforts of the Adriatic or the Ægean in the Augustan Age." [1] And so no lovely Leucothea with magic veil flits across the waters to help Æneas. Virgil's sea nymphs are not convincing. Ships that have changed into mermaids cannot have the charm of those that are not thus "ready-made" [2] but have always dwelt in the sea's depths. The "fandi doctissima Cymodocea" speaks in the tone and accent used by all the other solemn prophets who bring to Æneas the commands of heaven. She has none of the lovely grace and *Schadenfreude* of a Homeric Eidothea.

The slaying of the cattle of the Sun in the *Odyssey* is replaced in the *Æneid* by the tale of the slaying of the flocks of the Harpies. The swift Storm Winds, ἅρπυιαι of Homer, in Hesiod sisters of the rainbow, by Virgil's time had become foul monsters, winged, with women's faces, horrid to contemplate. A beautiful conception has hereby been spoiled and our language enriched by an ugly word. There is no doubt of Virgil's power here in expressing *das grausig-ekelhafte*.[3]

Between the Circe episode and the book dealing with the Sirens, and Scylla and Charybdis, and the cows of the sun god, comes Odysseus's descent to the dead.[4] This episode is recognized as belonging to the earliest stratum of the Odysseus stories. The whole eleventh book, however, is plainly much interpolated, and, in the form in which we possess it, belongs to a later stage of literature than the description of the charmed lands through which we are conducted in the other books of the Phæacian story. The descent to the dead belongs to the realm of märchen, and is paralleled by folklore in other lands. The drinking of the blood by the ghosts is a primitive trait doubtless belonging to the märchen [5] form. The list of noble ladies is distinctly in the Hesiodic manner, and the notable sinners with their expiating punishments belong to the Orphic school.

[1] *Virgil*, p. 385. [2] Gilbert Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 219.

[3] Heinze, *op. cit.*, p. iii.

[4] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 230; Kirchhoff, *Philologus*, XV, 16–29.

[5] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 177–178.

Virgil has, of course, taken over this episode in his sixth book. If in the borrowing of the other märchen there has been a loss of the marvelous freshness and beauty of the *Odyssey*, in this work Virgil's great qualities come into their own and he goes far beyond his master. All the crude and savage traits of the *Odyssey* tale are purged away, while the best are taken and imbued with a spirituality unknown to Homer. In this wonderful fusion of religion and philosophy, which is one of the world's masterpieces, the *märchenhaft* disappears in the symbolic. Whatever the golden bough[1] originally signified in the mind of primitive worshipers, it is here a fitting sign of the triumph over grim death by human goodness aided by divinity:

> Si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,
> at ramum hunc . . .
> adgnoscas.

It does not lie within the scope of this paper to compare the sixth book of the *Æneid* with the eleventh of the *Odyssey* in detail. One may contrast, however, the primitive picture of Odysseus, sword in hand, keeping the souls back from the blood they thirst for, with that of Æneas with his golden branch accompanied by the Sibyl.

> Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,
> perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna.
>
> Through hollow kingdoms, emptied of the day,
> And dim deserted courts where Dis bears sway,
> Night-foundered and uncertain of the path
> Darkling they took their solitary way.

Professor Raleigh[2] cites these lines to show how "language mocks the rivalry of the pictorial art," and says of them: "Here are amassed all the 'images of a tremendous dignity' that the poet could forge from the sublime of denial."

The list of noble ladies, too, is inserted by Virgil with an art that is lacking in the passage copied. The list is happily cut down; the heroines have all died for love, and among them is the shadowy form of Dido:

> obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
> aut videt, aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.

[1] Frazer, chap. i.

[2] *Essay on Style*, p. 19.

Even the famous meeting between Odysseus and Achilles in the *Odyssey* falls short of the beauty of this passage.

The expiatory punishments of the *Odyssey*, as has been already said, show nothing of the *märchenhaft*, and belong to the beginnings of philosophy, to the Orphic teaching. Virgil has taken them and has enriched them from Plato, whose *Phædo* he knew well, and has drawn from the inspiration of Lucretius wonderful phrases vibrating with sunlight and color. Consider for example:

> Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
> purpureo,

and

> Ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
> floribus insidunt variis, et candida circum
> lilia funduntur — strepit omnis murmure campus.

After the Orphic philosophy has been expounded and the gorgeous procession of Rome's warriors and statesmen has passed, ending with young Marcellus, we come back for a moment to the land of faery and the *Odyssey* in the two gates of sleep:

> Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
> cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris;
> altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
> sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.

Here we may leave the märchen. Virgil fails to catch their spirit. In his hand they become literary and classical, losing their freshness and their sense of wonder. Too often they become merely monstrous tales. But where the folklore can be touched with higher meaning, and can be made to express human yearnings and aspirations, Virgil is a mightier magician than the poets of the *Odyssey*. This is for those who have learned the meaning of his great line:

> Sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.

But in us all remains *das ewig Kindliche*, which goes back for refreshment and pure delight to the märchen of the *Odyssey*, and listens to the plash of waters on enchanted shores:

> Where the blue tide's low susurrus comes up at the Ivory Gate.

THE STORY OF VORTIGERN'S TOWER
AN ANALYSIS

By Lucy Allen Paton

Few studies of the legend of Merlin fail to discuss his part in the story of Vortigern's Tower; but the episode itself, certain elements in which, so far as I know, have not been closely analyzed, has interest apart from its connection with Merlin, as an excellent example of the vagaries frequently seen in the history of a folk tale. The following analysis is principally illustrative in character, and does not present new facts of importance in regard to the legend of Merlin, with which the episode is inextricably connected.

It is well known that the earliest appearance of the story is in the obscure Latin chronicle of Nennius, the *Historia Britonum*,[1] which has been assigned by scholars to various dates ranging from the seventh to the ninth century. It is so familiar to all that a summary of it almost demands an apology:

Vortigern, king of Britain, acting on the advice of his wise men, determines to build a stronghold for himself on Mt. Erir,[2] as a refuge from the encroaching Saxons. Workmen begin to lay the foundations, but on three successive nights the work of the preceding day is swallowed up by the earth. The wise men inform Vortigern that, before the tower can be built, the ground must be sprinkled with the blood of a child born without a father. The king at once sends out messengers in search of such a child. When they arrive at the field of Electi in Glevesing, they hear a boy jeer at a comrade because he has never had a father, and the boy's mother confirms the truth of the taunt and asserts that the child is indeed the son of no mortal man. The messengers, accordingly, take him to Vortigern, whom the boy proceeds to question shrewdly until the king admits why he has been brought thither. Then the child orders the wise men to declare what there is beneath the spot where Vortigern wishes to build. When they say that they do not know, he bids them dig into the ground, where they will find a pond in which there are two vases; in the vases is a folded tent, and in the tent are two sleeping dragons, one white and the other red. The men dig and find that the boy's words are true. Suddenly the dragons begin a terrible combat with each other, in which the red succeeds in

[1] Sects. 40–42.

[2] I.e. Snowdon.

routing the white. The boy proceeds to explain to the king that the pool signifies the world, the tent Britain, the red dragon the British nation, the white dragon the Saxons. Vortigern, he adds, must depart from this place, but he himself, to whom fate has allotted it, will remain there. The king asks him his name, and he replies, "Ambrosius vocor" ("id est," adds the historian, "Embreis Guletic, ipse videbatur"). The king asks his origin, and he replies that he is the son of a Roman consul. Vortigern obediently assigns the site of the stronghold to Ambrosius with all the other provinces of Britain, and himself departs elsewhere. Later[1] Nennius tells us that after the death of Vortigern, his son, Pascentius, received two provinces from Ambrosius, "who was the great king among the kings of Britain."

We have no trace in literature of the direct source from which Nennius drew this incident. It is plainly based upon the barbaric custom of offering a human being to the deity of a selected site as a foundation sacrifice.[2] Moreover, folklore furnishes us with many examples of the belief that dragons or similar monsters dwelt in certain lakes or hills, and occasioned trouble to the neighboring inhabitants by demanding that a human victim, frequently a virgin,

[1] Sect. 31.

[2] On the foundation sacrifice, cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1889, I, 107; Gomme, *Folk Lore Relics of Early Village Life*, 1833, pp. 24 ff., especially pp. 31 ff.; Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 1879, pp. 284–296; Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 170; Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, 1888, I, 461; Todd, *Irish Version of the Hist. Brit. of Nennius*, No. XIV, p. xxiv of Appendix; *Hist. Brit. of Nennius*, ed. Gunn, 1819, pp. xxxix, xl; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, 1894–1895, III. 77; Henderson, *Notes on the Folklore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, 1879, p. 256; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 310; O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, II, 222 (cf. I, dcxli); *Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, VI (1891), 173, 279 ff.; VII (1892), 37, 65; Vaux, *Church Folk Lore*, 1902, pp. 376, 377; Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Count of Keeldar*, p. xxxiii, note; *Rev. Celt.*, II, 200, 209; Sébillot, *Lit. orale de la H. Bret.*, p. 170; *Folk Lore Record*, III, 283; IV, 12, 178.

A curious parallel to the story of Vortigern's Tower is contained in the *Book of Fermoy*, an Irish manuscript of the fifteenth century, cited by O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, I, cccxxxiii ff. After the marriage of Becuma with Conn of the Hundred Battles, a blight falls on the land of Tara. The Druids announce that it is due to a former sin of Becuma's, which can be expiated only by sprinkling the doorposts of Tara with the blood of the son of a virgin. Conn finds the son of a virgin in a distant island, and induces him to accompany him to Ireland. As the boy is about to be slain, a cow with two bellies appears on the scene, followed by the mother of the boy. At the mother's suggestion the cow is slain instead of the boy; at her further advice the Druids cut open the two bellies, from one of which a one-legged bird, and from the other a twelve-legged bird emerge, and proceed to fight until the former conquers his opponent. The woman explains that the victorious bird represents her son; the vanquished, the Druids. — For another interesting parallel, cf. the modern Italian tale current in Oria, cited by Janet Ross, *The Land of Manfred*, London, 1889, p. 173.

be sacrificed to them.[1] The story in Nennius, therefore, to conform to the regular type, should have had a more tragic ending, and the child of virgin birth should have been sacrificed to a dragon, who lived in the pool over which it was impossible for the king to build his tower. But in our story the events are diverted from the stereotyped sequence by a fight between two dragons who represent hostile races, and this at once brings us into the region of mythological symbolism. Fortunately we have other material which leaves us without doubt as to the true significance of this portion of the episode. One of the sources to which we may turn is the Welsh tale of *Lludd and Llevelys*,[2] a twelfth-century redaction of earlier material:

During the reign of King Lludd the Island of Britain is harassed by three plagues, one of which is a loud shriek that is heard throughout the land on every May eve, and that terrifies the inhabitants so that they lose their strength and reason. Lludd sends to France for his brother, Llevelys, a wise man, to learn from him the cause of the plagues. The shriek comes from a dragon, Llevelys explains, which is fighting with a dragon of a foreign race. He bids Lludd find the central point of the island, there dig a pit, and place in it a cauldron of mead, covered with satin. If Lludd watches beside it, he will see "the dragons fighting in the form of terrific animals. And at length they will take the form of dragons fighting in the air. And last of all, after wearying themselves with fierce and furious fighting, they will fall in the form of two pigs

[1] A wide variety of this kind of stories has been collected by Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, III, chs. xvi–xviii; see especially those from Berber (1, 2), Shetland (14, 15), Gipsy (27, 28), Sanskrit (31), North American Indian (32), African (57), German (59), Chinese (60, 61, 73), and Indian (75) sources. See also Parkinson, *Yorkshire Legends and Traditions*, I, 167 ff., 237, 238; II, 106. Cf., for similar stories in England, *Denham Tracts*, ed. Hardy, II, 42; Henderson, *Notes on the Folklore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, pp. 265, 281–304. Cf. Hartland's interesting conjecture (*Legend of Perseus*, III, 88, 89): "The connection of dragons with hills or mounds, both in this country and on the Continent, is probably not without its significance. There, if anywhere, sacrifices would have been offered in early times; and their memory, transformed by the popular imagination into the form of a dragon with a propensity for human flesh, may have lingered for many a century after their abolition."

With the account in Nennius it is interesting to compare a Calmuck tale (see *Siddhi-Kür*, ed. Jülg, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 10, 11), according to which two dragon-frogs keep back the waters of a river at the source of which they live, and demand from the inhabitants of the country a human being as their yearly meal. One year the lot falls upon the khan as the sacrifice. His son goes to the spring in his place, and there overhears a conversation between the two frogs, from which he learns how they may be conquered; his use of this information ends in the destruction of the two dragon-frogs.

[2] Translated by Lady Guest, *Mabinogion*, III, 306 ff.

upon the covering, and they will sink in, and the covering with them, and they will draw it down to the bottom of the cauldron. And they will drink up the whole of the mead, and after that they will sleep." Lludd must fold the covering about them, and bury the cauldron in the strongest place in the island, where, while they shall abide, no plague from elsewhere shall come to the island. Lludd obeys the directions and buries the sleeping dragons in the securest place in Snowdon. "Now after that this spot was called Dinas Emreis, but before that Dinas Ffaraon. And thus the fierce outcry ceased in his dominions."

This Welsh story becomes comprehensible when compared with the earliest Celtic example of the transformation fight.[1] This is an Irish story, *De Chophur in dá Muccida, The Begetting of the Two Swineherds*,[2] preserved in the *Book of Leinster* in a short form,[3] which, however, agrees up to a certain point with another text preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Egerton, 1782:

Friuch was the swineherd of Bodb, the fairy king of the *síd* of Munster, and Rucht was the swineherd of Ochall Oichni, fairy king of the *síd* of Connaught. Friuch and Rucht were friends, and as creatures of the *síd* they were shape shifters and versed in supernatural knowledge. Rivalry arose between them, because the men of the province of each declared that their swineherd was greater than his friend. Each, to show his power, bespelled the swine of the other, and each in consequence lost his office. For successive periods they took the shape of ravens, of sea beasts (according to the *Leinster* version, of stags), of champions (according to the *Leinster* version, of spectres, of dragons), of worms, of two great bulls, and in each form they waged a deadly contest.

This story, a folk tale used to depict the rivalry between the two provinces of Munster and Connaught,[4] is attributed by Nutt to perhaps the eighth century,[5] and was, we know, popular and wide-spread in variant forms before the eleventh century.[6] The two swineherds in the form of bulls are identified with the Finnbenach, the bull of Medb, queen of Connaught, and the Donn Cuailgne of Ulster, whose rival claims to greatness were the cause of the cattle raid of Coolney, the subject of the famous Irish tale, the

[1] Cf. Nutt, *International Folk Lore Congress*, London, 1891, p. 126.

[2] Ed. Stokes and Windisch, *Irische Texte*, III, i, 230 ff., 235.

[3] For an English translation of the *Leinster* version by Kuno Meyer, see Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 58–60, 65, 66.

[4] Cf. Stokes and Windisch, III, i, 232, 233.

[5] See Meyer and Nutt, II, 70; cf. also pp. 67, 69.

[6] This is testified to by the versions which appear in the *Rennes Dindshenchas*, *Rev. Celt.*, XV, 452–454, 465–467, a collection of tales which Stokes says (*Rev. Celt.*, XV, 272) may have been made in the eleventh century. Cf. also the *Bodleian Dindshenchas*, ed. Stokes, *Folk Lore*, III, 487, 514. Cf. further *Rev. Celt.*, XVI, 55.

Tain bó Cuailgne, originally altogether unconnected with the story of the two swineherds, but to which we know that the latter was added as one of the introductory tales as early as the eleventh century. The fact that the swineherds are identified with the two great animals of Connaught and her rival, Ulster, shows how clearly their nature was understood, and how familiar their story, originally a Munster tale, had become even to the extent of its incorporation into the *Tain bó Cuailgne*, which may be denominated the national tale of the northern province, Ulster.[1]

The similarities between the story of the dragons in *Lludd* and parts of *De Chophur in dá Muccida* are marked. As ravens the swineherds make such a noise in their combat that they attract attention both in Connaught, where they fight for a year, and in Munster, where they fight for another year. As the onlookers watch the combat, the birds change into human shape, that of the swineherds, and then assume the form of water beasts. According to the Egerton manuscript, as demons they frighten a third of the people to death. But these details, which remind us of the noise of the fighting dragons and the terror with which they inspire the people of Britain,[2] are less interesting than the brief notice of the dragon transformation in the *Leinster* version — "They were two dragons, either of them beating (?) snow on the land of the other. They dropped down from the air and were two worms" — as compared with the change of the Welsh dragons to pigs, and their fall in this form upon the vessel of mead. As Mr. Nutt says, "the loss of the dragon transformation is particularly regrettable." Even without it, we may see that the Welsh tale, centuries later than Nennius's though it is in its present form, preserves a closer allegiance to the primitive type than his does.[3] One of the elements of

[1] Cf. Meyer and Nutt, II, 69–72.

[2] Cf. with this mysterious noise, *Livre d'Artus, P., Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XVII, 145–147, 229, 230, 242; Dietrich, *Russische Volksmärchen*, Leipzig, 1831, p. 42.

[3] It is to be noted that, in the Welsh tale, we have in the satin covering (a tent, in Nennius) another evidence of an early feature in that it has a distinct *raison d'être*, and serves as an instrument for the capture of the fighting dragons, which is accomplished by making them drunk with mead, a time-honored method in folklore for taking captive supernatural beings. The mysterious folded tent of Nennius, on the other hand, has no object in the story, and he gives it a strange explanation as emblematical of the kingdom of Vortigern.

On the significance of the burial of the two dragons, cf. the burial of Bran's head, Nutt, *Folk Lore Record*, V, 14; Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879,

his strange legend was doubtless such a story as that of the swineherds, according to which the fighting dragons were two rival shape-shifters, whose contest betokened the glory or defeat of the race to which each belonged. The episode of Vortigern's Tower then gives us an example of *contaminatio* by combining the dragon sacrifice with what was originally a transformation fight between two shape-shifters, who had assumed, for the time being, the form of dragons.

Ambrosius serves to bind these elements together; he it is, the proposed victim of the foundation sacrifice to the dragon, who, like Llevelys in the Welsh tale, explains to the troubled king the significance of the fighting beasts.[1] This Ambrosius of Nennius is

pp. 289, 290; *Zs. f. celt. Phil.*, I (1896), 105, 106, 108, 109. With the story as a whole, cf. the transformation fight in the modern Celtic tale, *King Mananann*, Larminie, *West Irish Folk Tales and Romances*, London, 1893, pp. 82, 83; *Chronique de Tabari*, trans. Zotenbeeg, Paris, 1867, I, 443. See also San Marte, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, p. 336, for references to the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and the *Triads* bearing upon the fight at Dinas Embreis: Guest, *Mabinogion*, II, 316, 317. With the portent of the battle, cf. the account of a battle of fish in a lake near Suz before the death of Henry II, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *It. Kamb.*, p. 19.

[1] The part of Ambrosius in the story has been compared to that of the spirit Aschmedai in the Talmudic account of King Solomon's difficulties in building the temple. See *Gittin*, p. 68; also Vogt, *Salman und Morolf*, Halle, 1880, pp. 213–217; Cassel, *Schamir*, Erfurt, 1856, p. 62. On the nature and legends of Aschmedai, see Meyer, *Indogermanische Mythen*, I, 150–152; Vogt, as above, pp. xlvi–li. According to the Talmud, Solomon is at a loss how to construct the temple, in the building of which he may not, according to the Mosaic law, cleave the stones with iron. By the direction of spirits over whom he has control, and whom his wise men have advised him to consult, he has recourse to Aschmedai, who, when he has been captured by a ruse and led in chains before Solomon, tells him how he may get possession of Schamir, the creature used by Moses for cutting the stones of the high priest's breastplate. After the temple is built, Aschmedai demands that Solomon remove his chains, give him the ring by which Solomon has power over all spirits, and then behold the manifestation of Aschmedai's might. No sooner is he free of his chains and possessed of the ring than he gives Solomon a single blow, from which the astonished monarch recovers only to find himself four hundred parasangs from his home. Stripped of his power, he is obliged to wander begging from door to door through his realm, while Aschmedai rules in his likeness and his stead until Solomon's identity is discovered and he is led back to his throne. When Aschmedai beholds him, he flees away. It is evident that it is solely in the parts of Ambrosius and Aschmedai that the two stories resemble each other. The foundation sacrifice and the dragon fight have no place in the Talmud. Vortigern does not build his tower, and Solomon does build the temple; but Vortigern and Solomon, alike in perplexity as to how to construct their projected building, consult a being whose supernatural wisdom shows them a way out of their difficulty; and Aschmedai usurps the throne of Solomon even

too inconsistent a personage not to have provoked examination. In an earlier section[1] Nennius makes the statement that the natives of Britain had cause for apprehension not only from the Scots and Picts, but also from the Romans and Ambrosius.[2] There is nothing in the rest of his narrative to show why the Romans should dread Ambrosius, the unknown boy without a father. Moreover, Ambrosius, despite the mystery of his birth, says that he is the son of a Roman consul, and makes this announcement in the course of a story, the whole point of which consists in the fact that he had no mortal father. Our earliest source for any tradition of Ambrosius is the sixth-century Latin treatise of Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*.[3] Here we read of the invitation of the Saxons into England by the "proud tyrant Vortigern," as a protection against invaders from the north, of their ensuing depredations, and their slaughter of the inhabitants of the land. Then, Gildas adds, "the people, that they might not be brought to utter destruction, took arms under the conduct of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a modest man, who of all the Roman nation was then alone, in the confusion of this troubled period, by chance left alive. His parents, who for their merit were adorned with the purple, had been slain in these same broils, and now his progeny in these our days, although shamefully degenerated from the worthiness of their ancestors, provoke to battle their cruel conquerors, and by the goodness of our Lord obtain the victory."[4] There is no doubt that the Ambrosius (*Embreis Guletic*,[5] Ambrose the leader) of Nennius is the same person as the Ambrosius Aurelianus of Gildas and Bede,[6]

as Ambrosius claims the chosen site of Vortigern as his own. The resemblances are not sufficiently striking to justify us in seeing more than the influence of the Talmudic story, or of one similar to it, upon the episode that Nennius is relating. The mediæval versions of the story of Solomon, which relate that the stones of the temple were cemented by the blood of the Schamir, to which Aschmedai directed Solomon, are all too much later than Nennius to be of value in determining a form of the Solomon story that Nennius knew.

[1] Sect. 31.

[2] "Necnon et a timore Ambrosii." Cf. *Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius*, ed. Todd, Dublin, 1848, sect. 15.

[3] Sect. 25.

[4] Translated by Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 312.

[5] On this title see Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 48–50; *Irish Version of the Historia Britonum*, as above, p. 98, note on sect. 19; Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 287.

[6] Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, i, 16) follows Gildas closely.

who saved the British people from the misrule of Vortigern, but who, as a Roman by descent, might have been regarded with some feeling of dread by the Britons. To this leader, the early savior of his people, it has been suggested,[1] a degree of supernatural power had evidently come to be attributed by the time that the section of Nennius's *Historia* containing our episode was written;[2] and to his name[3] there is attached the curious story of Vortigern's Tower, — a story that is plainly a composite folk tale of a class which it is exceedingly common to find associated with a definite site. It is then a natural (almost an essential) inference that we are dealing here simply with a local legend belonging to a spot also connected by tradition with the famous Roman leader of the British, to whom supernatural wisdom was readily attributed by popular imagination, and whose name was therefore given to the extraordinary hero of the legend, even at the expense of consistency,[4] which Nennius tries to give to his story by his parenthetical clause, "Embreis Guletic ipse videbatur." In *Lludd and Llevelys*, where, as we have seen, the story of the fighting dragons is recounted in a more primitive form than in Nennius, the spot where the dragons are buried is, quite irrelevantly to the story, called *Dinas Emreis*, the Fortress of Ambrose, which gives us additional ground (although we cannot attach great weight to it alone) for the conjecture that before Nennius wrote his history the site where the dragon fight was located had been connected with the name of Ambrosius[5] — why, who can say?

This story of Nennius was used by Geoffrey of Monmouth as his source for his account of Vortigern's Tower in his *Historia Regum Britanniae*,[6] but with certain notable differences: Vortigern's messengers find the child born without a father in a town later called Kaermodin; the boy's name is Merlin; the messengers take Merlin's mother, who is the daughter of a king of Dimetia,

[1] See Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Boston, 1906, pp. 18 ff.

[2] This section may have been a late (i.e. *ca.* 800) addition; see Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[3] Cf. Rhŷs, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 154, 155; Philimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, XI (1892), 49.

[4] For a discussion of the entire subject see Lot, *Romania*, XXVIII (1899), 338–341, where practically the same conclusions are reached by a somewhat different line of argument.

[5] See also below, p. 21, note 2.

[6] Bk. VI, 17–18; VII, 3; VIII, 1.

to Vortigern with the lad, and she gives the king a full account of Merlin's birth, explaining that his father was an incubus. After Merlin has revealed to the king the significance of the combat he continues to prophesy, to the length of Geoffrey's seventh book, concerning the affairs of the nation, and ends by bidding Vortigern flee from the sons of Constantine, who are coming to avenge their father's death.

There is no episode in the legend of Merlin of which the direct source is more certainly known than this which is so plainly derived from Nennius. But we see that Geoffrey's important variations [1] from his source are in the name and birthplace of his hero, the story of his hero's birth, and the future of the hero himself; that, in short, his hero is a different person, and that he is attaching a story, told in his source, of one being to another, who evidently had a real personality for him. Nor, if the inference that the traditional site of Vortigern's tower had been early connected with the name of Ambrose be correct, is it difficult to understand why he should have given his hero, as he does, the double name of Ambrosius Merlinus. If we realize that before Geoffrey's time there was a known topographical name connected with Ambrose [2] and associated with the fighting dragons, we understand why he felt compelled, for the sake of his cherished reputation as a truthful historian, to preserve the name that he found in his source, even

[1] For other minor variations, see Mead, *Merlin* (E. E. T. S.), pt. iv, pp. clxxxvii, clxxxviii.

[2] It is noteworthy that Giraldus Cambrensis (*It. Kamb.*, ed. Brewer, II, 8, p. 133) says that the name Dinas Emreis was given to the spot on Mt. Erir (in Caernarvonshire to the south of Snowdon; see Glennie, *Arthurian Localities*, Edinburgh, 1869, p. 8), where Merlin prophesied to Vortigern. Lloyd (*Y Cymmrodor*, XI, 22) has pointed out that *dinas*, which is a common element in place names, is used in old Welsh to denote the hill fortress, which, as he says, "is so characteristic a relic of early British civilization." Hence *Dinas Emreis*, the Fortress of Ambrose, is a name fittingly applied to the supposed site of the stronghold vacated for Ambrosius by Vortigern (cf. here Lloyd's suggestion, p. 49, note, that Nennius really refers to a historical fact, "a partition of power by which Vortigern took lower and Ambrosius upper Britain as Gwledig or Imperator"), but altogether inappropriate as applied to the dragon pool where Merlin, to whom no fortress was given by Vortigern, prophesied before the king. The place must therefore have owed its name to the story recorded by Nennius, not to that recorded by Geoffrey, although Giraldus, knowing the traditions that were so widely diffused by the latter, and his identification of Merlin and Ambrosius, naturally told in connection with the place that legend which was the more familiar in his day (cf. Lot, *Romania*, XXVIII, 340).

if only as an addition to that of his own hero's,[1] and resorted to his saving clause, "Merlinus, qui et Ambrosius dicebatur."[2] The historic traditions of Ambrosius, the son of a Roman, whose power was dreaded by his enemies, who drove Vortigern from his land, and who became a great king over the Britons, Geoffrey preserved and expanded in his account of Aurelius Ambrosius, in whose veins flowed Roman blood,[3] the magnanimous and successful British king who avenged the death of his father, Constantine, upon Vortigern. Tradition, which had not been standing still during the three centuries after Nennius, even if it has left scanty records, had provided Geoffrey with sources unknown to us, from which he drew for the brilliant career of Aurelius Ambrosius with which he filled the early chapters of his eighth book. The strange story of Nennius that this leader was the child of no mortal father, Geoffrey not unnaturally rejected as derogatory to a British king, and, stripping away the supernatural elements, he represented Ambrosius as nothing more than a valiant mortal prince. Neither is it hard to explain why he attached the supernatural elements to Merlin's name. We are all sufficiently familiar with Geoffrey's methods to be prepared to see him wreathe laurels with his own hands for the brows of his chosen heroes, and he consistently makes Merlin the all-important supernatural figure in the affairs of Britain from the time of Vortigern to the days of Uther Pendragon. Whatever the origin of the mysterious figure of Merlin may be, whatever traditions regarding him existed independently of Geoffrey (and of such we have traces), whether he is the Celtic bard, Myrrdhin, tricked out with the glitter of a magician's power, or not, Geoffrey

[1] It is interesting to compare with this situation Rhŷs's remark (*Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1900–1901, p. 493, note) on the cave, Ogof Myrdin, in Carmarthenshire, which is connected not with a story of Merlin, but of Owen; the name, however, Rhŷs points out "concedes priority of tenancy to Merlin."

[2] Geoffrey uses the double name Ambrosius Merlinus in this passage (bk. vi, ch. 19), and again a few lines later; also in bk. vii, ch. 3.

Even modern tradition appears to beware of the awkwardness of connecting two heroes with the same place, for Ambrosius is certainly dragged by main force into the following local tradition that Rhŷs (*Celtic Folklore*, pp. 469, 470) cites from the *Brython*, 1861, p. 329: After Vortigern had departed from the Dinas, Merlin remained there for a long time, until he finally went away with Emrys Ben-aur, "Ambrosius the Gold-headed," a personage easily to be recognized as Aurelius Ambrosius.

[3] Aurelius Ambrosius was the son of the British king, Constantine, and a high-born Roman lady.

certainly desired to exalt him as a great supernatural being, especially as a prophet; hence he naturally attributed to him the rôle, important for the fate of the kingdom, which the destined victim of the foundation sacrifice plays in this story. And what better place could there be for introducing into his history the prophecies of Merlin, which form his seventh book, than just here, as a continuation of the simple prophecy of Ambrosius, which he had found in his source? We may feel assured then that the account of Vortigern's Tower is an early legend attached to Merlin's name, and hence without independent value in our Merlin material.[1]

If the above conjectures are correct (and we are here in so dimly legendary a region, for the greater part, that I would not be understood to advance them except as inferences which appear to me highly probable), we have in the story of Vortigern's Tower a composite and contaminated local folk tale, raised to the dignity of purported history by Nennius, and drawn into a close relationship to romance by Geoffrey. By the time that it reached the hands of Robert de Borron and the prose romance of Merlin it had become greatly elaborated, partly from the garrulity of narrators of mediæval romance, partly from the accretions that in the meantime had gathered about the legend of Merlin. None of these versions throw any further light upon the original form of the episode, and are therefore not important for our analysis of it.

[1] It is in this story that Veselofsky (*O Solomone i Kitovras*, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 305, 325) finds one of the reasons for assigning an Oriental origin to the entire Merlin legend, between which and the Talmudic stories of Aschmedai he points out numerous parallels. But it is evident that the resemblance to the story of Aschmedai and Solomon's temple, in no case close in detail, is clearer in outline in the story of Vortigern and Ambrosius than in that of Vortigern and Merlin; and since this latter is not original Merlin material, we cannot base upon it a theory for the origin of the legend. Cf. also *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, XXII, 264, 265.

AN ARTHURIAN ONOMASTICON

By Alma Blount

The purpose of this note is merely to announce that fairly complete material has been collected by me for an onomasticon, or name-book, of the Arthurian cycle of romances, which, while not likely to be published very soon, is now accessible to scholars in the library of Harvard University.

The work was begun some ten years ago, at the suggestion of Professor Schofield, in a course of research formerly given by him at Radcliffe College on the "Romances of the Round Table." Since then it has been prosecuted in vacations at the Harvard Library, at the Newberry Library in Chicago, at the libraries of the University of Chicago and Cornell University, and (thanks to the opportunity provided me by receiving the Travelling Fellowship of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, during the academic year 1904–1905) at the British Museum in London and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Steadily the scope of the investigation has widened until now it aims to provide a complete list of names of persons and places in all printed mediæval documents concerning Arthur, in whatever language they are written, — French, Italian, Spanish, English, German, Netherlandish, Norse, Latin, Greek, and Celtic. Only in the case of Celtic texts has a translation been used.

For obvious reasons, material that is accessible only in manuscript has not been included. It is a great pity that any Arthurian documents should remain unpublished; but a close scrutiny of the manuscripts of Arthurian works scattered throughout Europe would be wholly impracticable. Nor has it seemed desirable to collect the names from more than a few of the early printed texts, not only because of the difficulty of referring to unpaged books, but also because much of the material thus printed is so distorted as to be unimportant for scientific study of details.

In its present condition the compilation consists of many thousand names, arranged in alphabetical order on cards. Each person's

name is accompanied by a brief statement of his or her place in the cycle, and by references, carefully grouped and classified, to every place where it occurs. All the different spellings of the name are given, and the text in which each spelling is found is indicated.

In preparing this dictionary of names, I found it expedient, on account of the extent and confusion of the material, to make a brief outline of every text, with cross references to similar adventures, or explanatory matter, in other texts. These outlines, I hope, may ultimately be made into a separate volume, which should prove as useful as the onomasticon itself. The outlines would provide the beginner with a valuable survey of the whole cycle, which can now be obtained only by years of careful reading, and the cross references would help the advanced student to understand many puzzling passages.

The work that remains to be done is the listing of names in the few editions that have appeared during the last five years, since I have been actively engaged in the undertaking; the verification of references; the sifting and grouping of material relating to the chief names in the cycle; and the arrangement of the whole for the printer. Since the compiling has been done disconnectedly, and at long intervals of time, it cannot be finally published without revision throughout. Though I have not at present the leisure to finish the task satisfactorily, I hope the time will soon come when it may be brought to an end as planned.

Meanwhile, the chest of drawers containing the name-index (on cards) and the outline-books is accessible, as I have already said, to any investigator, in the Harvard Library. Because of its size and systematic arrangement, the onomasticon, even in its incomplete condition, may be of service to scholars here and abroad: there are many questions — literary, philological, historical, and geographical — that it may help to decide.

THE ISLAND COMBAT IN *TRISTAN*

By Gertrude Schoepperle

Qant a Mohort fis la bataille
En l'ile ou fui menez a nage
Por desfandre lo trëussaje
Que cil devoient de la terre.[1]

The advantages of an island or a boat in the middle of a stream as a meeting place for rival powers seem to have been appreciated throughout the middle ages. An early instance of this recognition of the stream as a sort of neutral territory is the treaty signed by Athanaric the Visigoth and the Emperor Valens, where the contracting parties met on a boat in the Danube.[2] Another, much later (1215), is Magna Carta, signed on an island at Runnymede. Similarly, the tradition of the tribute levied by the Fomorians on Ireland represents it as being brought yearly to the plain of Magh Céidne, which lies between the rivers Drowse and Erne.[3]

For the judicial combat the island position would be especially favorable. Disturbances from the crowd or interference from friends of one or the other of the combatants would be effectually prevented. On the other hand, the spectators would be afforded a favorable position to watch the combat from the opposite shores or from boats along the stream. Fair play on the part of the champions would be further provided for by the fact that the island offered a natural boundary beyond which neither could withdraw.

An examination of mediæval accounts of judicial duels[4] shows that these considerations were universally appreciated. The single combats in the Old Irish epic take place at the ford of a river, a

[1] *Folie Tristan* (MS. Berne), pp. 99–102.

[2] Ammian. Marc., xxvii, 5, 9.

[3] Keating, *History of Ireland*, ed. Comyn, Irish Texts Soc., I, 180–181.

[4] It is unnecessary, of course, to state that the judicial combat is a prehistoric Aryan custom. Readers will recall the description of the duel between Menelaus and Paris in the *Iliad*. For the history of the judicial combat, see Lea, *Superstition and Force*, Philadelphia, 1892.

place offering similar advantages.[1] The Norse term *holmgang* (going to the island) and numerous accounts in the sagas[2] show that the Scandinavians usually selected an island as the place for a judicial duel.

It is my purpose in this paper to show that the island combat was equally familiar in twelfth-century France, and that the Tristan-Morholt duel offers no peculiarity which is not richly paralleled in accounts of the conventional chivalric duels there. A study of the descriptions of the judicial duel in mediæval romances and chronicles shows that the details in connection with the island are as stereotyped as those of the other formalities.

The preliminaries of the Tristan combat fall in exactly with the type established by Pfeffer and Schultz as the conventional description of the judicial duel in mediæval literature.[3] They comprise the following:

a. The Indictment (Pfeffer *a*).[4]

[1] Cf. *Die altirische Heldensage Táin bó Cualnge*, ed. Windisch, Leipzig, 1908, passim.

[2] See Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*, p. 280, under *holmganga;* Paul Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, London, 1889, I, 563–577.

[3] M. Pfeffer, *Die Formalitäten des gottesgerichtlichen Zweikampfes*, *Zts. f. rom. Philol.*, IX (1885), 1–75; A. Schultz, *Höfisches Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1889, II, 165.

[4] The references to the versions of *Tristan* are as follows:

O — the version of Eilhart von Oberg:

X — the redaction (critical edition, based on MSS. D and H, see below) in *Eilhart von Oberg*, ed. Franz Lichtenstein, Strassburg, 1877 (*Quellen und Forschungen*, XIX).

D — the Dresden MS. of the thirteenth-century redaction of Eilhart (see Lichtenstein, variants).

H — the Heidelberg MS. of the thirteenth-century redaction of Eilhart (see Lichtenstein, variants).

P — the German prose redaction of Eilhart, ed. Friedrich Pfaff, *Tristrant und Isolde* (*Stuttgart lit. Verein*), Tübingen, 1881.

Č — the Bohemian redaction of Eilhart, translated into modern German by Knieschek, *Zts. f. deut. Alt.*, XXVIII, 261 ff.

T — the version of Thomas; cf. J. Bédier, *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas*, Paris, 1902–1905. The portion of the Thomas poem dealing with the Morholt incident being lost, we are forced to conjecture its form from the data offered by the following redactions of it:

S — *Die nordische und die englische Version der Tristan Sage*, ed. Eugen Kölbing, Heilbronn, 1878–1882, Vol. I.

E — *Sir Tristrem* (the English version); see Kölbing, Vol. II.

G — Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed. Karl Marold, Leipzig, 1906.

R — *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*, ed. Löseth, Paris, 1891.

The Morholt claims the tribute which he declares is justly due him.

O. He accompanies the message with an offer to prove his right to it by single combat or general battle. P 7. 6–13; X 404–442; Č 12. 17–14. 3.

T. The Morholt comes in person: single combat or general battle are the implied alternatives. S 30. 21–25; ch. xxvi (32); E lxxxvi–xci; G 5954–5973.

b. The Challenge (Pfeffer *b*; Schultz, p. 159).

His claim is denied and a judicial combat is agreed upon.

O. Mark sends word to Morholt, appointing the time and place for the combat (no mention of gage). P 13. 10–15; X 709–723; Č 24. 3–13.

T. Tristan personally denies before the assembly and before Morholt that the tribute is justly due. Morholt challenges him to single combat and Tristan accepts. S 32. 19–34. 2, ch. xxvii (34)–xxviii (36) (glove); E xcii (ring); G 6264–6496 (glove).

c. The Vigil (Pfeffer *d*; Schultz, p. 164).

R. Tristan passes the night in prayer in the church (Bédier, II, 326, n. 1; Löseth, ¶ 28).

d. The Mass (Pfeffer *e*; Schultz, pp. 164–167).

R. Tristan hears mass on the morning of the combat (Bédier, II, 326, n. 1; Löseth, ¶ 28).

e. The Prohibition against Interference from the Spectators (Pfeffer *h*; Schultz, p. 167). G 6731–6736.

f. The Combat (Pfeffer *i*).

I. The time of the combat (Pfeffer *i*, *I*).

(1) Appointment of the day (Pfeffer *i*, *I*, *1*).

O. Mark appoints the third day for the combat. Morholt receives the message on the second day, and sets out preparing to meet his opponent on the next, i.e. on the third day. P 13. 16–17; X 715, 742; Č 24. 6.

T(?). S 34. 1–2; ch. xxvii (35). The combat follows the challenge immediately.

E. The time is not specified.

G. The combat is deferred till the third day after the challenge.

(2) Appointment of the hour (Pfeffer *i*, *I*, *2*; Schultz, p. 169).

O. The combat is to begin in the morning. P 13, *zu rechter streytzeyt*; X 733, 743; Č (24)6, (25)2.

T(?). S, E, G, not specified.

Schultz has overlooked the fact that the place of combat is frequently an island, and Pfeffer passes it over in a note.[1] It seems

[1] Schultz, *op. cit.*, II, 165–166; Pfeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 62, ¶ 4. Correct Godefr. 1870 to 4974.

desirable, therefore, to analyze here at length, in connection with *Tristan*, the nineteen versions — Old French, Latin, and Middle English — of the twelve instances of island combats (ten of them from French romances, one from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and one from the annals of Jocelin of Brakelond) that have come to my notice.[1] They all appear in so conventional a setting, and the treatment of them is so lacking in any trace of their being considered extraordinary, that even so small a number seems sufficient to establish the fact that the practice, so well suited to the requirements for a judicial duel, was widespread and frequent.

The following is a list of the island combats that I have examined[2] (the abbreviations indicated will be employed in the analysis):

1. The duel between Henry of Essex and Robert of Mountford.
   Jocelin — *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda* (Annals of the Monastery of St. Edmund), Camden Society.[3]
2. The duel between Arthur and Flollo.
   a. Geoffrey — *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854.
   b. Wace — *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836.
   c. Layamon — *Layamon's Brut*, ed. F. Madden, London, 1847.
3. The duel between Roland and Oliver.
   Girard — Le Roman de Girard de Viane, ed. Tarbé, Rheims, 1850.
4. The duel between Ogier and Charlot and between Sadoines and Karahues. *Ogier* (*Chevalerie*) — *La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche*, ed. J. Barrois, Paris, 1842.
5. The duel between Ogier and Brunamon.
   Ogier (*Enfances*) — *Les Enfances Ogier*, ed. A. Scheler, Brussels, 1874.
6. The duel between Helyas and Macaire.
   Chev. Cygne — Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg, ed. Baron von Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1846, Vol. IV.
7. The duel between Cornumaran and Aupatris.
   Godefroi — La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon, Paris, 1874–1876, Vol. II.

[1] Several of these have been already cited; cf. Bédier, I, 84, n. 2; Kölbing, *Germania*, XXXIV, 190–195; Pfeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Golther, *Tristan*, 1907, p. 17; Kölbing, *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, E. E. T. S., 1894, pt. iii, p. 350, note to l. 4141.

[2] Since sending this article to the press, I have noticed another interesting mention of the island as the typical place for the judicial combat; cf. *Eneas*, ed. Jacques Salverda de Grave, Halle, 1891, l. 7838, lxvii.

[3] I am indebted to Dr. K. G. T. Webster for this reference.

8. The duel between Sir Torrent and the giant Cate.
    Sir Torrent — *Torrent of Portyngale*, ed. E. Adam, E. E. T. S., London, 1887.
9. The duel between Guy and Amorant.
    a. *Guy of Warwick* (couplets), *G. & A.* — *The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, the second or fifteenth-century version, ed. Zupitza (from the paper MS. Ff. 2. 38 in the University Library, Cambridge), E. E. T. S., London, 1875, 1876.
    b. *Guy of Warwick* (Auchinleck MS.), *G. & A.* — *The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza (from the Auchinleck MS. and from MS. 107 in Caius College). E. E. T. S., London, 1883, 1887, 1891.
10. The duel between Guy and Colebrande.
    a. *Guy of Warwick* (couplets), *G. & C.* — See above.
    b. *Guy and Colebrande* — *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, London, 1868, Vol. II.
11. The duel between Bevis and Yvor.
    a. *Boeve* — *Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone*, ed. A. Stimming (*Bibliotheca Normannica*, VII), Halle, 1899.
    b. *Bevis* — *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, ed. Kölbing, E. E. T. S., London, 1885, 1886, 1894.
12. The duel between Otuel and Roland.
    a. *Otinel* — *Les Anciens Poètes de la France, Gui de Bourgogne, Otinel, Floovant*, ed. Guessard, Paris, 1858.
    b. *Otuel* — *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear*, with the fragments of *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel*, ed. S. J. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., London, 1882.
    c. *Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell* — *The Sege off Melayne* and the *Romance of Duke R. and Sir O. of Spayne*, ed. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., London, 1880.
13. The duel between Tristan and Morholt.

We can now continue our analysis of the combat, including here the parallels from the above works.

I. The place of combat (Pfeffer, *i*, ii; Schultz, pp. 165–167).
  A. *Tristan* — an island.

O.	P 13. 4.	Auff den word.
	X 711.	Bî den sê ûf ein wert.
	Č (island characteristics effaced).[1]	
T.	S (island characteristics effaced).	
	E xciv.	Þe yland was ful brade, Þat þai gun in fiȝt.

[1] For the absence of the island characteristics in the Bohemian redaction of Eilhart and in the Saga, see pp. 47 ff., below.

G 6727.

Ein kleiniu insel in dem mer,
dem stade sô nâhe unde dem her,
daz man dâ wol bereite sach,
swaz in der insele geschach.
und was ouch daz beredet dar an,
daz âne dise zwêne man
nieman dar în kaeme,
biz der kampf ende naeme.
daz wart ouch wol behalten.

R. (Löseth, ¶ 28; Bédier, II, 326, n. 1). Island of Saint Samson.

Erec, 1247–1250.

Onques, ce cuit, tel joie n'ot
La ou Tristanz le fier Morhot
An l'isle saint Sanson vainqui
Con l'an feisoit d'Erec iqui.

B. Parallels in mediæval literature.

(1) The island is in the sea.

Sir Torrent, 1248.

Then take counsell kyng and knyght,
On lond that he shold not ffyght,
But ffar oute in the see,
In an yle long and brad.

Guy of Warwick (couplets), *G. & A.*, 7965.

To an yle besyde the see,
There the batayle schulde bee.

Guy of Warwick (couplets), *G. & C.*, 101. 31.

In a place, where they schulde bee,
Yn an yle wythynne the see.

Guy and Colebrande, 202.

Then the Gyant loud did crye:
to the King of Denmarke these words says hee,
"behold & take good heede!
yonder is an Iland in the sea;
ffrom me he can-not scape away,
nor passe my hands indeed;
but I shall either slay him with my brand,
or drowne him in yonder salt strand;
ffro me he shall not scape away."

(2) The island is in a river.

Ogier (Enfances).

Fu Karahues en l'isle voirement,
Il et Sadoines, armés moult gentement. 2618.

Seur les estriers chascuns d'aus .ii. s'estent,
Droit vers le gué s'en vont mult fierement. 2642.

Entre Charlot et le Danois Ogier
Orent le gué passé par le gravier. 2658.

En l'isle furent tout .iiii. li baron. 2711.

Chevalier au Cygne, 1631.

(Here the place of battle is mentioned as being marked off at both ends.)

Derière le palais au fort roy Oriant
Avoit une rivière moult bielle et bien courant,
Qui une ille entre deulx aloit avironnant,
L'ille fu longe et lée demy-lieue durant;
Là fu li camps frumés (fermé) et derière et devant.

Godefroi, 4947.

Chil sont remés en l'isle, où l'erbe est verdoians.

Otinel, 324.

Entre .ii. eves en ont mené Rollant;
Ce est le pré où furent combatant
Li dui baron, quiconqu'en soit dolant.

Otuel, 418.

þere þe bataille sscholde be.
Al a-boute þe water ran,
þer was noþer man ne wimman,
þat miȝte in riden no gon,
At no stede bote at on.

Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell, 379.

þay broghte þam by-twene two watirs brighte—
Sayne, and Meryn le graunte, þay highte,
Als þe bukes gan vs saye—
In to a Medowe Semely to sighte,
There als these doghety men solde fighte
With-owtten more delaye.

Ogier (Chevalerie), 2959.

Li baron furent en l'ille enmi l'erbage.

Guy of Warwick (Auchinleck), *G. & A.*, 96. 4.

þan speken þai alle of þe batayle:
Where it schuld be, wiþ-outen fayle,
þai token hem to rede.

þan loked þai it schuld be
in a launde vnder the cite:
þider þai gun hem lede.
Wiþ a riuer it ern al about:
þer-in schuld fiȝt þo kniȝtes stout.
þai miȝt fle for no nede.

Geoffrey, p. 130. 53.

Conveniunt uterque in insulam quae erat
extra civitatem.

Sir Bevis, 4141.

In an yle vnder þat cité,
þar þat scholde þe bataile be.

Jocelin, p. 52.

Convenerunt autem apud Radingas
pugnaturi in insula quadam satis Abbatie
vicina.

Layamon, 23,873.

He wende to þan yllond: mid gode his wepne.
he stop vppe þat yllod: and nam his stede on his hond.
þe men þat hine þar brohte: ase þe king þam hehte.
lette þane bot wende: forþ mid þan watere.

Wace, 10,278.

Es vous les deux vassax armés
Et dedens l'ille el pré entrés.

II. The champions arm (Pfeffer, i, iii).

A. *Tristan.*

O. Mark arms Tristan with his own hands. P 13. 21–25; X 750–775; Č ——.

T. Both Tristan's and Morholt's equipment are described. S 34. 2. 7–24, ch. xxviii [36]; E ——; G 6505–6525, 6538–6725.

The hero parts from his friends at the shore (not mentioned by Pfeffer, but frequent).

O. Tristan embraces Mark and sets off for the place of combat, commended to heaven by the weeping spectators. P 13. 25–14. 4; X 775–788; Č 25. 5–16.

T. Same with different details. S 34. 19–23, ch. xxviii [36]; E ——; G 6791–6795, additional exhortation of Tristan to Mark, 6758–6791.

For parallels, see Pfeffer, p. 43; Schultz, p. 164.

III. The champions cross over to the island.

A. *Tristan.* — In separate boats.

O. X 787.

Zu dem schiffe dô der helt gîng.
mit dem zôme he sîn ros bivîng;
he nam sînen schilt und sîn swert
aleine vûr he ûf den wert.

P 14. 5.

Hiemit gieng herr Tristrant ʒů schiff, nam mit im sein pfärdt, schilt und schwerdt, und für allein in den wörd . . . Morholt kam im entgegengefaren.

Č (island characteristics effaced; see pp. 47 ff.).

T. S (island characteristics effaced; see pp. 47 ff.).

E xciii.

Þai seylden into þe wide
wiþ her schippes tvo.

G 6736.

Sus wurden dar geschalten
den kemphen zwein zwei schiffelîn,
der ietwederz mohte sîn,
daz ez ein ors und einen man
gewâfent wol trüge dan.
nu disiu schif diu stuonden dâ.
Môrolt zôch in ir einez sâ;
daz ruoder nam er an die hant,
er schiffete anderhalp an lant.
. . . . . .
Nu Tristan ouch ze schiffe kam,
sîn dinc dar în zuo sich genam,
beidiu sîn ors und ouch sîn sper;
vorn in dem schiffe dâ stuont er.
. . . .
sîn schiffelîn daz stiez er an
und fuor in gotes namen dan.

B. Parallels in mediæval literature.

(1) In separate boats.

Sir Torrent.

The Gyaunt shipped in a while
And sett him oute in an yle,
That was grow both grene and gay. 1260.

To the shipp sir Torent went,
With the grace, god had hym sent,
That was never ffayland. 1278.

Whan sir Torrent in to the Ile was brought,
The shipmen lenger wold tary nought,
But hied hem sone ageyn. 1284.

(2) Both champions in the same boat.

Godefroi, 4944.

Sor l'iaue de Quinqualle, qui est rade et corans,
Estoit apareilliés .i. moult riches chalans.
Li Aupatris i entre et avoc lui Balcans;
Outre l'en ont nagié à .xiiii. estrumans.
Puis revinrent ariere, nus n'i est demorans.

Guy of Warwick (Auchinleck MS.), *G. & A.*, 97. 1.

Ouer þe water þai went in a bot.

(3) When it is only necessary to cross a ford in order to get to the island, they ride or swim.

Ogier (Chevalerie), 2774.

A ces paroles, rois Brunamons s'entorne,
Dessi au Toivre ne s'aresta-il unques.
Poinst le ceval, si se féri en l'onde,
Et li cevalx l'enporta tot droit outre;
Unques la sele n'en moilla ne la crupe,
Et li Danois le bon destrier golose:
"Dex! dist-il, pères qui formas tot le monde,
Se toi plaist, Sire, cel bon ceval me done!"

Boeve, 3583.

Le gué passent, oltre se sont mis.

Beves, 4143.

Ouer þat water þai gonne ride.

Otuel, 417–443.

& to þe place þo rod he,
þere þe bataille sscholde be.
Al a-boute þe water ran,
þer was noþer man ne wimman,
þat miȝte in riden no gon,
At no stede bote at on;
& þere otuwel in rood,

. . . . . .

Ouer þe water þe stede swam,
& to londe saf he cam.

IV. The spectators are gathered on the opposite shore.

A. *Tristan.*

O. P 14. 2–4.

Er küsst in, trückt in an sein brust, unnd rů̊fft umb hilff in die hőhe der hymmel, er und als sein volck.

X 746.

An dem stade bî dem mere
vîlen sie nedir an daz velt.
ûf sô slûgen sie ir gezelt.
dô sie wârin ûf geslagin,
dô hîz der koning her vore tragin
sîn stêlîne harnas.

T. Č (island peculiarities effaced).
S xcviii (island peculiarities effaced).
E xcviii.

Mark the batayl biheld
And wonderd of þat fiȝt.

G 6501.

Dô kam al diu lantschaft
und volkes ein sô michel kraft,
daz daz stat bî dem mer
allez bevangen was mit her.

B. Parallels in mediæval literature.

(1) The spectators are gathered on the opposite shore and seek to secure elevated places.

Geoffrey, p. 130. 54.

Populo expectante . . . Britones ut prostratum regem viderunt, timentes eum peremptum esse, vix potuerunt retineri, quin rupto foedere in Gallos unanimiter irruerunt.

Wace, 10,278.

Dont véissiés pule fremir,
Homes et femes fors issir,
Saillir sor mur et sor maisons,
Et réclamer Deu et ses nons.

Layamon, 23,883.

Þa me mihte bihalden:
þe þer bihalues weoren.
folc a þan uolde:

feondliche adredde.
heo clumben uppen hallen:
heo clumben uppen wallen.
heo clūben uppen bures:
heo clumben uppe tures.
þat comp to bihalden:
Of þan tweom kingen.

Jocelin, p. 52.

Convenit et gentium multitudo,
visura quem finem res sortiretur.

Godefroi, 4956.

Tex c. mil les esgardent, qui en sont esfrois
Car c'erent lor ami, si dotent, ce est drois.
Li borjois et les dames sont monté as defois,
Es tors et es bretesches et es murs de liois,
Por véir la bataille des .ii. vassax adrois.

Boeve, 3607.

Kant ceo veient paien, al gué sont feru. . . .

Bevis, 4169.

Alle, þat siȝen hem wiþ siȝt,
Seide, neuer in none fiȝt
So stronge bataile siȝe er þan
Of Sarasin ne of cristene man.

Otinel, 575.

A ces paroles vint .i. colon [volant];
Karles le vit et tote l'autre gent.
Saint Espirit sus Otinel descent.

Otuel.

King Charles wiþ hise kniȝtes bolde,
Was come þe bataille to bi-holde. 503.

A whit coluere þer cam fle,
þat al þe peple miȝten se. 577.

Duke Rowland & Sir Otuel, 487.

Charlles herde those wordes wele.
(Of the Saracen during the fight.)

Ogier (Chevalerie), 2943.

Francois le voient, mult en sont esmari,
E l'empereres qui France a à tenir
Andeus ses mains vers le ciel estendi.

Guy of Warwick (couplets), *G. & C.*, 10,305.

Now the Danes prowde bene
And seyde þemselfe þem betwene,
That Gye was þen ouercomen.

Guy & Colebrande, 387.

& then the Danish men gan say
to our Englishmen, "well-away
that euer wee came in your griste!"

Sir Torrent, 1281.

All the lordys of that contre,
Frome Rome unto the Grekys se,
Stode and be-held on lond.

(2) The people watch the combat from boats on the river.

Chevalier au Cygne, 1638.

Ly gent de la chité, li bourgois, li siergant
Aloient entre l'ille à batiaus batellant.

(3) In one case a number of the most distinguished spectators are allowed on the island.

Chevalier au Cygne, 1711.

Et! Dieus! qu'il y avoit de grant peuple assamblé!
Le camp y véist-on autour avironné
Tellement qu'il estoient si drut et sy sierré
Que jusqu'en la rivière estoient avalé.
Et ly roys Orians et son riche barné
Estoit droit as feniestres de son palais listé;
Et la royne estoit amenée ens le prés,
Pour la justiche faire d'icelle cruauté.

V. A further touch characteristic of the island scene is introduced.

A. *Tristan*.

(1) The hero, upon reaching the island, pushes off his boat, declaring that one will be sufficient for the return.

O. X 794.

Der kûne degin Tristrant
sîn schef gar harte hafte
und stîz dô mit dem schafte
Môroldes schef an den sint.

P 14. 8.

Morolt kam im entgegen gefaren: der hefft sin schif und stiess her Tristrant seins verr hindan.

Č (island peculiarities effaced).
T. S (island characteristics effaced).
E xciii.

Moraunt bond his biside
And Tristrem lete his go;
Moraunt seyd þat tide:
"Tristrem! Whi dos tow so?"
"Our on schal here abide,
No be þou never so þro,
Ywis!
Whether our to liue go,
He haþ anouȝ of þis!"

G 6796.

Sîn schiffelîn er fliezen liez
und saȝ ûf sîn ors iesâ.
nu was ouch Môrolt iesâ dâ:
"sage an," sprach er, "was tiutet daz
durch welhen list und umbe waz
hâstû daz schif lâzen gân?"
"daz hân ich umbe daz getân:
hie ist ein schif und zwêne man,
und ist ouch dâ kein zwîvel an,
belîbent die niht beide hie,
daz aber binamen ir einer ie
ûf disem werde tôt beliget,
sô hât ouch jener, der dâ gesiget,
an disem einen genuoc,
daz dich dâ her zem werde truoc."

B. Parallels in mediæval literature.

(1) A similar incident.

Guy and Colebrande, 218.

& as soone as hee to the Iland come was,
his barge there he thrust him ffrom;
with his ffoote & with his hand
he thrust his barge ffrom the Land,
with the watter he lett itt goe,
he let itt passe ffrom him downe the streame,
then att him the Gyant wold ffreane
why he wold doe soe.
then bespake the Palmer anon-right,

"hither wee be come ffor to ffight
til the tone of vs be slaine;
2 botes brought vs hither.
& therfore came not both together,
but one will bring vs home.
ffor thy Bote thou hast yonder tyde,
ouer in thy bote I trust to ryde;
& therfore Gyant, beware!"

(2) Other incidents which are characteristic of the island scene.

Girard, 142, 31.

The hero breaks his sword, and, calling to the boatman, sends him to bring another, and with it wine.

"Sire Rollant, je vos en sai bon gré,
Puisque m'avez ainsi asseuré.
Sé il vos plaist por la vostre bonté,
Reposés vos .i. petit en cel pré,
Tant que je aie au maronier parlé,
Qui m'a issi en ceste ile amené."
Et dist Rollant: —"A vostre volanté."
Et Olivier au corage aduré
Vint à la rive. N'i a plus demoré; . . .
Le maronier appelle isnelemant.
Et dist li Quens: "Amis, à moi entant!
Va à Viane tost et isnelemant,
Et di Girars mon oncle le vaillant
M'espée est fraite joste le heuz devant.
Envoit m'en une tost et isnelemant; . . .
Si m'envoit plain bocel de vin ou de pimant;
Car grant soif a le niez Karl, Rollant."
"Sire," fait il, "tot á vostre commant."
En sa nef entre si s'en tornat atant.
D'autre par l'ague en est venus najant.

(3) In several of the accounts of single combats related of Guy of Warwick, the giant, becoming thirsty, begs to be allowed time to go down to the shore and drink: Guy gives him permission, but when he himself, shortly after, becomes thirsty, the giant refuses him the same privilege. Guy leaps into the water however, defending himself at the same time. *Guy of Warwick* (Auchinleck), *G. & A.*, 1144; *ib.*, Caius MS., 8325; *ib.*, couplets, 8105; *Guy and Colebrande*, 271.

(4) The giant attempts to escape by wading, but the hero stones him to death in the water.

Sir Torrent, 1295.

The theff couth no better wonne,
In to the see rennyth he sone,
As faste as he myght ffare.

(5) The king is prevailed upon to interfere, and, going down to the shore, calls across the water to the combatants.

Godefroi, 5134.

Venus est al rivage, si lor crie à haut ton,
"Seignor, estés tot coi, par mon Deu Baratron!
Se mais i ferés colp, j'en prendrai venjoison."

VI. His opponent attempts to bribe the hero (cf. Pfeffer, *f*). An offer more closely corresponding to that in *Tristan* is found very frequently in Old French poems; cf. *Girart*, 133. 23, 135. 12; *Ogier* (*Chevalerie*), 2788–2803; *Guy*, *G. & A.*, Auchinleck, 1230–1240, Caius, 8442–8454; *ib.*, *G. & C.*, 2650–2660, 10,700–10,710; *Guy* (couplets), *G. & A.*, 8205–8215; *G. & C.*, 10,312–10,332; *Guy & Colebrande*, 348–363; *Otinel*, 511–530; *Duke Rowland & Sir Otuell*, 517–540.

A. *Tristan.*

O. Morholt, impressed by Tristan's courage as manifested by his abandoning his boat, offers to share his lands with him and to make him his heir if he will abandon the fight. Tristan refuses. P 14. 12—15. 17; X 799–852; Č 25. 15—27. 8.

T. Morholt, having succeeded in wounding Tristan, offers to take him to his sister for healing and to share his goods with him, if he will abandon the fight. Tristan refuses. S 35. 20—36. 2, ch. xxviii [37]; E ——; G 6935–6980. G also contains a previous offer, on the part of Morholt, corresponding to O, above, 6799–6837.

VII *a*. The champions return from the island.

A. *Tristan.*

(1) No mention is made of a boat.

O. P 16. 5.

Also ward der streit gescheiden, dem einen zů freüd, dem andern zů klag. Künig Marchs holt sein öhem mit freüden und gesang und fůren mit freüden heim. . . . Aber die traurig schar von Irland holten iren kempffer auch.

X 932–6.

Dô wart geholt Tristrant
mit vroudin und mit gesange.
ouch beiten nicht lange
die Môrolden man.

Č (island characteristics effaced).

B. Parallels in mediæval literature.

(1) No mention is made of a boat.

Layamon, 23.992.

Ardur þe riche:
wende to londe.

Girard, 156. 33.

Le Dus Rollant est fors de l'ile issus.

Girard, 157. 31.

Dedans Viane est Oliviers venus;
Le grant bernaige est encontre venus.

(2) The narrator takes the return for granted and proceeds with the story without alluding to it. Geoffrey, 130. 53; Wace, 10.353; *Chev. au Cygne*, 2043; *Guy of Warwick* (couplets), *G. & C.*, 10.369; *Guy & Colebrande*, 393.

VII *b*. The champions return from the island.

A. *Tristan*.

(1) Mention is made of a boat.

S (island characteristics effaced).

E 1096.

Wiþ sorwe thai drouȝ þat tide
Moraunt to þe se
And care.
With ioie Tristrem, þe fre,
To Mark, his em, gan fare.

G 7090.

Sus kêrte er wider zuo der habe,
dâ er Môroldes schif dâ vant;
dâ saz er în und fuor zehant
gein dem stade und gein dem her.

B. Parallels in mediæval literature.

(1) Mention is made of a boat.

Godefroi, 5147.

Li Sodans a tost fait une nef aprester,
S'i a envoié outre por ax .ii. amener.

Quant orent fait la barge d'autre part ariver,
L'Aupatris i entra, n'ot cure d'arester;
Et cil les aconduirent, n'i volrent demorer.

Guy of Warwick (couplets), *G. & A*, 8313.

Wyth the boot he came passynge
And caste hyt to Tryamowre þe kynge.

Guy of Warwick (Auchinleck), *G. & A.*, 134. 1.

Ouer þe water he went in a bot,
& present þer-wiþ fot hot
Þe king, sir Triamour.

Sir Torrent, 1310.

He said: "Lordys, for charite,
A bote that ye send to me,
It is nere hand nyght!"
They Reysed a gale with a sayll,
The Geaunt to lond for to trayll,
All men wonderid on that wight.
Whan that they had so done,
They went to sir Torent ful sone
And shipped that comly knyght.

All the details of the engagement itself in *Tristan* are recognized commonplaces.

It is clear from the preceding analysis that in the description of Tristan's combat with Morholt we have an incident which is stereotyped in mediæval literature, and which offers no peculiarities for which we should be justified in seeking parallels farther afield.

THE NORSE *HOLMGANGA*

Some twenty years ago, however, Professor Sarrazin, in an article on *Germanische Sagenmotive in Tristan und Isolde,*[1] suggested that the fact that Tristan's combat with Morholt took place on an island was a peculiarity that pointed to Scandinavian influence. Since then the incident has been repeatedly cited by *Tristan* critics as an instance of *holmganga*, although no characteristics of the *holmganga* have been given to support the assertion.[2]

[1] *Zts. f. vgl. Lit. Geschichte*, I (1887), 262–272.

[2] Cf. W. Hertz, *Tristan von Gottfried*[5], p. 519, n. 52; Golther, *Tristan*, Munich, 1887, p. 24; Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 16–17; F. Piquet, *L'Originalité de Gottfried de Strassburg*, Lille, 1905, p. 154, n. 5; Löseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan*, Paris, 1891, p. 20, n. 1; Muret, *Romania*, XVI, 304; Kölbing, *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, E. E. T. S., III, 350, note to l. 4141.

Let us here, therefore, look a little more closely at the Norse *holmganga* to see what similarities it may offer to the Morholt combat. Although the *holmganga* is frequently mentioned in the sagas, our information regarding it is almost entirely drawn from the *Kormakssaga*.[1] The significant passage is the following:[2]

> After that Cormac went to meet his men. Berse and his men were come thither by this time and many other men to see their meeting. Berse spake: "Thou, Cormac, hast challenged me to a *holmganga*, but I offer thee an *einvigi* instead. Thou art a young man, and little tried, and there are points to be known in the *holmganga*, but none at all in the *einvigi*." Cormac spake: "I would just as soon fight a *holmganga* as an *einvigi*. I will risk this and in everything match myself with thee." "Have thy way," says Berse.

It was the law of *holmganga* that there should be a cloak of five ells in the skirt and loops at the corners. They must put down pegs with heads on one end that were called *tiosnos*. He that was performing must go to the *tiosnos* so that the sky could be seen between his legs, holding the lobes of his ears, and with this form of words [form lost]; and afterwards was performed the sacrifice that is called *tiosno-sacrifice*.

(1) There must be three lines round about the cloak of a foot breadth; outside the lines there must be four posts, and they are called *hazels*, and the field is *hazelled* when this is done.

(2) A man shall have three shields, and when they are gone then he shall step upon the skin though he have left it before, and then he must defend himself with weapon henceforth.

(3) He shall strike first that is challenged.

(4) If one of them be wounded so that blood come on the cloak, they shall not fight any longer.

(5) If a man steps with one foot outside the hazels, he is said to flinch [lit. goes on his heel]; but if he step outside with both feet, he is said to run.

(6) His own man shall hold the shield for each of them that fight.

(7) He shall pay holm-ransom that is the more wounded, three marks of silver as holm-ransom.

[1] Cf. Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*, p. 280, under *holmganga*.

[2] Ch. x; ed. Möbius, Halle, 1886; ed. Valdimar Asmundarson, Reykjavik, 1893; *Islendingasögur*, 6, translated in Vigfusson, *Origines Icelandicae*, Oxford, 1905, II, 322; and I, 320–321; cf. diagram of holmgang ground in Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, London, 1889, I, 565; also Collingwood, trans. of *Kormakssaga*, Ulverston, 1902.

It is thus clear that the Norse used the term *holmganga* with a very particular application, and that the extension of it by *Tristan* scholars to the Morholt combat is entirely without justification. The Scandinavian duel, in so far as we know it to have been different from the French chivalric duel, is paralleled at no point by *Tristan*. On the contrary, our examination of the latter in connection with similar combats in contemporary narratives brings out most clearly the fact that the *Tristan* story is at this point entirely under the influence of French chivalric conventions.

Read across to p. 47.

O. H, 787.	O. D, 787.
Zu schiffe trystrand do gìng mit dem zôme das rosz er do vieng he nam schilt und sîn swert	Zu dem schiffe dô der helt gîng. mit dem zôme he sîn ros beving; he nam sînen schilt und sîn swert
aleine vûr he ûf das wert.	aleine vûr he ûf die wert.
dô was och Môrolt komen als er hett vernomen Gegen Im an das sant der kûne degin Tristrant sin schiff vest hafte und stîz mit dem schafte Morhold sin schiff In den sand do sprach der grülich ze hand 'Warumme tûstu, degin, daz?'	dô was der grôze Môrolt gekomen als ir wol eir hât vornomen, kein im al dar an den sant. der kûne degin Tristrant sîn schef gar harte hafte und stîez dô mit dem schafte Morolde an daz schiff sint. Dô sprach daz grûwelîche kint 'Worum̄e tûstu, degin, daz?'
he sprach: 'ich sage durch waz wir sîn beide here komen durch schaden und durch vromen die wir hie mogen gewinnen.	he sprach, ich sage dir umme waz wir sîn beide darvm̄e here komen das wir wollin vns schadē ad vromē
Er kompt wol von hinnen in einem schiffe der helt dem der sege hie wirt gezelt.'	ir komet wol alz ein thu ê helt wer den sege hir behelt.
Cf. 710.	710.
daz her komen solde da by uff ain werdes wert.	Das bie den sehe komen solde Sin beger solde im irgan
Cf. 732.	
wâ sol der sîn? hie gar näch; uf ainem werd wä der ist.	wo sal daz sîn? nicht verre hîr gar nâ.

THE PLACE OF COMBAT IN THE BOHEMIAN REDACTION OF EILHART AND IN THE SAGA

It has been supposed by some scholars[1] that the island combat is a later addition to the *Tristan* story, possibly an interpolation on the part of some of the redactors of the extant Eilhart texts under the influence of Gottfried von Strassburg. This supposition is based on the fact that Č, the Bohemian translation of Eilhart, does not

---

Read across from p. 46.

O. P, 14, 4.	O. Č, 25, 11.
Hiemit gieng herr Tristrant zů schiff,	Dann geing der held zu seinem speere,
nam mit im sein pfärdt,	nahm das pferd am zügel und sprang
schilt und schwerdt,	ohne steigbügel darauf,
	nahm zu sich sein schild und scharfes schwert,
und fůr allein in den wörd.	und so ritt er allein auf diesen berg.
. . . . . .	
Morolt kam im entgegen gefaren	als Morolt angekommen
der hefft sein schif,	
und stiess her T. seins[2] ferr hindan.	
Der sprach:	sprach er: 'sage mir, lieber jüngling,
'Held, warumb thůst du das?'	warum bist du so heldenhaft
	allein gekommen?'
Antwurt er:	der held Tristam gab ihm die antwort:
'Wir seyen beyd herkommen,	wegen nichts anderem, als
	weil wir zusammen geladen sind,
das wir schaden oder frummen	damit irgend einer vorteil
hie holen wöllen.	oder schaden nehme,
	[wem gott zu siegen gönnen wollte].
'Ey,' sprach T., 'er kommet wol von hinnen,	ei, wie kommt der wol von hinnen,
wer den syg behelt, ich weys fürwar.'	das sage ich sicher, wer
	den sieg erhält.'
P. 13. 11.	[24]. 4.
Das er an dem dritten tag zů	dass er ausziehen sollte
rechter streytzeyt käm auff	gegen ihn auf einen berg
dem wörd allein.	
	in wahrheit? es soll das sein hier nicht weit
	auf einem nah gelegenen berge;
	[es ist uns dieser berg bekannt, das wisse].

[1] Knieschek, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, CI, 403; Muret, *Romania*, XVI, 303.

[2] Reading of MS. W; MS. A reads "das sein."

contain this characteristic. As Lichtenstein has suggested, perhaps rather too timidly,[1] the Bohemian version has effaced the trait. This becomes manifest when we place opposite each other the texts O. H, O. D, O. P, and O. Č, as on pp. 46–47, above.

Č corresponds closely with P with the exception of two lines which are lacking in Č and are so corrupt in X and in all the extant texts except P that Č may well have omitted them as unintelligible. Other instances of omissions and misinterpretations on the part of Č are noted by Knieschek.[2] Various indications point to the conclusion that the passage Č had before him was similar to P and X:

(1) Č is unintelligible at every point in which it differs from X.

a. The reading Č 25. 12: "dann ging der held zu seinem speere," instead of X 787: "dann ging der held zu schiffe," makes no sense.

b. Morholt's expression of surprise on Tristan's arrival is incomprehensible except on the supposition that Tristan has just pushed off the boat as in X; that he should express surprise merely to see him coming alone, when he had understood exactly what to expect (24. 17–25. 5), is ridiculous.

c. Tristan's reply that he has come because they were both invited is equally absurd, and his succeeding declaration, that the victor will get away well enough, is incomprehensible unless there has been some question as to the means of doing so.

d. Morholt's flattering offer, which immediately follows, is only to be accounted for on the supposition that Tristan has impressed him by some surprising evidence of courage.

(2) Lichtenstein's suggestion that Č read *bere* for *wert* is, it seems to me, entirely probable.

(3) Knieschek's opinion,[3] that the omission of the mention of a boat in the allusion to the return in X 932–936 and P 16. 5 indicates that the combat did not originally take place upon an island, is mistaken. Cf. the return from similar island combats in mediæval literature, VII *a*, B, (1), (2), above, p. 43.

It is therefore necessary to reject the version of Č in this case and to accept the testimony of the other texts that represent the combat as taking place on an island, an occurrence which, indeed,

[1] *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, X, 11.
[2] *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, CI, 341, 351.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 409.

as we have seen, was too ordinary to interest us much one way or the other. The point is important, however, in warning us to beware of Č as well as of the other extant redactions of O.

The effacement of the details regarding the place of combat in G may also be due merely to the fact that the island combat was an occurrence sufficiently familiar to be hurried over.

A similar example of the effacement of the island peculiarities is seen in the Caius MS. of *Guy of Warwick.*[1]

Auchinleck MS., 96, 7 ff.	Caius MS., 8157 ff.
þan loked þai it schuld be	
In a launde vnder þe cite:	
þider þai gun hem lede.	
Wiþ a riuer it ern al about:	
þer-in schuld fiȝt þo kniȝtes stout.	
þai miȝt fle for no nede.	
Ouer þe water þai went in a bot,	Forth they wente to that bateyle
On hors þai lopen fot hot	Hastily, with-oute fayle,
þo kniȝtes egre of mode.	In a feld with-owte the Cyte,
	Ther was hyt ordeyned to be.
	. . . . .
	When they com ther they schuld fyght.

A further proof, if any were needed, that Eilhart contained the incident of the island combat and the pushing off of the boat, and that Č is corrupt at this point, is found in the fact that the offer of friendship which Morholt makes to Tristan upon perceiving this act of reckless courage has been borrowed by Gottfried, 6799–6837, in addition to the similar offer which he attributes to him following Thomas, 6935–6980 (cf. above, p. 42, VI, A). The fact that this offer is lacking in G's source, that his description of the combat betrays the influence of Eilhart at other points (cf. Piquet, ch. x; Bédier, II, 81–86; Lichtenstein, cxcv–cxcviii), and that all the extant redactions of Eilhart contain it (even Č, where, unmotivated by the pushing off of the boat, it is quite futile), shows that the speech must have certainly been in the original version of Eilhart. It would be absurd, then, to insist that Č, in which alone the speech is unaccountable, should represent the original setting for it. The other four texts, in which it is clearly motivated, are

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 31; see above, VII *b*.

certainly to be preferred; and since it is there inextricably bound up with the island combat, that feature must have been in their common source, the original version of Eilhart.[1]

[1] The Prose Romance names the island of Saint Samson as the place where the combat was fought. Crestien's *Erec* (ed. Foerster, 1247–1251) contains an allusion to the same effect:

> Onques, ce cuit, tel joie n'ot
> La ou Tristanz le fier Morhot
> An l'isle saint Sanson vainqui
> Con l'an feisoit d'Erec iqui.

It is possible that these preserve a localization which the Eilhart version, with its habitual avoidance of names, has omitted, and of which the various redactors of the Eilhart texts have more or less obliterated the indications. After a very careful study of the question, I have concluded that the extant data are not sufficient to permit a definite solution.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE BROME AND CHESTER PLAYS OF *ABRAHAM AND ISAAC*

By Carrie A. Harper

The close resemblance between that part of the Brome play of *Abraham and Isaac* which deals with the sacrifice and the corresponding part of the fourth Chester play was pointed out by Miss L. Toulmin Smith, when she first printed the Brome play,[1] and again with greater detail by Professor Hohlfeld.[2] To account for this resemblance two theories have been advanced. The first theory, that of Hohlfeld, is that the Chester play was derived from the Brome play. Ten Brink, Ungemacht, Ward, Wallace, and Gayley have followed Hohlfeld.[3] The second theory is that both

[1] *Anglia*, VII, 316–337.

[2] *Modern Language Notes*, V, 222 ff.

[3] Ten Brink, *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, Strassburg, 1893, II, 289: "Die Darstellung von Abrahams Opfer im vierten Chesterschen Spiel ist aus ostanglischer Quelle geflossen: aus eben jenem Drama des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, dessen characteristische Vorzüge in dem uns bekannten Bromer Spiel von Abraham und Isaac vollständiger erhalten scheinen."

H. Ungemacht, *Die Quellen der fünf ersten Chester Plays*, *Münchener Beiträge*, 1890, p. 128: "(1) Das ostanglische Spiel wie das 4. Ch. Pl. gehen ursprünglich auf dieselbe französische Quelle zurück; (2) in einer späteren Entwicklungsperiode hat das Ch. Pl. seine Darstellung aus derjenigen des ostanglischen Stückes ergänzt." Cf. p. 11, footnote, and p. 16.

A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, I, 79, footnote: "The relation between the Chester and the East Anglian (Brome MS.) play . . . of *Abraham and Isaac* is not certain, but the probability is in favour of the supposition that an earlier Chester play on the subject was revised with the aid of the East Anglian treatment of it." Cf. p. 91, footnote.

M. W. Wallace, *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice . . . trans. into Eng. by Arthur Golding*, *University of Toronto Studies*, 1906, p. 1: "Professor Hohlfeld's argument is plausible, and may be accepted as a satisfactory explanation of the close correspondence between many passages in the two plays."

C. M. Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, N.Y., 1907, p. 126: "The Brome play of *Abraham and Isaac*, which comes next in order of production, is undoubtedly the basis of *The Sacrifice of Isaac* in the Chester cycle, and probably in an earlier version dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century." *Id.*, p. 132, footnote: "Personal examination convinces me that the Chester play on *The Sacrifice of Isaac* is borrowed almost literally from the *Brome Play* on the same subject; not from any independent English or French, the original of both."

plays were derived from a common original. This theory is held by Pollard and by Chambers. Pollard based his belief on the "occasional passages in the Brome MS. which have no equivalents in the Chester." [1] Chambers gives no reason for his opinion, and perhaps holds it because of his misunderstanding of Hohlfeld, whose conclusion he states incorrectly.[2]

Up to the present time Hohlfeld is the only writer who has given at any length the arguments which have led to his conclusion. Hohlfeld dismissed the possibility of a common French source for the two English plays because of the correspondence of rhymes which are not of French origin. He saw no reason for assuming the existence of a third English play, which would unnecessarily complicate the situation. Either the Brome play was the source of the Chester, or the Chester was the source of the Brome. The latter possibility he rejected because in that case there was no way of explaining the difference between the metres of the two plays. The Chester playwright, however, would naturally have changed the metre of his source in order to bring the Abraham play into agreement with the rest of the cycle. The Brome play was, therefore, probably the source of the Chester. The possible difficulty as to dates of composition Hohlfeld met by assuming that the Brome play was older than the manuscript in which it has been preserved. The marked difference between the two plays at the beginning and at the end he thought could be sufficiently accounted for by either of two suppositions : the Chester author imitated only the middle of the Brome play because that was the finest and the most important part ; or "the original form of B contained a much shorter, or more insignificant, or at least a different, beginning and end from that of the present version." [3]

Ungemacht approached the subject of the relation of the two English plays from a different angle. His interest was in the sources of the Chester play. He apparently reasoned that all single miracle plays were older than cycle plays, and that therefore the

[1] A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, 4th ed., Oxford, 1904, p. 185.

[2] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, II, 409: "Hohlfeld, in *M. L. N.*, V, 222, regards Chester play IV as derived from a common original with the Brome *Abraham and Isaac*." *Id.*, p. 426: The text of the Brome play "is probably derived from a common source with that of the corresponding Chester play."

[3] *Modern Language Notes*, V, 236.

Brome play was older than the Chester play, and a possible source of it. Indirectly Ungemacht changed the aspect of the discussion by emphasizing the differences between the two plays, which Hohlfeld had overlooked or slurred. Ungemacht's conclusion was that both the Chester and the Brome play went back to the same French source, but that the Chester play, at a later period of development, made use of the Brome play.

Other writers on the subject, except Pollard, have contented themselves with a mere statement of opinion, although Gayley says that he bases his on a "personal examination."

A critical inspection of Hohlfeld's arguments shows that the theory most generally held rests upon a surprisingly slight basis. In the first place, Hohlfeld has no reason for rejecting the possibility of a common English source for the two plays, and, indeed, he later goes far toward imagining such a source in what he calls "the original form of B," with a shorter, perhaps different, beginning and end from those of the present version. In the second place, his only positive argument is that based on the difference in the metre of the two plays. In the third place, he disregards completely the variations between the two plays in the sections that correspond, and fails to explain adequately the differences between the plays at the beginning and end.

The argument as regards the metre, taken by itself, does not seem conclusive. In our present ignorance of the circumstances under which the Brome play was composed, we are scarcely warranted in assuming that the Brome dramatist could have had no possible reason for changing the metre of his original. If we should find grounds for supposing that the Brome play was of late composition, — the work of an individual dramatist manipulating older material with conscious artistic intent, — we should then be able easily to account for a change on his part. Such a man would naturally write in the metre in which he was accustomed to compose; or he might have been influenced by the verse forms that prevailed in miracle plays in his part of the country.

On the other hand, we are not warranted in asserting that the Chester playwright would inevitably have changed the metre of his source. Chester XI, which agrees with York XX and Towneley XVIII, has preserved in its quatrains the alternate rhymes which characterize the York stanza, *abababababcdcd*.

Finally, if we should presuppose the existence of a third English play, which was the common source of both the Brome and the Chester, we should rid ourselves entirely of the argument as regards metre. We might assume that the original play was in the Chester metre. The existence of the Dublin play, which is independent of the Chester, and yet is written in the same rhyme scheme, and, like the Chester, shows resemblances to the French not found in other English plays, would make such an assumption far from absurd. Or we might assume that the original play was metrically different from both the Chester and the Brome as they have come down to us. In either case we should be forced to admit that the Brome dramatist had made a change, whether we could see a reason for it or not. Even if we accepted the third and only remaining possibility, — namely, that the original play was in the metre preserved in the Brome play, and that the Chester playwright changed the metre to bring the play into harmony with the rest of the cycle, — we should still have no reason to infer that he was working from the present Brome play. In short, Hohlfeld's argument as to metre not only is in itself unconvincing, but also is entirely dependent on the rejection of the possibility of a common English source, and for this rejection, as has been said, Hohlfeld gives no reason.

It is the intention of the present paper to investigate anew the problem of the relation of the Brome play to the Chester play, and to suggest a solution different from Hohlfeld's. The whole of the Brome play is to be compared with the whole of that part of Chester IV which deals with the story of Abraham and Isaac (ll. 209–476). The differences rather than the resemblances will be considered, and the general structure and technique of these plays, as well as their relationship with other Abraham and Isaac plays, will be taken into account.

Certain concepts as regards the development of the miracle plays seem by this time to be sufficiently established to serve as a basis for argument. The origin of the plays in the liturgical drama makes it certain that at first they were simple, of a narrative type, and didactic in purpose. The result of centuries of growth is to be seen in plays of admittedly late date, such as the second Norwich play of the *Creation*, the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum*, and the Digby Plays. All of these, in comparison with the larger number

of extant English miracle plays, show a more elaborate structure, a greater power to hold a situation, better motivation, more successful characterization, and, in general, both increased theatric effectiveness and greater emphasis on the human elements of the story. To be sure, scenes that were based directly on the Bible often remained the same as in plays of the early type. It seems probable, also, that certain non-Biblical features became fixed at an early period, were spread throughout Europe by the agency of the Roman Catholic Church, and were retained in late plays with almost the same faithfulness as was the Biblical material. In the Digby play of *Mary Magdalene*, for instance, we find a bare presentment of the scene where Mary mistakes the risen Christ for a gardener,[1] material that is also found in a twelfth-century liturgical Prague play.[2] Some of the plays that have come down to us may be literally the result of centuries of composite workmanship. Others, which have received their final form from a single playwright, retain, in varying degrees, the composite character of their predecessors. While some of the old lines and situations remained, other portions of the play were modified by successive revisions. Like the chronicle-history play of a later date, the miracle play must continually have departed from the early narrative, didactic type because of the realization of the characters as human beings, and the advance in pure stagecraft. It would seem, therefore, that we have in the structure and the technique of the miracle play a test which, if used with due caution, will serve to establish the comparative age of two such plays as the Brome and the Chester *Abraham and Isaac*.

The early type of the miracle play has been spoken of as didactic in purpose. Undoubtedly, after a time, the plays came to exist more and more for the sake of the amusement they offered. Then in some of them there appeared an increased emphasis on the didactic elements. Professor Schelling, after calling attention to this, explains it as due to "the endeavor to make up by an explicit moral what had been lost in the secularizing effect of familiarity."[3] It may equally well be, however, that we have here only another instance of the addition of popular material, inasmuch as the *débat*

[1] *Digby Mysteries*, *New Shakspere Society Publications*, pp. 95–96.
[2] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, II, 31–32.
[3] *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 28.

was a favorite literary form in the middle ages, and the great amount of preaching in the morality plays found an audience. But whatever the reason for the change, the fact remains that in the nature of the didacticism we have another possible test of the comparative age of the miracle plays. In the majority of the York plays we have the simple didactic purpose, rather than the emphasis on didactic elements that characterizes late work. We have the case reversed in some of the Hegge plays, in the *Viel Testament*, and notably in Beza's *Abraham Sacrifiant*. Between these two types there inevitably must have been some plays in which the earlier didactic purpose had been subordinated and the later addition of didactic material had not yet been made.

In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to account satisfactorily for the baffling similarities and dissimilarities that coexist in the miracle plays that deal with the same subject. Some similarities, especially in phrasing, are probably the result of late borrowing. Others are accidental, and the result of the development of similar material under similar social conditions. A certain number, however, may well be due to an ultimate source in some liturgical play that was originally widespread. This last theory serves best to account for those features which are not inevitable expansions of the Biblical material, but which are nevertheless found in the plays of several localities, distant one from another. The presence of much material that seems drawn from such an ultimate source would indicate that the play either was in itself old or was in the direct line of tradition. We should not expect to find such material added in the process of revising a comparatively late play.

The argument that follows will be based on these three principles: first, that the earliest form of a miracle play was a simple rendering of the narrative in the Bible; second, that the didactic intention as distinguished from elaboration of didactic material is an evidence of an early form; and third, that a probability of age is established by the presence of much material that seems to be traceable to some common source in the Church drama. The plays that will come under consideration are the Abraham and Isaac plays in the four English cycles, the Dublin play,[1] the Brome play, the Abraham and Isaac play in the Cornish cycle,[2] that in

[1] *Anglia*, XXI, 21–55.

[2] *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, ed. E. Norris, 1879, I, 97–105.

Le Mistère du Viel Testament,[1] and Spanish, Italian, and German plays on the subject.[2]

The portion of these plays that deals with the story of Abraham's sacrifice divides itself, in each case, into three parts. The first part is introductory, and may be taken as including everything up to the time of the arrival of Abraham at the mountain. The second represents the sacrifice, and may most conveniently be considered to end with the intervention of the angel. The third is the conclusion.

The simplest form of the introduction would reproduce briefly Genesis xxii, 1–2, and make as brief a transition as possible to the moment of sacrifice. It would run somewhat after this fashion :

Deus. Abraham (v. 1)!

Abraham. Behold, I am here (v. 1).

Deus. Take thine only son, Isaac, whom thou lovest, go into the land of Moriah, and there, upon a mountain which I will tell thee of, offer him as a burnt offering (v. 2).

Abraham. Thy will be done! Isaac!

Isaac. I am here.

Abraham. Prepare to journey with me to make sacrifice.

[*Abraham and Isaac take what is necessary for a sacrifice, and cross stage as if on a journey.*]

Although the Bible mentions the ass for the journey, the two young men, and Abraham's parting with them at the foot of the mountain, this material is not necessary for the action and offers a complication that the primitive dramatist might well avoid. It would certainly, however, have been introduced at an early period, and was capable of expansion. On the basis of its inclusion or exclusion we recognize two types of structure in the introduction. The Chester, Brome, Hegge, and Cornish plays belong to the type that omits this material.[3]

Expansion by means of introductory soliloquies on the part of the Deity and the protagonist of the play is so common in miracle plays that it furnishes no ground for distinction as to type. Nor is

[1] Ed. J. de Rothschild, *S. A. T. F.*, 1879, II, 1–79.

[2] Leo Rouanet, *Coleccion de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios del siglo XVI*, 1901, I, 1–21; D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, 1872, I, 41–59; Hans Sachs, X, 59–75.

[3] The Towneley play gives only the moment of parting (ll. 145–159). Cf. Genesis xxii, 5. The York, Dublin, Spanish, German, and Italian plays, and the *Viel Testament*, all include dialogues with the servants, in some cases much elaborated, — "featured," as we should say with reference to modern drama.

the introduction of an angel to deliver God's message significant. But we have true ground for distinction in the closeness with which the introduction otherwise, exclusive of the journey, follows the simple type. The presentation of Isaac before God's command is received, and in general all emphasis on Isaac, is an evidence of development. The Chester, the Cornish, the Spanish, the German, and the York play are distinctly of the simple type.[1] The Towneley, Hegge, and Brome plays differ by making Isaac prominent, and expressing at length the affection that existed between father and son, which obviously intensifies the dramatic power of the following situation. No new characters are introduced, but in the *Viel Testament*, the Dublin play, and the German we have new material, a scene with Sarah. The Italian play is unique because of its peculiar device of opening with all the characters asleep on the stage.

Although the Towneley play belongs in the same group as the Brome and the Hegge, the structure of the introductory portion is somewhat different. The Towneley play lengthens the scene between Abraham and Isaac after Abraham has received the command to sacrifice his son, and represents Abraham as sending Isaac on an errand to his mother. On the other hand, the Hegge and the Brome play both open with Abraham and Isaac on the stage, and give an opportunity for an expression of their mutual affection before the message is received.

It will be noticed that the group of four plays that were alike in omitting the servants is subdivided by this distinction based on the emphasis on Isaac. The Chester play and the Cornish play belong together, and the Hegge and the Brome.

A closer comparison merely strengthens this conclusion. The Chester play and the Cornish play, although without parallel passages, are almost exactly parallel in structure. The only notable difference is the expression of emotion in the Chester play just before

[1] All these plays reproduce pretty exactly the three speeches based on Genesis xxii. 1–2, and then expand, with individual variations, the necessary expression of Abraham's obedience and his preparation for the journey. The Cornish, York, and German plays begin with a soliloquy by Abraham, and the German play inserts after it a soliloquy by the Deity. None of this group give Isaac any speeches before Abraham bids him prepare for the journey. The Spanish play and the York, however, allow a slight development of his character by means of his remarks during the journey, and the Chester play gives him three brief speeches toward the end of the introduction.

the journey.[1] It serves to prepare us for the action that centres about the sacrifice, and shows that the Chester play is somewhat more developed than the Cornish. In a similar way the Brome play, while corresponding in structure with the Hegge, is more elaborate. The two plays agree in opening with Abraham's prayer, which serves to make known at once his love for Isaac. In both this is followed by a dialogue in which Abraham tells Isaac that he loves him and the boy makes suitable reply. In the Hegge play the command to sacrifice Isaac is then delivered by the angel, and the rest of the introductory portion is comparatively simple. The Brome play, however, shows variations that heighten the dramatic effect. First, after the conversation between Abraham and Isaac, God gives his command to an angel. While the angel is on his way to earth Abraham prays a second time. He begs that he may know what sacrifice will be most agreeable to God, for if he knew, whatever it was, he would gladly give it. This makes a poignant situation. The second expansion is the speech that shows the struggle Abraham undergoes immediately after receiving the message.[2] Next, when Abraham calls his son, in the Brome play the boy is discovered at prayer. He tells his father that he is praying to the Trinity. Thus the goodness of Isaac is made manifest by methods proper to the drama, and is not dependent on assertion. Finally, just before the journey, the grief of Abraham is again given full expression, although it is only slightly indicated in the Hegge play.

That some relation exists between the Hegge play and the Brome play is indicated not only by the similarity of the structure of the first part of the introduction, but also by the fact that in both Abraham frequently calls Isaac his "swete chyld" and his "swete son," terms of endearment which do not characterize the other English Abraham and Isaac plays.[3] Moreover, when Abraham gives Isaac his blessing in the Hegge play he unites it with God's:

> "Almyghty God, that best may,
> Hys dere blyssyng he graunt the,
> And my blyssyng thou have alle way,
> In what place that evyr thou be."[4]

[1] The brief soliloquy that begins the Cornish play is unimportant (see p. 57, above).

[2] Ll. 68–90, 94–100.

[3] I have not noticed either of them in other Abraham plays except in Chester IV, l. 389.

[4] *Coventry Plays*, p. 50.

In the Brome play Abraham exclaims:

> "A! Ysaac, my owyn son soo der*e*,
> God*es* blyssyng I ȝyffe the, and myn." [1]

The phrasing seems in a way reminiscent of the Hegge play and different from the blessing in the Chester:

> "O Isaak, Isaak, my derling deere,
> my blessing now I geve the here." [2]

At the end of the introduction, nevertheless, the Brome play shows a resemblance to the Chester. The place where the blessing is introduced is not at the beginning, as in the Hegge, but in the dialogue between Abraham and Isaac after God's message has been received, as in the Chester. It is, indeed, at this place that Hohlfeld begins to point out the parallel passages that make it certain that some relation exists between the Chester play and the Brome play.[3]

But there are differences as well as resemblances, as a comparison of Chester, ll. 229–257, and Brome, ll. 105–129, will quickly make evident. In the Chester play Abraham breaks off the brief soliloquy which follows his answer to God and turns to Isaac. He bids his "derling" prepare to go with him, and bids him take the wood. He will himself carry sword and fire. He will obey God. Isaac expresses his willingness meekly to do as he is bidden. Abraham exclaims over Isaac and blesses him. This makes an affecting situation, which the dramatist apparently desired to prolong. He knew no way to do so but by repetition. Accordingly he had Abraham repeat his orders and Isaac repeat his statement that he would obey. Abraham then suggests that they start, Isaac replies that he is "full fayne" to follow, and Abraham grieves:

> "O, my hart will break in three,
> to heare thy wordes I have pyttie.
> as thou wilt, lord, so must yt be:
> to thee I will be bayne." [4]

In the Brome play Abraham, after calling Isaac from his prayers, tells him they must go together to make sacrifice. Isaac answers that he will do anything his father bids him. Abraham blesses

[1] Brome, ll. 114–115.
[2] Chester IV, ll. 241–242.
[3] *Modern Language Notes*, V, 223.
[4] Chester IV, ll. 253–256.

him and bids him take the fagot. He himself will bring the fire. Isaac is "full fayn" to do his father's bidding. Here, as in the Chester play, the dramatist felt the desirability of holding the situation, but instead of repeating he introduced an emotional aside by Abraham. This is followed by Abraham's suggestion that they start. Isaac agrees. He is "full fayn" to follow his father, as in the Chester play, but adds the pitiful words, "All-thow I be slendyr."[1] These give occasion for Abraham's second outburst:

> "A! Lord, my hart brekyth on tweyn,
> Thys chyld*es*, word*es*, they be so tend*er*."[2]

There is no statement to the effect that he is nevertheless ready to obey.

The variations in these two passages seem to justify the belief that the Brome dramatist was revising the Chester or some closely related play. He got rid of repetition. He heightened the interest in Isaac by the reference to the boy's slenderness. By omitting Abraham's expression of obedience he avoided an anticlimax.

The conclusion based on the structure of the introductory part of these plays would be, then, that the Brome dramatist modified a play of the Hegge type, first by expanding the beginning, and second by substituting for the end a somewhat improved version of the only good part of the Chester introduction.

This conclusion is strengthened by a consideration of the didactic elements in the two plays. In the Chester play, in addition to the two lines that have already been quoted, we have Abraham's answer when he receives the Lord's command.

> "My lord, to thee is my entent
> ever to be obedyent,
> that sonne that thou to me has sent,
> offer I will to thee,
> and fulfill thy Comaundment
> w*i*th harty will, as I am kent.
> high God, lord omnipotent,
> thy bydding done shall be."[3]

In the Brome play there is no corresponding passage. We have instead the long and very human speech of Abraham (ll. 68–90). Moreover, the total impression made by the first part of the Brome

[1] Brome, l. 126. [2] Brome, ll. 127–128. [3] Chester IV, ll. 217–224.

play is the emphasis on the human elements. The continual repetition of the words "father" and "son" is significant. By contrast the Chester play is didactic. Yet the didactic passages are not such as to indicate a late insertion, nor does the nature of the play suggest the need of such insertions.

Again, a comparison with other plays leads to the same conclusion. Not only does the Chester belong to a type that was widespread, inasmuch as the Cornish, Spanish, German, and York plays belong to it, but, in addition, a part of its didactic material is found in the Spanish play and in the *Viel Testament.* In the Chester play Abraham says:

> "that sonne that thou to me hast sent
> offer I will to thee."[1]

In the Spanish play Abraham responds to the Deity:

> "Sea por sienpre jamas
> loado tu santo nombre,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Tu das quanto posehemos
> y sin ti nada se haze,
> y los bienes que tenemos
> los quitas quando te plaze
> porque no los meresçemos
> y ansi, yo no meresçi
> el hijo que me avies dado,
> y pues tu lo quies ansi,
> justo es lo buelva yo a ti,
> como quies, sacrifado."[2]

Likewise in the EF version of the *Viel Testament* Abraham says:

> "Il est mon Dieu et mon seigneur;
> Tout ce qui luy plaist me doit plaire;
> Je suis aussi prest de le faire
> Qu'i l'est de le me commander.
> Puis qu'il luy plaist me demander
> Ce qu'il m'a donné de sa grace,
> N'est ce pas raison que je face
> Son commandement, et qu'au rendre
> Je soye aussi joyeulx qu'au prendre?"[3]

The same thought is especially emphasized later in the EF version.[4]

[1] Chester, ll. 219–220. [2] Ll. 393–407. [3] *V. T.* II, p. 20, ll. (258)–(266).
[4] *V. T.* II, pp. 49–53, especially ll. (975)–(976) and (1092)–(1093).

Here it seems to be an elaboration of the original idea preserved in its simplicity by the Chester play.[1] The elaboration, it will be noted, is found in conjunction with the popular pastoral scenes.

According to every test, then, the introductory part of the Brome play seems to belong to a more highly developed type than the corresponding part of the Chester play. The Chester play developed only very slightly the primitive form of the introduction. The Hegge play developed somewhat differently and to a higher degree. The Brome play combined the qualities of the Chester and the Hegge, and was more elaborated than either.[2]

We come now to a consideration of the middle part of the two plays, which for convenience we shall call the scene of the sacrifice. There is no intention, however, of implying by the word "scene" anything as to stage conditions or as to the dramatist's conscious division of his work.

The undeniably close relationship between the Chester play and the Brome play in this part, shown by dramatic action, by phrase, and by correspondence of rhymes, has been made clear once for all by Hohlfeld. In addition, a general difference in tone has been noticed, which has led to widely different critical estimates of the two plays. Miss Toulmin Smith considered the Brome play as superior to any of the other English versions "in the touches of child-nature and in the play of feeling skillfully shown."[3] Ten Brink says that no other Middle English version of the Abraham material is so rich in "Motiven und Variationen."[4] But Pollard declares that while both the Brome and the Chester writers worked from a common original, "the Chester poet compressed the more freely, and in so doing greatly heightened the effect of the dialogue."[5]

[1] Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 3131–3132. The idea is an old one.

[2] The *Viel Testament*, which begins with Abraham, Isaac, and Sarah on the stage, and at the first moment shows how Isaac is loved by his parents, may be a later development of the Hegge-Brome type of introduction. A further resemblance to the Brome play appears in the angel's second speech to Abraham (Brome, ll. 91–93; *V. T.*, p. 21, ll. 9781–9782). It seems not to be generally recognized that the *Viel Testament*, as it stands, is a highly developed dramatic form, very far separated from the early liturgical plays and the primitive forms of the religious play of which we have occasional examples preserved in the English cycles.

[3] *Anglia*, VII, 322.

[4] *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, Strassburg, 1893, II, 265.

[5] *English Miracle Plays*, 4th ed., 1904, p. 185.

It will be generally admitted that the treatment of this scene in the Brome play is fuller than in the Chester. Words which denote relationship of thought are used freely, and in every way there is more care in making transitions. The dramatic action is expressed by the dialogue, not by stage directions. In comparison the Chester play is abrupt, and sometimes, perhaps even as a consequence of the abruptness, a better acting play. It does not follow, however, that this quality is due to compression by the Chester poet. It can be equally well explained by assuming that the Chester play is the result of the working out of the first conception of some playwright who is in close touch with the actors and following their lead in the development of his predecessor's work.[1] For this reason the general differences between the two plays in the scene of the sacrifice do not assist much in determining their relation to each other. It becomes necessary to make a more minute comparison.

The most convenient way to present the details of the comparison is to divide the scene of the sacrifice into sections which can be examined in turn. The first section may be taken as running from Chester, l. 257 ("Lay downe thy fagot, my owne sonne deere!") to l. 285 ("O Isaac, Isaac, I must thee kill"); and from Brome, l. 129 ("A! Ysaac, son, a-non ley yt down") to l. 167 ("A! Ysaac, Ysaac, I must kyll the!"). The most important point to be noticed here is the variation in the order of the speeches, which is shown by the following table:[2]

	Brome		*Chester*	
a	147	=	277	*c*
b	151	=	275	*b*
c	155	=	281	*d*
d	161	=	273	*a*

That is, of these four parallel passages, the first in the Brome is next to the last in the Chester, and the last in the Brome is the first in the Chester. Yet in neither play is there any evidence of an awkward disarrangement of material. Each play taken by itself is satisfactory.

The Brome play in this section is longer than the Chester, — thirty-eight lines as against twenty-eight. The differences that

[1] Such a modification of a play is not uncommon in a production on the professional stage now, and is certainly common on the amateur stage, if an original play is being put into shape or an Elizabethan play adapted to modern use.

[2] The letters show the sequence of the speeches.

result from the variation in the order of the speeches and from the greater length of the Brome play can be briefly stated. The Brome, unlike the Chester, shows that Isaac, before he asks about the quick beast, is afraid because of his father's "heuy cher*e*." Afterward, not satisfied by his father's answer that the Lord will send one, he insists that he is nevertheless afraid of the drawn sword in his father's hand. "Why is it drawn?" he asks. And then, as Abraham's expression of grief is in an aside, he questions further, "Is it drawn for *me?*" Later he continues, "Truly, something is the matter, 'That ȝe morne thus mor*e* and mor*e*.'" This line, which has no parallel in the Chester play, indicates increasing emotion. As Isaac persists in his questioning, Abraham puts off the evil moment by a device which is not used in the Chester play. His heart is so full of woe that he cannot speak. Yet as Isaac still again questions, he breaks forth, exactly as in the Chester play, with the words, "I must kill thee." In the Brome play the progression to the climactic line is more steady than in the Chester play, and we have increasing emotion, instead of the fixed state of emotion that characterizes both Isaac and Abraham in the Chester play. This indicates in the Brome a more advanced literary art. It seems probable, therefore, that in this section the Brome dramatist was revising the Chester play, or one closely related. The Chester dramatist, with the Brome model before him, would scarcely have gone back to a cruder form.

The second section may be taken as running through Chester, l. 332, and Brome, l. 213, and ending with Isaac on his knees asking his father's blessing. Although the slight difference in the order of speeches is again noticeable here, what mainly challenges attention is the difference between Abraham's speeches in the two plays.[1]

CHESTER, ll. 293–324	BROME, ll. 173–195
O my sonne, I' am sory to doe to thie this great anye: *Gods Comaundment do must I* *his workes are ay full mylde.*	I am full sory, son, thy blood for to spyll, But truly, my chyld, I may not chese.
Isaac.	*Ysaac.* . . . . . .
Abraham. O Comelie Creature, but I thee kill,	*Abraham.* For-sothe, son, but ȝyf I the kyll,

[1] Italics indicate lines in the Chester play which are not paralleled in the Brome.

I greeve my God, and that full Ill: *I may not worke against his will* *but ever obedyent be.*	I schuld gr*e*ve God rygth sor*e*, I drede; Yt ys hys co*m*mawment and also hys wyll
O Isaac, Sonne, to thee I saye: God has Comaunded me this daye sacrifice — this is no naye — to make of thy boddye.	That I schuld do thys same dede. He co*m*mawdyd me, son, for serteyn, To make my sacryfyce w*it*h thy blood.
Isaac. Is it Gods will I shold be slaine?	*Ysaac.* And ys yt Godd*es* wyll *th*at I schuld be slayn?
Abraham. yea, sonne, it is not for to layne; *to his bydding I will be bayne,* *ever to his pleasinge.*	*Abraham.* ȝa, truly, Ysaac, my son soo good, And ther-for my hand*es* I wryng.
But that I doe this dolefull deede, my lord will not quyte me my meede.	
Isaac.	*Ysaac.* . . . . .
Abraham. For sorrow I may my handes wring, *thy mother I cannot please.*	*Abraham.* For-sothe, son, but yf Y ded *th*is dede, Grevosly dysplessyd owr Lord wyll be.

We see in the Chester play a greater stress on the idea of obedience. Moreover, Abraham declares outright that he will obey. No such declaration occurs in the Brome until the very end of the scene of the sacrifice, when the cloth has been put over Isaac's face and Abraham is ready to strike. He then says:

> "To don thys dede I am full sory,
> But, Lord, thyn hest I wyll not w*it*h-stond."[1]

In the Chester play at this point we have no similar speech. The Chester play, therefore, not only lacks the element of suspense, but also is less successful in presenting its material in the order of climax. Both in degree of didacticism and in arrangement the Chester play again appears more primitive than the Brome.[2]

In this same section Abraham, in the Chester play, refers to his wife (l. 324). Later he mentions her again, when he gives her blessing as well as his own to Isaac. There are no corresponding passages in the Brome play. In having Abraham refer to his wife

[1] Brome, ll. 293–294.

[2] Cf. the passages in the didactic York play in which Abraham expresses his intention to obey (l. 198 and ll. 243–246), and the absence of any such passages in the Towneley, which, in its way, is as realistic and non-didactic as the Brome.

the Chester play is in accord with the Dublin and Towneley plays and with Continental usage.[1]

Chester, ll. 333–358, and Brome, ll. 214–244, may be taken as the third section of the scene of the sacrifice. Here the Brome play differs from the Chester in three respects. It represents Abraham as kissing Isaac twice, has Abraham refer to himself as weeping, and has Isaac, when he is awaiting death, ask his father to greet his mother for him. Not one of these points appears in the corresponding passages of the Chester play, yet each can be duplicated in one or more of the other Abraham plays.[2] The Brome play, however, is entirely independent as to the point where it introduces the kisses, for it introduces them earlier than does the *Viel Testament*, and earlier than the point where the Chester and several other Abraham plays introduce the single kiss.[3] In the other plays Abraham's kiss is in farewell. In the Brome the first kiss follows Abraham's blessing of Isaac, and seems rather a reminiscence of Abraham's kissing and blessing Isaac in the beginning of the Hegge play (p. 49) than an anticipation of the farewell in the Chester and elsewhere.

The evidence of this section conflicts with that of the previous section. Abraham's mention of his wife in the Chester is offset by Isaac's greetings to his mother in the Brome. But the other two points in which the Brome differs from the Chester and agrees with other plays are comparatively unimportant. Abraham's weeping was an expression of emotion that might have been invented by any dramatist. The fact that Abraham kisses Isaac twice may

[1] Even in the subject matter of these references there is a resemblance between Ch., l. 324, and Dubl., l. 198. This has already been pointed out by Wallace (*A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice*, p. lv). For other references to Sarah made by Abraham, cf. Dubl., l. 285; Towneley, ll. 106, 225–232; *V. T.*, ll. 10,030 ff., 10,416 ff., 10,539 ff.; the German play, p. 64; and the Italian, pp. 46, 55.

[2] Abraham kisses Isaac twice in the French play (*V. T.*, ll. 10,269, 10,437). He refers to himself as weeping in York, l. 275, and in Towneley, l. 216. (Wallace, *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice*, p. lii, in noting these passages in the York and the Towneley, has overlooked Brome, l. 224 and l. 262.) In the Spanish play Isaac says to his father, "deja el llorar" (l. 525). Isaac sends greetings to his mother, *V. T.*, ll. 10,199 f., 10,276 f., and in the latter passage, as in the Brome, combines this message with a farewell to his father.

[3] All the extant Abraham plays except the Italian and the Brome agree in placing the kiss, if they give it at all, after Isaac has been bound, or at the very close of the scene. The Italian play has it just before the binding, where it corresponds with the second kiss in the Brome.

have been due to the combined influence of the Hegge and the Chester play, or may have been a natural repetition of the single kiss that is common.

We come now to the conclusion of the scene of the sacrifice, that is, from Chester, l. 359, and Brome, l. 245, to the appearance of the angel. Throughout this section we see a number of minor differences, and, toward the end, more considerable variations. The total effect is swiftness and directness in the Brome play as opposed to a scattering of interest in the Chester.

In the Brome play we have first a noteworthy example of the expression of dramatic action in dialogue. When Abraham binds Isaac, Isaac questions, "A! mercy, fader! wy schuld ȝe do soo?" and Abraham answers. The Chester play has no corresponding passages. The dialogue that follows in the Brome seems at once more natural and more effective than in the Chester. In the Chester play Isaac's first speech after he is bound is a long one. He must obey. He will not hinder his father. He sends greetings to his brethren, bids his father get a blessing for him from his mother, says farewell, and asks his father's pardon for any wrong he has done. In the Brome play this appears as two speeches, because, after Isaac's reference to his mother, Abraham interrupts to say that Isaac is making him weep. Isaac replies that he is sorry. He asks pardon for this particular offense, and then, as in the Chester play, "of all trespasse." It is admirably done. Equally well managed is the position of the speech, "I wyll not let you," which in the Brome play results directly from the reason that Abraham gives for binding Isaac. In the Chester it comes in the middle of Isaac's long speech, where it serves merely to repeat his previous expression of submission.

Isaac's statement of his willingness to submit, as it appears in the Chester play, has the same didactic quality that we have hitherto noted in the speeches of the Chester Abraham:

> "I must obay, and that is skill,
> Gods Comaundment to fulfill,
> for need*is* so must it be."[1]

These lines have no parallel in the Brome play. The nearest the Brome Isaac comes to them is when he says:

> "I am full sory thys day to dey,
> But ȝyt I kepe not my God to greve."[2]

[1] Chester IV, ll. 362–364.

[2] Brome, ll. 251–252.

After Isaac has commended himself to God we have in the Brome play three speeches, in the Chester six. In both plays Abraham is reluctant. In the Brome play, however, his speech shows his mental struggle more fully and culminates in the admirable line:

"O! Fad*er* of heuyn! what schall I doo?"[1]

In the Brome, Isaac then begs his father not to tarry. Abraham wonders why his heart will not "breke in thre," and then bids Isaac await the stroke. In the Chester, on the contrary, after Abraham's expression of reluctance, which is parallel to three lines in the Brome play, Isaac asks to have his clothes taken off, lest blood be shed on them. Next come two speeches that correspond with the last two in the Brome play. But after them, in the Chester, Isaac has still another speech in which he offers his soul to God.

These expansions at the close of the scene of the sacrifice in the Chester play have parallels elsewhere. We find a reference to the removal of Isaac's clothes in the Dublin play (ll. 201–202), where they are evidently taken off to be saved, as Abraham is to carry them to town; in the EF version of the *Viel Testament* (p. 57, ll. (1223) ff.); and in the Italian play (p. 53), where Isaac is stripped for the sacrifice and then solemnly clothed again. The device of giving the last speech to Isaac is paralleled in the *Viel Testament* (ll. 10,440–10,441) and in the German play (p. 72, ll. 27–28). In the German play, though not in the French, the thought is parallel:

"O Herre Gott, an disem end
Bevilch ich mein geist in dein hend."

The removal of the clothes seems like traditional business, which may well be of some antiquity. The coincidence as regards Isaac's concluding speech is more likely to be accidental.

As we sum up the differences that we have noted in the course of this comparison of the two renderings of the scene of the sacrifice, we note three points. First, there are variations in order that suggest an independent re-working of the material by one dramatist or the other. The arrangement in the Brome play creates more suspense and shows a greater feeling for climax. Second, in the Chester play there are strongly didactic passages which baldly express the necessity or the intention of obedience on the part of both Abraham and Isaac. These passages have no parallels in the

[1] Brome, l. 305.

Brome play. Third, in addition to these didactic speeches, the Chester play includes some material not found in the Brome, while the Brome, in like fashion, includes material not found in the Chester. The Brome play has many passages to secure smoother transitions, to heighten the dramatic action by means of dialogue, and to express with greater fullness the emotions of Abraham and Isaac. On the whole, the passages that are in the Brome play and not in the Chester indicate a freer manipulation of material than we find in the Chester play. In the earlier part of the scene the Brome playwright seems to have been intent on holding the situation by every means in his power. As he approached the culmination of the scene he felt the same necessity for swift action that a modern dramatist would feel. At this point what seems to be traditional material — the reference to Isaac's clothes — is retained by the Chester playwright, omitted by the Brome. The final result of the comparison is to confirm, by these three points of difference, the belief based on the comparison of the introductory sections, namely, that not the Chester but the Brome play represents the higher state of development.

There remains for consideration the concluding part of the play. The essential elements are the speech of the angel, the sacrifice of the ram, and the promise of the Lord as to the future of Abraham's descendants. These elements, and these only, we find in the conclusion of the Chester play. The only peculiarity is the division of the message between two angels. Abraham's speech that follows the message is as simple and unemotional as speech can be. Isaac is mute. The promise made by the Deity in person ends the play.[1]

This simple type of conclusion is elaborated in various ways. The Cornish, York, Coventry, and German versions, while adding certain details, remain comparatively simple. The Spanish play adds a scene with the servants, the Dublin has a long interview with Sarah, and the Italian and the French play agree in having both a scene with the servants and a scene with Sarah. The Towneley and the Brome play, without having recourse to such extraneous material, have endeavored to increase interest in the conclusion by a realistic treatment of the situations in the simple type.

The last lines of the Towneley play are unfortunately missing,

[1] The Dublin and the Brome are the only other plays where the Deity speaks. Elsewhere, as in the Bible, the promise is put into the mouth of an angel.

but the part that remains shows a strong resemblance to the Brome in method and material. In both plays Abraham kisses Isaac, Isaac is still afraid of his father's sword, and still remembers his previous fear. The Towneley conclusion, however, in style is harmonious with the earlier part of the play, — has, for instance, the same rapid dialogue and similar phrasing.[1] So, too, the Brome conclusion is like the earlier part of the Brome play, and is characterized by the same smoothness and elaboration. It is, indeed, the most elaborate conclusion found in any play, except those that include scenes with the servants and Sarah.

In addition to the points that the Brome conclusion has in common with the Towneley, we have in the Brome Isaac's rhapsody over the sheep, his stooping to blow the fire, checked for a moment by a lingering distrust of his father, and finally his thought of his mother. The speech about the sheep is not paralleled in any extant play. The blowing of the fire occurs in a simple form in the Cornish play, where Isaac says:

> "Fire to the wood I put quickly;
> I will blow it."[2]

Isaac thinks of his mother in the Dublin and the German play.[3]

Most of the elements of which the Brome conclusion is composed are to be found, then, in other plays. It is impossible to tell to what degree the Brome has borrowed or been borrowed from. It is probable, indeed, that some of the resemblances are not the result of borrowing at all, but mere coincidences. The problem was: What would a father and a son naturally say and do under these given circumstances? The main characteristic of the Brome conclusion is that it is the attempt of the dramatist who wrote the earlier portions of the play to answer precisely that question.

When the play proper was ended, the Doctor stepped to the front in the Brome play, the Expositor in the Chester. The Doctor very simply asked the audience to take the lesson home to themselves. By their own grief at the loss of a child they could judge the grief of Abraham when he must lose his. Yet he obeyed God, and so must they. The Chester Expositor had no such human message to give. His speech, on the contrary, was theological and

[1] Cf. Towneley, l. 58, with Towneley, ll. 257–258.

[2] *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, ed. Norris, I, 105.

[3] Dublin, l. 314; Hans Sachs, X, p. 73, ll. 36–37.

cold. The sacrifice of Isaac typified the sacrifice of Jesus. The idea finds expression in Continental plays, but is not elsewhere referred to in an English Abraham play.[1]

Both the Chester play and the Brome play, as they stand, are homogeneous, even to the concluding speech of the Doctor and the Expositor. Both, in spite of the prolongation of the scene of the sacrifice, represent in structure a comparatively early type of the Abraham play. The Chester play has been elaborated only in the middle part, and there not as regards structure, but through the realization of the human value of the situation. The Brome play has been elaborated in the same way at the beginning and at the end, as well as in the middle, and has also been elaborated in structure. As the two plays have come down to us, the Brome represents the higher state of development.

It may be argued that this proves nothing as to the relation between the two plays, inasmuch as revision, imitation, or adaptation may either spoil or improve, cut or expand. To answer this argument we need only to apply to the two plays under discussion, the three general principles that have been stated. The Chester play as a whole approximates more closely than the Brome to a simple rendering of the narrative of the Bible. The Chester play has a far more evident didactic purpose. The Chester play, in the simplicity of its introduction and conclusion, in some of its didactic passages, and in some of its other material, notably in the reference to Isaac's clothes, is in accord with a considerable number of other plays, both English and Continental, and therefore seems closer than the Brome to a possible source in Church drama. According to the three principles, therefore, the Chester play is not merely a less highly developed play, — it is essentially an older play than the Brome.

The middle part, the scene of the sacrifice, would certainly have been the first part of the Abraham play to be exploited. The Chester play seems, therefore, merely a natural development of an early dramatic form. The scene of the sacrifice was elaborated, not with striking originality, but along the easily conceived lines of a father's grief and a child's fear. The introduction came under the influence of the middle part, for the dramatic situation is

[1] Rouanet, *Coleccion de Autos*, p. 2, ll. 31–35; Hans Sachs, X, p. 75, ll. 10 f.; *V. T.*, ll. 9467–9472, 9664 ff., 9867 ff.

practically the same from the moment when Abraham receives the message of the Lord to the moment when the angel intervenes to save Isaac. Then the situation changes wholly. The Chester playwright might easily have failed to see its possibilities, or to be interested in them, and so retained the old, simple conclusion.

The supposition that the Chester play developed in this way leaves us with no problems to solve. On the contrary, the assumption that the Chester play was derived from the Brome leaves us with many problems. Above all, it is difficult to conceive how a dramatist who knew the conclusion in the Brome play could reject it for a form that is even less expanded than that we find in so bare and simple a play as the Cornish.

The supposition that the Brome play is the work of a conscious artist who was elaborating the Chester play or one closely related, and expanding other parts of the play to bring them into harmony with the scene of the sacrifice, is a supposition that, like the independent development of the Chester, leaves us with no problems. The Brome play seems to be a combination of two simple types, the Hegge and the Chester, with possibly some influence from a third related form, the Towneley, although in the latter case it is equally probable that the Brome play influenced the Towneley. The Brome play is imbued with deep religious feeling, but is not sharply didactic in purpose. The emphasis is throughout on the feelings of the father and the son. Details have apparently been borrowed from other plays,[1] but no material is used which does not serve directly the purpose of the dramatist, namely, the presentation of the Abraham story in terms of human emotion.

It is not the intention of this paper to assert that the Brome play is derived directly from the Chester. A common source seems on the whole more probable. Yet the evidence is in no way decisive. What the evidence does seem to prove is, first, that in any case the Chester play was not derived from the Brome; and second, that the Brome play, as it has come down to us, is a more highly developed and a later type of the Abraham play than the Chester.

[1] Ten Brink, *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, Strassburg, 1893, II, 265, footnote. With reference to the Brome play Ten Brink says: "Hierzu möge bemerkt werden, dass einige Stellen des Dramas den Verdacht erregen, als seien Motive aus andern Darstellungen in die den Kern dieses Dramas bildende Darstellung später verwebt worden."

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ANCIENT ALLEGORICAL DEBATE

By Margaret C. Waites

In mediæval literature, especially during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the allegorical debate occupied a prominent position. Typical figures, like the Jew and the Christian, battled in wordy argument; Wine set forth its excellences and decried the sorry virtues of Water; the Church opposed the Synagogue with eloquence drawn from all the Fathers. Dr. J. Holly Hanford, in his dissertation on the mediæval debate, has given the most concise definition of the form: "Essentially the poems are discussions in artistic form of some question, whether theoretical or arising from actual conditions, the arguments pro and con being put into the mouth of characters who represent, or indeed embody, the principles from the opposition of which the question takes its rise."[1]

The development of a similar literary form in the classics is the theme of a brief article[2] by Otto Hense. Appropriately enough, he adopts a special term to designate the ancient allegorical debates. He calls them *συγκρίσεις*. On page 4 of his suggestive discussion he thus defines his use of terms: "We here confine 'syncrisis' to a verbal contest in which one or more allegorical figures or characters drawn from fable (like animals, plants, parts of the body, inanimate objects) participate." This use of the term *σύγκρισις*, though late, as Hense admits, is justified in his opinion by the precedent of Meleager of Gadara.[3]

In the following article I propose first to discuss the appropriateness of the word *σύγκρισις* as a classical equivalent for the mediæval "debate," and then to consider briefly a few examples of the ancient debate.

[1] Dr. Hanford's dissertation is still in manuscript, but he kindly permits me to quote from it.

[2] *Die Synkrisis in der antiken Litteratur*, Protekorats-Program, Freiburg, 1893.

[3] Cf. p. 77, below.

I

The lexicons divide their treatment of *σύγκρισις* and *συγκρίνομαι* under the following main heads:

1. *a.* The verb: "to compound."
   b. The noun: "a composition," "forming by concretion."
2. *a.* The verb: "to compare."
   b. The noun: "a comparison."
3. *a.* The verb: "to contest or strive with another."
   b. Neither the *Thesaurus* nor Liddell and Scott's lexicon gives the corresponding definition, "a contention," or "strife."

It is easy to see the close connection between 2 and 3. In fact, the difference between "comparison" and "contention," as the Greek saw it, was slight. Suppose *συγκρίνεσθαι* be translated "to measure oneself with another." So long as the "measuring" is done in a friendly spirit, and points of likeness rather than points of difference are emphasized, we have a *comparison*. As soon, however, as the agonistic element is apparent, and points of difference become important, we have a *contention*. The usage of Plutarch in the *Parallel Lives* is significant. Sometimes the *σύγκρισις* which occurs after a pair of Lives emphasizes the points of resemblance between the two worthies. So it is in the case of Pelopidas and Marcellus, "between whom there was a perfect resemblance in the gifts of nature and in their lives and manners."[1] But in the *syncrisis* of Agesilaus and Pompey we find: "Such is the account we had to give of the lives of these two great men; and, in drawing up the parallel, we shall previously take a short survey of the differences in their characters."[2]

For the purposes of criticism, then, these two meanings may be classed together. Neither of them met with favor from the grammarians. Phrynichus,[3] for instance, comments on the careless use of the word in Plutarch: "I wonder how a man who had reached the very heights of philosophy, and knew perfectly well the meaning of *σύγκρισις* and *διάκρισις*, could employ an expression not warranted by good usage. The same mistake occurs in the case of *συγκρίνειν* and *συνέκρινεν*."

[1] *Comp. Pelop. cum Marc.*, init. (Langhorne's translation).

[2] *Comp. Ages. cum Pomp.*, init. (Langhorne's translation). For further examples of this usage in Plutarch, cf. Sinko, *Studia Nazianzenica* (Acad. Cracoviensis, 1906), pp. 13 f.

[3] Ed. Rutherford, p. 344.

On the usage Lobeck remarks:[1] "This solecism, also, arose in the time of Alexander the Great. Aristotle,[2] *Rhetoric*, 1368ᵃ, 21, was the first to use *συγκρίνειν πρός τι* for *ἀντιπαραβάλλειν*."

On Lucian, *Pseudo-Sophist*, 566 f., *ἑτέρου δὲ λέγοντος, Συνεκρίνετο αὐτῷ, Καὶ διεκρίνετο πάντως, εἶπεν*, the scholiast says: "He should have said *συνεδικάζετο* or *ἠμφισβήτει*, but not *συνεκρίνετο*. For good Greek usage applies *συγκρίνεσθαι* to the meaning *to be condensed*."[3]

Hense's first example of the use of *σύγκρισις* to mean an allegorical "Redekampf" is taken from the title of a work by Meleager of Gadara, cited by Athenæus.[4] Here mention is made of Meleager's "*Σύγκρισις* of Pease-Pudding and Pease-Soup."[5] It is interesting and significant to find that Lobeck[6] classes this very passage under the meaning *comparison;* or at least quotes it in connection with passages which he plainly includes under that head. In fact, the mere title affords absolutely no evidence one way or the other. Modern opinion, however, in general regards this *syncrisis* as falling under Hense's definition.[7] It is idle to try to discover any profitable ground of comparison or contrast between two dishes so very much alike as pease-soup and pease-pudding. In their exceeding similarity, lay, perhaps, the very ground of the joke.[8]

Hense regards the *certamen* of Asellius Sabinus, mentioned by Suetonius (*Tiberius* 42[9]), as additional evidence of the character of Meleager's skit. This conclusion is, I think, entirely unwarranted.

[1] Edition of Phrynichus, s.v. *σύγκρισις*.

[2] Cf. also *Politics*, 1295ᵃ, 27, and *Hist. An.*, 622ᵇ, 20. Aristotle's example was followed by Theophrastus, *Caus. Pl.*, 4, 2. Later instances are cited from Chrysippus (see Diog. Laert., 7, 194) and Cæcilianus Siculus (*Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Αἰσχίνου*, Suidas).

[3] Cf. also Thom. Mag., *Eclogae* (ed. Ritschl, 345).

[4] Athen., Δ 157ᵇ.

[5] *ἢ μόνον ἀνέγνωτε συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ περιέχον λεκίθου καὶ φακῆς σύγκρισιν.*

[6] Note on Phrynichus, cited above.

[7] Cf. Susemihl, *Alex. Lit.*, I, 46¹⁴⁶; Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, I, 440².

[8] Pease-soup, indeed, as a favorite Cynic dish, proved a fascinating subject to more than one writer. Demetrius (*De elocut.*, 170) mentions a *φακῆς ἐγκώμιον*. Poems more or less in praise of pease-soup were apparently written by Hegemon of Thasos, Zeno the Stoic, and Timon; and one of the Menippean Satires, following a well-known proverb (see Apost., *Cent.* 13, 12, (ed. Leutsch)), bore the title *Τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον*.

[9] "Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donavit (Tiberius) pro dialogo in quo boleti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat."

We have, in fact, no real ground for supposing that the syncrisis of Meleager was couched in dialogue form at all. Yet it is on this supposed debate that Hense bases his use of the term "syncrisis" in the sense of "verbal contest," as distinguished from the meaning "comparison."

A much better example may be found in Plutarch, *Moralia*, 317^c^ ff. Here the elements of a debate in the mediæval sense are present:

> And now, methinks, . . . as from a watchtower I do look down and behold Fortune (Τύχη) and Virtue (Ἀρετή) advancing to the contest (ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα). Lowly is the bearing of Virtue and modest her look. . . . But of Fortune abrupt are the movements, bold the pride, puffed with vaingloriousness the hope.

A little later (317^e^), after enumerating the attendants of Virtue, Plutarch summarizes: *τοιοῦτος ὁ τῆς Ἀρετῆς χορὸς πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν*, using one word instead of two synonyms.[1]

The elements of a debate appear again in the tale of the *Judgment of Paris*. It is highly interesting to find this fact recognized by the ancients themselves.

Compare Athenæus IB, 510^c^: "I maintain that the *Judgment of Paris* was represented by the ancients as a syncrisis of Pleasure and Virtue."

Another instance occurs in Polybius.[2] In discussing the management of a Roman camp with reference to "visiting the rounds," he explains that each of the men who have gone the rounds brings at daybreak certain *tesserae*, received from the pickets, to the tribune on duty. If a man hands in a number less than the number of pickets he should have visited, inquiry is made as to which picket he has omitted. Then *οὗτος* [the centurion] *ἄγει τοὺς ἀποταχθέντας εἰς τὴν φυλακήν, οὗτοι δὲ συγκρίνονται πρὸς τὸν ἔφοδον.* Here *συγκρίνονται* seems to mean "they *debate* or *discuss* the matter with the patrol."

Finally, we read in Diodorus Siculus, 4. 14, in reference to the deeds of Heracles at Olympia: *αὐτὸς ἀδηρίτως ἐνίκησε, μηδενὸς τολμήσαντος αὐτῷ συγκριθῆναι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς.* The passage may be translated: "He won all the events by default,

[1] No one would deny that Plutarch differentiated between *syncrisis* and *agon*. *Syncrisis* contained two ideas, comparison and contest; *agon*, simply the latter.

[2] 6. 36. 8.

because no one dared to contend[1] against him owing to his surpassing prowess."

In Stobæus[2] we find excerpts from a Σύγκρισις Πλούτου καὶ Ἀρετῆς, attributed to Teles. Wilamowitz has clearly shown[3] that it has nothing to do with him, but is the work of an unknown author. The whole treatment may well be compared with the account given by Sextus Empiricus[4] of a similar work by Crantor. The liveliness of a mediæval debate appears to some extent when Wealth takes the floor. He "prided himself on relieving the necessities of men or accomplishing their desires, on preventing injuries, providing for bodily well-being, delighting the soul," and so on through a long list of benefits. A numerous train of attendants accompanied him. "He brought with him likewise goddesses . . . to be his advocates and witnesses,—the Pleasures, the Hopes, the Prayers, and the Desires." Love also aided him, as did Thrift and Extravagance.

The excerpts give no idea of the components of Virtue's train. Perhaps Wealth had monopolized all the available material. Virtue gives a general answer to the points made by Wealth. Thus she proves that Wealth really injures the body, for he makes men lazy and overluxurious. Wealth makes friends suspicious, children covetous, etc. Boastfulness, Arrogance, Audacity, Base Thoughts, Desires and Pleasures, Insatiable Yearning—all these evils are involved in the possession of Wealth. The judge in the contest was doubtless Zeus, for Wealth exclaims: "And thou thyself, O Zeus, hast declared Riches a necessity for men!"

This usage of the term σύγκρισις in reference to the work of the pseudo-Teles is strongly in contrast to the use of the word as a title for certain groups of parallel passages quoted by Stobæus. For example, after the Ἔπαινος Ζωῆς and the Ἔπαινος Θανάτου, consisting of quotations in praise respectively of Life and Death, follows the Σύγκρισις Ζωῆς καὶ Θανάτου, containing passages some of which praise Life and some Death. Similarly, Stobæus gives us first quotations which compose an Ἔπαινος Πλούτου.

[1] I translate the passive συγκριθῆναι as equivalent to the middle, "to measure oneself against."

[2] *Florilegium*, 91. 33 and 93. 31.

[3] *Teles*, 293 ff. (*Antigonos von Karystos*, Excurs 3).

[4] Ed. Bekker, p. 556.

Then follow a Ψόγος Πλούτου, an Ἔπαινος Πενίας and a Ψόγος Πενίας, and finally a Σύγκρισις Πενίας καὶ Πλούτου. There is no attempt at opposition ; the quotations are merely grouped according to subject matter. Yet the juxtaposition of such passages suggests how, under the hands of a rhetorician, the hackneyed ἔπαινοι and ψόγοι, so common in the schools, might be so combined as to take on the semblance of an allegorical debate. We have only to allow Wealth and Poverty, Virtue and Vice, to speak for themselves.[1]

The work entitled the *Syncrisis of Philistion*[2] *and Menander*,[3] assigned by Reich[4] to the sixth century of our era, affords an instructive parallel to Stobæus. In this syncrisis, passages of Philistion are set beside passages of Menander, which often deal with the same subject in the same way. Very often, too, the respective passages have no perceivable bearing on each other. The "contest" is reduced to a collection of quotations.[5] It is interesting, however, to note that in the rhymed introduction the sixth-century compiler of the *Philistion and Menander* considers his work in the light of an ἀγών,[6] thus adding vividness to the dull assemblage of commonplaces.

In the works of Gregory Nazianzen[7] occurs a late example of a real allegorical debate entitled the "Σύγκρισις Βίων." The opponents here are the Worldly Life and the Life of the Spirit;[8] and the agonistic nature of the poem is evident from the opening verses :

Life. Will you judge between us, stranger?
Stranger. What 's the case?
Life. The Lives are contending.

From the investigation thus far I think we may conclude that συγκρίνομαι and σύγκρισις may on occasion in late Greek, never

[1] Cf. Aphthonius, Ὅρος Συγκρίσεως (Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 42).

[2] Often wrongly attributed to "Philemon."

[3] This syncrisis is best published by Studemund in *Breslauer Lektionskatalog für das Sommersemester, 1887.*

[4] *Der Mimus*, II, 423 ff.

[5] Cf. the interesting development of such a collection in the Ἀγὼν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου, to be presently discussed.

[6] v. 3. Μένανδρος ὁ σοφός, νῦν πάλιν παραινέσω
v. 4. χαίρειν προστάξας τοῖς ἀκούουσιν νέοις
. . . .
v. 8. ἔχων ἀγῶνα πρὸς Φιλιστίωνα νῦν . . .

[7] Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, XXXVII, 649 ff.

[8] Cf., however, Sinko, *Studia Nazianzenica*, p. 43.

in pure Attic, convey the ideas of "to contend" and "a contest." In brief, the word, whenever used, except in the strictly literal sense, contains within itself (in solution, as it were) both the idea of comparison and the idea of contest. In general, however, the idea of comparison is predominant,[1] and this, it seems to me, is the chief disadvantage of using the term *σύγκρισις* as a classical synonym for the mediæval "debate." Even a Greek would, I think, have to decide the meaning purely from the context, and might even then be left in doubt. The other disadvantage is the lateness of its use in literature; for, as I hope in the future to show at greater length, the allegorical debate in ancient literature is by no means exclusively a product of the later school of Sophists. It owes its origin to traits inherent in Hellenic thought from the dawn of literature, and naturally manifests itself at a very early period.

The question what term to use is, in fact, a difficult one. Perhaps the general *ἀγών* would be safest. As Euripides remarks in the *Antiope*,[2]

> In every matter, of two arguments
> A contest one might make, if shrewd in speech.

II

The examples of the use of *σύγκρισις* in the sense of "debate" are largely derived from writers of the first to the fourth century of our era. It is worth while to consider briefly just why such a usage of *σύγκρισις* manifests itself at this date. The answer to the query may be obtained from a study of the rhetoricians of the period.[3]

At about this time *σύγκρισις*, with the meaning "comparison," was a rhetorical term peculiarly in vogue. Hermogenes[4] distinguishes two kinds of *συγκριτικὰ προβλήματα*: (1) the *στοχασμός*, *controversia coniecturalis*, in which the object was to establish by comparison the fact that, though it was not probable (*εἰκός*) that a

[1] The only other instances which I have noted where the idea of contest is prominent are the following: Polyb. 12. 28. 9, 32. 6. 5; Cleomedes, Περὶ Μετεώρων, B 91; Diod. Sic., 1. 58; Alciphron, 4. 14. 6.

[2] Frg. 189; cf. also Protagoras, who, according to Diog. 9. 51, πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις.

[3] The investigation, though in a different connection, has been excellently made by Sinko, *Studia Nazianzenica.*

[4] Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, III, 186.

defendant could have committed the crime charged, it was highly probable that the accuser himself was guilty of it; (2) the *ὅρος*, *constitutio definitiva*, by which it was proved, again by comparison, that the one contestant deserved reward for fulfilling certain obligations in accordance with the prescriptions laid down, whereas the other had failed to fulfill the stated requirements.[1]

Practically equivalent to the *στοχασμός* is Quintilian's *ἀντικατηγορία*, or mutual accusation,[2] in which a whole case or its details is compared with an adversary's. Under this head one may include the numerous *laudationes* and *vituperationes* in which the deeds of famous men and often of characters from epic, like Ajax and Ulysses, are compared.[3]

It is easy to perceive the agonistic element in all these comparisons,[4] and when we remember the bloodless contestants who appear in the *Declamationes* and *Controversiae* of Quintilian, Calpurnius, Flaccus, and Seneca, it is easy to see how typical, imaginary, and, finally, allegorical figures could be substituted for real human opponents.

III

To deal properly with the question that I have raised as to the age of the allegorical debate in the classics, I shall discuss briefly a few early examples. Of course, isolated early instances, like the apologue in the Ὧραι of Prodicus and the strife of the Λόγοι in the *Clouds*, are familiar enough. But the ancient allegorical debate is generally regarded as peculiarly a product of the "Second Sophistic," and it is quite true that its development was largely influenced by the revival of Rhetoric. Early in classical literature, however, tendencies toward the debate type, and even distinct instances of its use, are easy to recognize. It is noticeable also that, as soon as the form is at all realized in a writer's mind, the terms used to describe the actions of the participants are apt to be agonistic, showing the

[1] *Οἷον τοῦτο ἔστιν τὸ ἐργάσασθαί τι, ὃ πεποίηκα ἐγώ, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἅπερ εἰργάσατο. εἶτα ἐπενεγκεῖν, σὺ δὲ τούτων ἐποίησας οὐδέν.*

[2] *Inst. Orat.*, 7. 2. 22.

[3] Cf. Hermogenes, Περὶ Συγκρίσεως (Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 14): Ἡ *σύγκρισις παρείληπται . . . ἐν ἐγκωμίῳ, κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἡμῶν αὐξόντων τὰ χρηστά, παρείληπται δὲ καὶ ἐν ψόγῳ τὴν αὐτὴν παρεχομένη δύναμιν.*

[4] We have seen already (p. 80) how, to the mind of a sixth-century compiler, a mere comparison of parallel passages might contain elements of an *ἀγών*.

thought of contest rather than the idea of comparison suggested by Hense's σύγκρισις.

An example of such an allegorical debate occurs, I think, in the work known as the Ἀγών *of Homer and Hesiod.* To justify this assertion, I should like to give to the Ἀγών a somewhat extended discussion.

The Ἀγών proper, embodied in a larger work known as the *Florentine Tractate*,[1] is effectively placed in the centre of an account of the lives of the two poets. The first part of the Tractate is, in fact, merely an extract from a *Life of Homer* which the excerptor has clumsily combined with a few items concerning Hesiod, and with some remarks which date with considerable accuracy the Tractate itself.

Thus the work begins with a discussion of the birthplaces of Homer and Hesiod. Hesiod's is definitely settled as Ascra; Homer's, together with his parentage, calls for lengthy consideration. After this the excerptor continues:

> Now I shall set forth the answer which, as I have heard, the Pythia gave in the time of the divine Hadrian in regard to Homer. For when the emperor inquired whence Homer came and whose son he was, the Pythia, under divine inspiration, uttered the following hexameter verse.

It was this passage which caused the reference of the whole Ἀγών to the time of Hadrian.[2] After giving the hexameters of the Pythia's answer, the writer proceeds to deal with the question of the dates of the poets: "Some say that they were contemporaries[3] and entered into a contest against each other at Chalcis in Eubœa." Then the Tractate goes on to describe how Homer came to the oracle at Delphi:

> At the same time, Ganyctor, in the performance of funeral rites for his father, Amphidamas, king of Eubœa, issued invitations to a contest to men

[1] The Ἀγών is preserved in Cod. Laurent. LVI, 1, saec. XIII. It was first published by H. Stephanus, and most conveniently by Rzach in his edition of Hesiod. I shall refer to the work in future by its usual title of the *Florentine Tractate*. The title in the codex itself is Περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τοῦ Γένους καὶ Ἀγῶνος αὐτῶν. Confusion often arises in citations, owing to the fact that the whole work is commonly referred to as the *Agon*, whereas only ll. 58–206 should properly receive that title.

[2] So Bernhardy, *Griech. Litt.*, 3d ed., II, 265.

[3] The idea that Homer and Hesiod were contemporaries was common in antiquity. See Rohde, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXVI, 418.

distinguished not only for strength and speed, but also for bardic skill, and did them honor by making them munificent presents. . . . Distinguished citizens of Chalcis sat as judges of the contest, among whom Panedes,[1] brother of the dead king, occupied a prominent position. Now after a wonderful contest on the part of both the poets, people say that Hesiod won the prize, and that this was the way of it.[2]

Hesiod begins by asking Homer "test questions":

> "Now firstly, son of Meles, tell me, since within thy ken
> The gods placed wisest counsel, what is excellent for men."

Homer replies with the proverbial

> "Not to be born were surely for men the happiest fate;
> Or, being born, right quickly to pass through Hades' gate."

To the question *τί θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον;* Homer replies with Odyssey 9, 6 ff.:

> "For I ween there is naught more sweet that a man may attain unto
> Than when there is mirth and delight the whole glad nation through,
> And the banqueters sitting arow in the halls of the palace hear
> The march of magnificent song, and the tables are loaded with cheer,
> And the eyes of the red wine gleam as the cupbearer draweth it out
> Of the mazer, and filleth the cups of the guests as he bears it about.
> Sweetest and fairest of all such a lot to my soul doth appear."[3]

The Greeks express great admiration, and Hesiod, waxing wroth and desiring still further to test Homer's powers, begins on the riddles (*ἀπορίαι*) which form the second part of the Ἀγών:[4]

> "Muse, tell me not of vanished days or any future thing,
> And tell not of the present; choose another theme to sing."[5]

Thus limited, Homer rises to the occasion with,

> "Never at Zeus's tomb, I ween, shall sounding-footed steed
> Shatter the chariot in the race he runs for Victory's meed."

[1] *Πανήδης* (so the Papyrus), not *Πανείδης*. [2] Ll. 58 ff.
[3] Way's translation. [4] Ll. 88–131.
[5] I have here translated the passage as it appears in the Tractate:

> *Μοῦσ' ἄγε μοι τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἔοντα*
> *τῶν μὲν μηδὲν ἄειδε, σὺ δ' ἄλλης μνῆσαι ἀοιδῆς.*

The Papyrus (cf. p. 86, below) gives a better reading:

> *Μοῦσα γέ μοι [τά τ' ἔοντα*
> *τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἔοντα*
> *τῶν μὲν μηθὲν ἄειδ[ε σὺ δ' ἄλλης*
> *μνῆσαι ἀοιδῆς.*

Hesiod now tries his opponent with ἀμφίβολοι γνῶμαι, — sentences which, senseless as the challenger frames them, are to be completed by his opponent. Some of them have lost their point for us, but some we can still appreciate. For example:

> *He.* This wight was born of a brave man and a weakling
> *Ho.* *Mother*, for war is a bitter thing for women.[1]

Homer succeeds so well that Hesiod reverts to questions.[2] For example, he asks Homer the numbers of the Greeks at Troy. Homer replies, διὰ λογιστικοῦ προβλήματος:

> "Fifty the camp fires blazed, at each
> Fifty the spits, and on each
> Fifty the slices of meat;
> And the Achæans numbered
> To each slice thrice three hundred."

"An incredible number!" declares the "author" of the Tractate. At the end of this bout, all the Greeks agree that Homer has conquered and award him the crown. Panedes, however, has a secret preference for Hesiod, and now commands the poets to recite each "the finest passage from his poems."[3] Hesiod opens the contest with *Works and Days*, ll. 383–392, where the seasons of plowing and reaping are indicated. Homer begins with *Iliad*, 13, ll. 126–133; then, in the Tractate,[4] recites ll. 339–344, passages where the hosts of Achæans and Trojans oppose each other in martial array.

The contest ends. The Greeks praise Homer and decide in his favor; but King Panedes, from whose decision there is apparently no appeal, chooses Hesiod, declaring that in such a contest the poet of peaceful themes should conquer, not he who sang of war.

So, they say, Hesiod won the victory and received a bronze tripod, which he dedicated to the Muses with this inscription:

> "Hesiod to the Muses of Helicon this doth dedicate,
> For he hath conquered the divine Homer in minstrelsy."

[1] This sort of verse capping was a common feature in the recitation of scolia. Cf. Lehrs, *Quaest. Ep.*, p. 220, and Anm.; also H. Weir Smyth, *Melic Poets*, note on Folk-Song, xvi.

[2] Ἀγών, ll. 132–168.

[3] Ἀγών, ll. 169–206.

[4] The account of Tzetzes (*Vit. Hes.*, in Westermann, *Biogr. Gr.*, p. 47) proves that the verses recited by the poets from their respective works originally included much longer selections. The Hesiodic selection ends at a point three verses before a period (see *Works and Days*, loc. cit.).

The rest of the work is occupied with an account of the subsequent careers of the poets, in which the fate of Homer and the honor paid to him contrast very favorably with what fell to Hesiod's lot.

As the Florentine Tractate quotes once (l. 230) "Alcidamas in his *Museum*," and two verses from the Ἀγών (ll. 73 f.) are quoted in Stobæus, *Florilegium* (120),[1] as ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλκιδάμαντος Μουσείου, it may be regarded as practically certain that Alcidamas the rhetorician, pupil of Gorgias and rival of Isocrates, was the author of the Ἀγών in its literary form. Nietzsche has proved conclusively that the "author" of the Tractate is really only an excerptor from Alcidamas.[2] We may assume, then (this is substantially the view of Nietzsche), that the so-called author of the Tractate merely combined liberal excerpts from Alcidamas with an ordinary *Life of Homer*, which served, for instance, as his introduction. He appears in his own person only in the account of Hesiod's death from διατριβῆς (l. 220) through Εὐρυκλέους τοῦ μάντεως (l. 233), and he appears here and names Alcidamas as his source only because he wishes to oppose Alcidamas's views as to Hesiod's death to those of Eratosthenes.

A papyrus of the third century B.C.[3] gives an independent and brilliant confirmation of Nietzsche's theory as to the age of the Ἀγών. This papyrus contains a considerable fragment of the Ἀγών in substantially the same form as the Florentine Tractate, but the theory of a longer original is sustained by the fact that in the Papyrus "the connecting links were fuller and constructed with more attention to literary form. Where the *Contest* has merely Ὅμηρος or Ἡσίοδος," the new fragment "seems to have explanatory clauses." [4]

Now for the source of Alcidamas. Many writers[5] hold that the piece is merely a sophistic *tour de force* invented by Alcidamas,

[1] IV, p. 102, Mein. [2] *Rh. Mus.*, XXV, 528 ff.; XXVIII, 211 ff.

[3] Edited by J. P. Mahaffy, *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Pl. XXV, in *Cunningham Memoirs*, 1891, No. 8.

[4] One important change, perhaps not hitherto noted, is that for ἄριστον in the Tractate (l. 77) the Papyrus gives κάλλιστον. That this is correct is shown by l. 84. The reading ἀρχήν (l. 73) is confirmed by the Papyrus.

[5] Thus Nietzsche, *loc. cit.*; Bethe, *s. v.* Ἀγὼν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, 868; Kirchhoff, *Berlin Academy*, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1892, pp. 871 ff.

having its origin wholly in *Works and Days*, ll. 654 ff., and Hesiod, fragment 244 (ed. Rzach).[1] Rohde,[2] however, and Meyer,[3] with others,[4] agree that the account in our Ἀγών must rest on a far older work than that of Alcidamas. Rohde gives several proofs to support his theory, particularly the far-reaching antiquity of such questions as *τί φέρτατον; τί θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον;* and the other *Geistesspiele*. Such trials of wit engaged Mopsus and Calchas in Colophon, according to the *Melampodia*; and the *Wedding of Ceyx* gives us similar poetic conundrums. Significant also is the account of the ἀγών as practiced by the ancients in Athenæus, 10, 457 *e*. Then, too, the riddle of the lice, which Homer, says legend, failed to solve, and, failing, died of mortification, shows how early such γρῖφοι were connected with him.[5] Finally, the occurrence in Aristophanes (*Peace*, 1282 f.) of the first of the ἀμφίβολοι γνῶμαι (see Tractate, ll. 101–102) proves, as Meyer remarks,[6] that an account of the contest, or part of it, must have existed before Alcidamas.

To Rohde's arguments[7] I think I can add another. Nietzsche, namely, sees very plainly the influence of Gorgias in the account of the Ἀγών and of the death of Hesiod.[8] Alcidamas is following the principles of his master, and Homer, a poet greatly admired

[1] *Works and Days*, ll. 654 ff.:

> ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος
> χαλκίδα τ' εἰσεπέρησα . . . .
> . . . . ἔνθα μέ φημι
> ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα.

Frag. 244:

> Ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοὶ
> μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν,
> Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ.

[2] *Rh. Mus.*, XXXVI, 418, and see *Anhang*.

[3] *Hermes*, XXVII, 377.

[4] So Bergk, *Griech. Litt.*, I, 930, 931.

[5] Heraclitus knew the story. See Hippolyt., *Ref. Haer.*, p. 281, 90 ff., Mill.

[6] *Hermes*, XXVII, 377.

[7] The sequence proposed by Rohde is, as I understand him, as follows: (1) An old saga recounting Hesiod's conquest of some other bard; (2) the interpolation, suggested by this saga, of vv. 654–662 in *Works and Days*; (3) later the identification of the defeated singer as Homer; (4) a legend, growing out of this, and the foundation of our Ἀγών.

[8] Whether Alcidamas was also the source for the account of Homer's death given in the Tractate need not immediately concern us. Nietzsche and Bethe differ on this point.

by Alcidamas,[1] *really represents*, according to Nietzsche,[2] *the type of eloquence embodied in the school of Gorgias*, that is, *he is a kind of glorification of Alcidamas himself.* The chief sign of this is the emphasis laid on improvisation, the characteristic in which "Homer" most markedly excels his rival, for improvisation is particularly characteristic of Gorgian eloquence.[3] So Philostratus says in the *Lives of the Sophists:*[4] "Gorgias came into the theatre at Athens and with perfect confidence exclaimed, 'Propose a question!' . . . thus proving that he knew all subjects and would have spoken on any topic extempore." Then, too, Gorgias in Plato's dialogue[5] is proud of being able *διὰ βραχυτάτων εἰπεῖν.* Compare with this Hesiod's question in the Ἀγών (l. 159): *ἐν δ' ἐλαχίστῳ ἄριστον ἔχεις ὅ τι φύεται εἰπεῖν;* Finally, as Nietzsche remarks, "the Gorgian fondness for gnomic utterances pervades the entire Ἀγών."

Now, an obvious question presents itself. *If Homer represents Gorgias-Alcidamas, why does not Homer win?* Surely a rhetor would not, without strong reason, represent his own defeat. If I am right, the answer to the question is twofold. First, Alcidamas has based his account on an ancient, well-known, probably purely Bœotian legend recounting the victory of Hesiod. He cannot prove entirely false to it. Therefore Hesiod has to win. But, secondly, he can make this victory worthless by representing it as due entirely to the partiality of Panedes, not to Hellenic sentiment. This he does, and this is his own contribution to the tale.

Such a theory as I have just propounded will, of course, gain greatly in its appeal if traces of another version favorable to Hesiod can be discovered. Let me, then. state briefly the results of my investigations on this point.

As we have seen already, there is in the Florentine Tractate, after the account of the contest between the two poets, a passage narrating the death of Hesiod,[6] in which the anonymous compiler names his sources. This passage reads:

[1] Cf. Sengebusch, *Diss. Hom.*, I, 113 ff.

[2] Others agree; so Brzoska in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Alkidamas*, 1537.

[3] Cf. *Rh. Mus.*, XXV, 539 f., and, for the emphasis laid on improvisation by Alcidamas himself, cf. his Περὶ Σοφ., 35.

[4] Philos., *Vit. Soph.*, p. 482.

[5] *Gorgias*, p. 449 *c*; cf. *Phædrus*, p. 267 *b*.

[6] Ll. 216 ff.

Hesiod . . . came . . . to Œnoe in Locris and abode with Amphiphanes and Ganyctor, sons of Phegeus. . . . After rather a long stay in Œnoe, the young men, suspecting that Hesiod had insulted their sister, killed him and threw his body into the sea. . . . On the third day dolphins brought the corpse to land. . . . All the people ran down to the beach and, recognizing the body, buried it with mourning and set about a search for the murderers. They, fearing the people's wrath, . . . set sail for Crete. . . . But Zeus slew them with a thunderbolt and plunged them in the sea, *as Alcidamas says in his "Museum." But Eratosthenes says in his "Hesiod"* that Ctimenus and Antiphus, sons of Ganyctor, for the reason which I have mentioned above, leaped upon Hesiod and slew him as an offering to the gods who guard the rites of hospitality. As for the maid, the young men's sister, she hanged herself after the murder; but she had been seduced [not by Hesiod but] by a stranger who was a comrade of Hesiod's.

Here, in brief, we have two authorities, — Alcidamas, who tries by implication to blacken Hesiod's character, and Eratosthenes, who defends him. Now the pseudo-Plutarch, in the *Banquet of the Seven Sages* (19),[1] likewise protests Hesiod's innocence as follows:

It appears that a Milesian who had shared the hospitality enjoyed by Hesiod and his life among the Locrians secretly corrupted the daughter of his host. When the fact was detected, suspicion fell on Hesiod as being an accessory and helping to conceal the crime. *But he was in no wise responsible*, but met his end unjustly through the rage of the young men and the slanders circulated about him.

It looks, then, as if the pseudo-Plutarch had in this instance drawn from Eratosthenes. Such, in fact, is Friedel's opinion.[2]

Now turn for a moment to another section of the *Banquet*, where "Plutarch" gives his version of the contest between Homer and Hesiod. In this section (ch. 10) *Hesiod is represented as conquering Homer, the challenger, without help from Panedes*. Is it not plain that here we have a trace of the original Bœotian legend, followed by Eratosthenes, who may have been the source of pseudo-Plutarch,[3] distorted by Alcidamas, from whom, in large measure, the compiler of the Tractate derived his account? Moreover, "Plutarch" quotes substantially the verses which appear

[1] P. 162 *c*. [2] *Jahrb. für Philol.*, Suppl. X, 235 ff.

[3] But it is not really necessary to suppose that Plutarch drew from Eratosthenes. As a Bœotian, he would be interested in an old version favorable to Hesiod. Perhaps, indeed, this version was the only one that he familiarly knew. He does not speak like a man conscious of a variant account.

in the Tractate (ll. 91–95).[1] Taken in connection with the passage in the *Peace*, this would seem to imply a well-defined original with which certain popular *γρῖφοι* were associated, probably shortly before the time of Alcidamas. Alcidamas retained these *γρῖφοι*, but altered the distribution of parts, so as to make Homer win. A consideration of his purpose in so doing will lead us to the connection between his Ἀγών and the allegorical debate.

My justification for regarding the Ἀγών as a syncrisis in Hense's sense rests on my interpretation of the participants, Homer and Hesiod. Even in the oldest form of the legend we may infer that these figures were allegorical. They would represent the contest between two schools of bards, the Hesiodic and the Ionian. The story arose in Bœotia, and so it represents the victory of Hesiod and his school.

In the shape Alcidamas has given to the legend, we have seen that Homer represents the school of Gorgias and, in so far, is allegorical. Does a hidden meaning also lurk behind the figure of Hesiod, the carping catechizer? He may reasonably represent some opponent of the school of Gorgias, or of Alcidamas himself. That opponent, in my opinion, can be no other than Isocrates. In the first place, Alcidamas and Isocrates seem to have been rivals.[2] Then, too, what Alcidamas emphasizes as Homer's great distinction is his skill in improvisation. Now deficiency in this regard was, according to Spengel,[3] exactly his criticism against Isocrates. Passages in Isocrates's own works would seem to show that the gift of ready speech had been denied him. So in 5, 81 f., he says: "Of all citizens, I was born least fitted for the demands of civic life, for I had not a proper voice nor yet audacity enough to 'play to the gallery' and spatter myself with filth and utter calumnies against men in public life." And again (12, 9 f.): "I bewailed my fate . . . because I knew that my nature was too

[1] The much-discussed words, *ὥς φησι Λέσχης*, appended to "Plutarch's" quotation, are probably to be regarded as a commentator's note.

[2] Cf. Tzetzes, *Chil.*, 11, 670.

[3] Spengel, Συναγ. Τέχν., p. 174. According to Spengel such quotations as the following from Alcidamas's Περὶ Σοφιστῶν, 15, are hits at Isocrates: *δεινὸν δ' ἐστι τὸν ἀντιποιούμενον φιλοσοφίας τῆς τοῦ λέγειν καὶ παιδεύειν ἑτέρους ὑπισχνούμενον, ἂν μὲν ἔχῃ γραμματεῖον ἢ βιβλίον, δεικνύναι δύνασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν, ἂν δὲ τούτων ἄμορος γένηται, μηδὲν τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων βελτίω καθεστάναι, . . . καὶ λόγων μὲν τέχνας ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ λέγειν μηδὲ μικρὰν δύναμιν ἔχοντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ φαίνεσθαι.*

delicate for the demands of practical life, and more sensitive than it should have been; neither was it adequate nor in every respect adapted for oratory." According to Vahlen,[1] the Περὶ Σοφιστῶν of Alcidamas was a kind of polemic directed against the Κατὰ Σοφιστῶν of Isocrates. Compare, for example, with Isocrates's criticism (Κατὰ Σοφ., 9) against other Sophists: *ὥστε χεῖρον γράφοντες τοὺς λόγους ἢ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινες αὐτοσχεδιάζουσι*, the pungent words at the beginning of the Περὶ Σοφιστῶν: *ἐπειδή τινες τῶν καλουμένων σοφιστῶν ἱστορίας μὲν καὶ παιδείας ἠμελήκασι καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἀπείρως ἔχουσι, γράφειν δὲ μεμελετηκότες λόγους καὶ διὰ βιβλίων δεικνύντες τὴν αὑτῶν σοφίαν σεμνύνονται . . .*

Furthermore, we find that, in one passage at least, Isocrates betrays a rather contemptuous opinion of Homer and the tragic poets.[2] On the other hand, of the poetry of Hesiod and other didactic poets he remarks:[3] "Men say that they are the best counselors for human life; but in spite of this, they prefer to waste time over each other's follies rather than employ themselves with the precepts of these poets."

Finally, in the *Ad Demonicum* of Isocrates I have found two striking parallels to the Ἀγών.

Ἀγών, ll. 159–160.	Πρὸς Δ., § 40.
He. ἐν δ' ἐλαχίστῳ ἄριστον ἔχεις ὅτι φύεται εἰπεῖν; *Ho.* ὡς μὲν ἐμῇ γνώμῃ, φρένες ἐσθλαὶ σώμασιν ἀνδρῶν.	μέγιστον γὰρ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ νοῦς ἀγαθὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σώματι.
Ἀγών, ll. 165–166.	Πρὸς Δ., § 22.
He. πιστεῦσαι δὲ βροτοῖς ποῖον χρέος ἄξιόν ἐστιν; *Ho.* οἷς αὐτὸς κίνδυνος ἐπὶ πραχθεῖσιν ἕπηται.	περὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μηδενὶ λέγε, πλὴν ἐὰν ὁμοίως συμφέρῃ τὰς πράξεις σιωπᾶσθαι σοί τε τῷ λέγοντι κἀκείνοις τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

Less close parallels may be found between Ἀγών, ll. 157–158, and Πρὸς Δ., § 13; Ἀγών, ll. 163–164, and Πρὸς Δ., § 29.

It would almost seem, then, as if Homer's facility had actually been tested by questions drawn from his rival's precepts, and as

[1] "Der Rhetor Alkidamas," *Sitzungsber. der Wien. Akad. der Wiss.*, XLIII, 520. This article gives many other instances of the opposition between Alcidamas and Isocrates. [2] *Ad Nicoclem*, 45 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, 43.

if he had shown that he could beat Hesiod-Isocrates at his own game. Undoubtedly many sly references, no longer traceable, are hidden in other parts of the Ἀγών. This supposition has at least the merit of making Alcidamas's attitude clear. He is using Hesiod as a shelter from behind which to launch his shafts of polemic at his rival. For the same purpose he has perverted an old Bœotian legend into what we may term an allegorical debate between the orthodox school of Gorgias and Isocrates.

My next example comes from a very fragmentary poem of Corinna, transcribed by Wilamowitz.[1] As the poem is so mutilated, I translate only the most complete part.[2]

A contest is in progress before the gods between the two mountains, Helicon and Cithæron. Helicon apparently sang first,[3] but almost nothing of his performance is preserved. The theme of Cithæron's song was probably the birth of Zeus, and the most considerable of the extant fragments preserves a portion of it.

> When blesséd Rhea stole him away,
> And from the immortals he won the great honor (i.e. sovereignty).

Thus he sang. And forthwith the Muses bade the blesséd ones to cast secret votes into gold-shining urns. Verily all uprose. Most votes Cithæron gained. And quickly Hermes with loud shout proclaimed that he had won sweet victory. And the blesséd ones adorned him with garlands. . . . Of a truth he had [most] joy in the garland (i.e. the approval) of Zeus. But his adversary, Helicon, smitten with bitter woe, snatched a smooth bowlder. The mountain gave way. Then with a piteous cry he hurled it from aloft upon countless multitudes.

We may imagine a crowd of mortals looking on.

This fascinating poem is in many ways similar to the mediæval debates. Like them, it has a carefully devised setting. The procedure obviously suggests a rhapsodic contest.

Just how far the rival mountains can be considered as personified abstractions is hard to decide. Very probably they are survivals of an anthropomorphic conception of mountains, of which Wilamowitz cites other traces. Corinna may have had no consciousness of all this folklore, yet her vigorous picture suggests that she envisaged

[1] *Griech. Dichterfragmente*, II (1907), 26.
[2] My attention was called to this poem by Professor H. Weir Smyth.
[3] Or perhaps gave other proof of his prowess.

the combatants as tremendous giants, living on the peaks corresponding to their names and more or less to be regarded as their patron divinities. The *possibility* of the contest may not, then, have been altogether unthinkable to her. The mediæval writers of allegorical debates, on the other hand, are always conscious of the unreality of the contests which they depict. The setting which Corinna has given prevents her, in any case, from picturing any opposition inherent in the nature of the mountains. Like the rhapsodes, they vie merely, so far as we can judge, in recitation.

Corinna's great rival himself produced something like an allegorical debate, if Professor Gildersleeve's interpretation of *Pythian* 2, 72 ff. be correct. The suggestion, at any rate, helps to elucidate some of the numerous difficulties which beset the whole poem and affect particularly this little postscript, appended without discernible connection with the immediate context. It reads like a sermon made forcible by the dramatization of the principles involved.

"If there are not two persons," says Professor Gildersleeve,[1] "there are two voices. The poet pits the *Δίκαιος Λόγος* and the *Ἄδικος Λόγος* against each other in the forum of his own conscience. The *Δίκαιος Λόγος* speaks last and wins."

I can give Professor Gildersleeve's idea best by appending an abbreviated version of his analysis.

Δίκ. Λόγ. Show thyself as thou art.

Ἄδ. Λόγ. But the monkey, which is ever playing different parts, is a fair creature . . . in the eyes of children.

Δ. Λ. Yes . . . but not in the judgment of a Rhadamanthys, whose soul hath no delight in tricks.

Ἄδ. Λ. . . . What of foxy slanderers? They are an evil, but an evil that cannot be mastered.

Δ. Λ. But what good comes of it to Mistress Vixen?

Ἄδ. Λ. "Why," says Mistress Vixen, "I always fall on my feet."

Δ. Λ. But the citizen that hath the craft of a fox can have no weight in the state. . . .

Ἄδ. Λ. Aye, but he wheedles and worms his way through.

Δ. Λ. I don't share the confidence of your crafty models.

Ἄδ. Λ. My own creed is: Love your friends. An enemy circumvent on crooked paths.

Δ. Λ. Nay, nay. . . . Straight speech is best. . . . A straight course is best because it is in harmony with God.

[1] P. 255.

It is clear that Professor Gildersleeve somewhat exaggerates his point. The debate is not fully developed even in the poet's mind. Often, therefore, the opposition between "the two voices" is not well expressed, nor are the arguments clearly contrasted.[1] It is rather a debate in embryo, arising from Pindar's frequent habit of balancing one idea against another.[2]

I hope that by this brief study I have succeeded in giving some conception of the nature of the allegorical debate as we find it in the classics. I should particularly wish to oppose the usual theory that such debates were produced almost entirely during the revival of rhetoric in the second century of our era. My examples have shown that at least tendencies toward the debate can be traced to a much earlier period.

And this is but natural. For essential to the development of such contests is, first of all, the personification of the characters involved. Whether these characters are animate or inanimate, they are not human beings; or, if they are, they are not individuals, but types. The second important element is the Ἀγών. Now the agonistic element lay at the core of Hellenic life. The very earliest Greek literature is full of the love of argument and antithesis. Personification, too, is surely characteristic of a primitive stage of thought. It goes back to "the childlike consciousness of an inner spiritual kinship between man and beast."[3] And nowhere in ancient or modern life can we find a people more prone than the Hellenes to feel that kinship and to perpetuate it in art and literature.

[1] So Professor Smyth deems the lack of adequate adversative particles an objection to Professor Gildersleeve's solution.

[2] Cf. *Pyth.*, 4 *fin.*; *Isth.*, 6.

[3] O. Keller, "Gesch. der griech. Fabel," p. 315, in Fleckeisen, *Jahrb. für Class. Phil.*, 1862, Suppl. IV, 307–418.

THE ALLITERATIVE POEM: *DEATH AND LIFE*

By Edith Scamman

Death and Life,[1] a Middle English alliterative poem, is found in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript,[2] now preserved in the British Museum. The date of this manuscript has been put by Dr. Furnivall[3] at slightly earlier than 1650; but since it is a heterogeneous collection of poems and ballads composed at widely differing times, the manuscript merely gives us a *terminus ad quem* for the date of any poem that it contains. Dr. Furnivall believes that the dialect of the scribe was that of Lancashire. Touches of strong local feeling in favor of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Stanleys, found here and there in the Folio, make it probable that he was a native of one of these counties.

It is strange that so fine an alliterative poem as *Death and Life* has been almost entirely overlooked by the majority of Middle English students.[4] While religious and didactic in theme, it is rich in beauty and descriptive power, and, unlike many poems of

[1] This investigation was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Schofield, and has been carried on under his guidance.

[2] Ed. Hales and Furnivall, London, 1868, III, 49–75. The poem has been printed also by Arber in *The Dunbar Anthology*, London, 1901, pp. 126–141.

[3] Forewords to *Folio MS.*, I, xii–xiii.

[4] Professor Skeat provided a brief introduction to *Death and Life* for the edition of the *Folio MS.*, in which he dwelt especially on the theory suggested by Bishop Percy that *Death and Life* was written by the author of *Scottish Field*, the only other alliterative poem in the collection. In *Englische Studien*, VII (1884), 97 ff., there is an article, "Notes on 'Death and Liffe,'" by Professor F. York Powell, in which he suggests various additions and emendations to the reading of Dr. Furnivall's edition. These changes consist chiefly in corrections of letters in certain words, which render the alliteration more perfect. The most important addition made by Professor Powell is that of a full line, — "shee crosses the companye with her cleare ffingers," — which is to be inserted between lines 446 and 447 of Dr. Furnivall's edition. This line exists in the manuscript, but must have been accidentally omitted by Dr. Furnivall. Professor Manly, in his chapter "Piers the Plowman and its Sequence," in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 46, speaks briefly of the two poems, disagreeing with Professor Skeat's theory of a common authorship. With the exception of the above-mentioned articles, very little notice has been taken of the poem.

its type, shows a conscious striving for artistic effect. For this reason, as well as for its freshness and vitality, and the interest that attaches to its composition at so late a date (c. 1505), it deserves more widespread recognition and a more notable place among the writings of the time.

The poem opens with a conventional prelude, in which men are warned of the brevity of life, the inevitable coming of death, and the impossibility of taking earthly possessions or knowledge to the other world. Therefore, the writer pleads: "Begin in God to greaten your works." He then tells of his wanderings "through a fryth [wood] where flowers were many." He describes the freshness of the scene — "the still stirring streams that streamed full bright," "the breme [sound] of the birds and breath of the flowers." At length he seats himself under a hawthorn, "that hoar was of blossoms," and being weary, falls asleep.

In a dream that comes to him as he lies among the flowers, he seems to be walking upon a mountain, whence he can see afar on every side — woods, walled towns, parks, palaces, and castles. Toward the south he observes a great company of people, "knights full keen," "princes in the press proudly attired," and many squires and swains. Turning his face eastward, he beholds a wondrous lady approaching, "in kirtle and mantle of goodliest green that ever groom wore," decked with jewels, a golden crown on her head. Then follows this charming description:

> She was brighter of her blee than was the bright sun;
> her rudd redder than the rose that on the rise hangs,
> meekly smiling with her mouth and merry in her looks,
> ever laughing for love as she like would. (65 ff.)

The birds sing joyfully, the branches bow to her, the grass that was gray turns green beneath her step, even the fish in the streams rejoice. In her train are the knights Sir Comfort, Sir Hope, Sir Kind, Sir Life, Sir Liking, Sir Love, Sir Cunning, Sir Courtesy, and Sir Honor, her steward. She is attended also by Dame Mirth, Dame Meekness, Dame Mercy, and "Dalliance and Disport, two damsels full sweet" (108). The dreamer is lost in wonder of the Lady, and, kneeling before Sir Comfort, asks her name. The knight tells him that she is Lady Dame Life, who

> Hath fostered and fed thee since thou wast first born,
> And yet before thou wast born she bred in thy heart. (127 f.)

All continue to be joyful and to make merry until two o'clock in the afternoon, when a loud blast sounds from the north, the earth trembles and shakes, and "the foulest freke that formed was ever" comes near, followed by a train of attendants. She is most loathsome to look upon, — so fearful a figure that the dreamer swoons. He is cared for and cheered by the knight, Sir Comfort, who tells him that the fearful one is Dame Death. All nature is struck dead at her approach. She grinds the grass to powder; trees tremble and fall to the ground; the fish cease to swim. She strikes all of the merry company. Kings, queens, maidens, and children, old and young, learned and powerful, fall beneath her blows. She spares none.

Life in her despair cries to Heaven for aid, and God sends Countenance to comfort her and to bid Death cease. Life kisses Countenance, and, gaining fresh courage by his presence, addresses Death boldly, bidding her tell how she dare so injure God's handiwork, the object of His care, which He has blessed and bidden to thrive. Death answers that she would have kept God's commands if Adam had not broken them in the garden. She now exults in the pleasure of stopping Life's joys.

> "Bernes would be over bold bales for to want,
> the Seven Sins for to serve and set them full ever,
> and give no glory unto God that sendeth us all grace
> if the dint of my dart deared them never." (309 ff.)

She boasts of never failing in fight, giving a long list of well-known men whom she has slain, and finally adds:

> "Have not I jousted gently with Jesus of Heaven?
> He was 'fraid of my face in freshest of time.
> Yet I knocked Him on the cross and carved through His heart."
> (345 ff.)

Upon hearing these words, Life calls together her company, and, turning to Death, tells her that she has boasted too much, and that her doom is sealed. She then relates the story of Christ's harrowing hell, of His binding Lucifer, releasing the prisoners, and finally taking her with Him, and giving her "the treasure that never shall have end." Life now turns to her followers, bids them cease to fear, and assures them that if they love Mary, become

christened, and believe in the creed, she will lead them to everlasting life.

> All the dead on the ground doughtily she raiseth,
> fairer by twofold than they before were.
> With that, she hieth over the hills with hundreds full many. (447 ff.)

The dreamer awakes, wondering.

I

The poem contains no historical allusion, so that any clue to its authorship and date can be obtained only by a study of internal evidence.

Bishop Percy[1] believed, because of "similitude of style," that *Death and Life* and *Scottish Field* were written by the same author; and Professor Skeat[2] holds the same view on the ground of "remarkable similarity in the style, diction, and rhythm of the two poems." We must first, therefore, discuss this conjecture.

Scottish Field,[3] a short alliterative chronicle, deals with the achievements and victories of the Stanley family on Bosworth Field and Flodden, so that, if Professor Skeat's theory is correct, not only something regarding the author, but also the approximate date of *D. L.* can be ascertained. The author of *S. F.* speaks of himself thus:

> He was a gentleman by Iesu: that this iest made,
> which say but as he sayd: forsooth, and noe other.
> att Bagily that bearne: his bidding place had,
> his Ancetors of old time: haue yearded their longe,
> Before William Conquerour: this cuntry did inhabitt. (416 ff.)

Since *S. F.* describes the battle of Flodden, it must have been written later than 1513. The way in which mention is made of the death of the Bishop of Ely,[4] which occurred in 1515, gives the impression that he had but recently died. The reference to Lord Maxwell as making an incursion into Millfield, Percy[5]

[1] See remark by Percy, quoted in *Folio MS.*, I, 199.

[2] Skeat, *Folio MS.*, III, 49.

[3] Furnivall, *Folio MS.*, I, 199–234. *S. F.* exists in a second manuscript, in the handwriting of Queen Elizabeth's time, found among the muniments at Lyme.

[4] James Stanley, Bishop of Ely (see *S. F.*, 281–292).

[5] See *S. F.*, 140 ff., and Percy's remark quoted by Furnivall in the footnote.

thought was a mistake for Lord Home. Concerning this, Professor Hales[1] wrote: "Maxwell commanded the Scotch invasion which terminated at Solway Moss, 1542. There was, however, a Lord Maxwell killed at Flodden, who may be meant by the ballad. . . . The poem was probably composed some two or three years after the battle. . . . But the present edition may be of much later date. The confusion of Maxwell for Home seems to place it after 1542. This is one of the latest alliterative poems known."

The similarities that Professor Skeat points out between *D. L.* and *S. F.* are not peculiar to these poems, but are rather conventional usages which they share in common with other alliterative works of the Middle Ages.

1. Both poems, he tells us, have similar metre, are nearly of the same length, and are divided into two parts. — These merely external likenesses are of no value as proof, since other much earlier poems of the alliterative revival are similar in metre and form. Moreover, the metre of *D. L.* is careful and regular, while *S. F.* contains lines with almost no alliteration whatever.

2. That both poems show the authors to have been familiar with *Piers the Plowman* is not astonishing, since this was the best known of English alliterative poems and would naturally influence all subsequent works in the same style.

3. Both poems, he tells us, contain (*a*) the same free use of words, e.g. *leeds*, *frekes*, *bearnes*, *segges*, as equivalent to *men*; (*b*) the same choice of peculiar words, such as *weld* (to rule over), *keyre to* (to turn toward), *ding* (to strike); (*c*) the unusual word *nay*, as equivalent to *ne*, i.e. *nor*. — But the above synonyms for *men*, as well as several others (e.g. *wyes*, *gomes*, *wyghtes*), are used frequently by writers of the time; and numerous examples may be found in longer alliterative works, such as *Destruction of Troy*, *William of Palerne*, and *Scottish Alliterative Poems*.[2] The same is true as regards the use of *weld*, *keyre to*, and *ding*. *Weld* is often used, doubtless, in the weak sense of *have* or *possess*, but it occurs frequently with a meaning more like the Anglo-Saxon sense of *rule*. *Keyre to* (to turn toward) appears many times with the different spellings *kaire*, *kayre*, *caire*. *Ding* (to smite, to strike

[1] Hales, *Folio MS.*, I, 203 note, 210.

[2] See Amours, Introduction to *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, S. T. S., p. lxvi, for a list of synonyms of *man*.

violently down) is one of the most popular words of the poetic diction of the period, being repeated scores of times, with the various alliterative combinations, throughout Middle English writings, especially those descriptive of battle scenes. The use of *nay*, as equivalent to *ne*, i.e. *nor*, is more unusual than any other usage Professor Skeat has mentioned. It occurs, however, but once in *S. F.* and twice in *D. L.*, so that it is not a matter of much consequence. In the *S. F.* line, "there was noe wight in this world: that win it nay might" (81), it means *not* instead of *nor*. In *D. L.* it is used in phrases very similar: "Shee hath noe might, nay noe meane" (433); "Shee hath no might, nay no maine" (443).

4. Professor Skeat's final argument is drawn from a comparison of several similar lines in the two poems:

> (*a*) The red rayling roses · the riches of flowers (*D. L.*, 24),
> Rayled full of red roses: and riches enowe (*S. F.*, 26);
> (*b*) A bright burnisht blade · all bloody beronen (*D. L.*, 172),
> Till all his bright armour: was all bloudye beronen (*S. F.*, 31).

Other poems, however, reveal passages nearly parallel to these, and many similar alliterative combinations.

A passage in the *Parlement of Thre Ages* is much more similar to that of *D. L.* than the *S. F.* parallel which Professor Skeat mentions. It is, indeed, nearly identical with the *D. L.* line—"Raylede alle with rede Rose richeste of flouris" (*P. T. A.*, 119). A somewhat similar combination of *rose* and *railing* may be found in Böddeker's *Altenglische Dichtungen*, viii, 13: "Þe rose rayleþ hire rode." The following examples of the use of *bloody beronen*, while not identical with line 172 of *D. L.*, do, nevertheless, resemble it just as closely as the *S. F.* passage:

> His brand and his brade schelde al blody be-rouene.
> (*Morte Arthure*, 3946.)
>
> Tille his burliche berde was blody be-rowne.
> (*Morte Arthure*, 3971.)
>
> With batell on bothe halfes blody beronyn.
> (*Destruction of Troy*, 1328.)

Professor Skeat's argument, therefore, based on similarities of form and diction, is not valid, since he has failed to take into account the importance and widespread influence of alliterative

phraseology. Indeed, by following his line of reasoning, a case might well be made out for *Wynnere and Wastoure*,[1] a short alliterative poem of the early fourteenth century, as written by the author of *D. L.* *Wynnere and Wastoure*, furthermore, has in common with *D. L.*, not only those characteristics which are also found in *S. F.*, but several others much more obvious and important.

In form the two poems are very similar, being both divided into "fitts," and both of much the same length. They possess, however, a still greater external likeness, since both are debates between two allegorical personages, whereas *S. F.* has no elements of either a vision poem or a debate. The poem opens with a short prelude of thirty lines, about the same length as the opening of *D. L.* The dreamer wanders "bi a bonke of a bourne — under a worthiliche wodde by a wale medewe." Like the author of *D. L.*, he seats himself beside a hawthorn. The shrill calls of the birds and the "din of the depe water" prevent him from sleeping for a time, but finally, as night comes on, a strange dream comes to him:

> Me thoghte I was in the werlde I ne wiste in whate ende
> One a loueliche lande þat was ylike grene. (47 f.)

Soon the two combatants and their followers, clad in armor, and bearing richly adorned banners, come forward, and the struggle begins.

As regards form and setting, therefore, *D. L.* and *W. W.* are strikingly similar. Professor Skeat's second point, the influence of *Piers the Plowman*, must be omitted in this case, since passages in *W. W.* seem unmistakably to refer to events in the time of Edward III, thus establishing the date about 1350,[2] considerably earlier than the A text of *Piers the Plowman*. *W. W.* as well as *S. F.* contain the same free use of various synonyms for *man*, — *wight*, *wy*, *segge*, *renke*, *lede*, *beryn*; and the *Parlement of Thre Ages*, believed to have been written by the author of *W. W.*, uses still others, as *freke*, *gome*, etc. The verbs *keyre* and *ding* are found in both *W. W.* and *P. T. A.* *Weld* is found here, however, in its weak sense.

[1] Edited by Israel Gollancz, along with *Parlement of Thre Ages*, for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1897.

[2] See *W. W.*, 85–100, 206; also Gollancz, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xi.

When we turn to a comparison of the alliterative phraseology, we find that *W. W.* and *P. T. A.* contain a large number of lines almost identical with certain passages in *D. L.*:

(*a*) If thou haue pleased the prince · that paradice weldeth (*D. L.*, 13),
(*b*) It es plesynge to the prynce þat paradyse wroghte (*W. W.*, 296);

(*a*) Blossomes & burgens · breathed ffull sweete (*D. L.*, 71),
(*b*) Burgeons and blossoms and braunches full swete (*P. T. A.*, 11);

(*a*) The red rayling roses · the riches of fflowers (*D. L.*, 24),
(*b*) Raylede alle with rede Rose richeste of flouris (*P. T. A.*, 119);

(*a*) When death driueth att the doore · with his darts keene (*D. L.*, 10),
(*b*) And now is dethe at my dore that I drede moste (*P. T. A.*, 292),
(*c*) Dethe dynges one my door (*P. T. A.*, 654);

(*a*) That was comelye cladd · in kirtle and mantle (*D. L.*, 83),
(*b*) This kynge was comliche clade in kirtill and mantill (*W. W.*, 90).

This last parallel is of special significance, since the two passages seem to be quite peculiar to these poems, not being found among other alliterative works. A long list might be made of alliterative phrases common to both authors, for example: "man upon mold," *D. L.*, 134, 163, 323; *W. W.*, 172 — "negh near noon," *D. L.*, 137; *W. W.* 43 — "lighten on [at] the land," *D. L.*, 219; *W. W.*, 209 — "price of this perrie," *D. L.*, 88; *P. T. A.*, 129, 192 — "semly sight," *D. L.*, 50; *P. T. A.*, 135. If we depend merely upon similarities in form and diction, as Professor Skeat has done in the case of *S. F.*, we may likewise believe in a common authorship for *D. L.* and *W. W.;* or conclude, perhaps, that the author of *D. L.* knew *W. W.*, whereas the author of *S. F.* did not.

S. F. differs from *D. L.* far more widely than *W. W.* as regards style and treatment of material. The subject matter is, of course, very unlike, one work being merely a chronicle of battle, containing long lists of warriors, and the other a vision-poem of a debate between two allegorical personages. Yet this does not sufficiently explain the difference in style of the two. It seems incredible that a man, sensitive to beauty, and with an intense love for nature, could have written a poem such as *S. F.*, a tedious, boasting chronicle with very few enlivening touches or vivid descriptions. Such a man, had he been writing an account of a conflict, would have described in glowing terms the armor of the knights, the brilliancy of the battle-field, and would have done more to visualize the scene.

Indeed, the writer of *S. F.*, far from being resourceful, repeats several lines,[1] several descriptions[2] even, almost word for word. In *D. L.* the same alliterative phrases are occasionally repeated, but there is a something fresh and original in the grouping of the words that is totally lacking in *S. F.*[3] The vision poem is much superior in style, technique, and descriptive power.

D. L. is the work of a man desirous of writing a beautiful poem. Realizing the force of contrast, he uses it with care in the slightest details of the descriptions of the allegorical characters. Notwithstanding the conscious artistry and the conventional diction, the poem is characterized by vigor and simplicity. A sympathetic lover of nature in her varied moods, the author strives to find her real place in God's great plan. Above all else, however, his purpose was serious and didactic. The poem deals preëminently with religious matters; there is no mention of political or other notable events of his time. It is incredible that such a man would be led to write a poem of the style of *S. F.*, a carelessly-written, boasting chronicle, relating the glories of the house of Stanley. The account of the battle[4] is far from accurate, the confusion of Maxwell for Home, the situation of parts of the army, the leaders of the various wings, as well as other slight details, being incorrect.[5] These errors

[1] The following lines in *S. F.* are nearly identical: 46, 292; 10, 66; 59, 67; 87, 203.

[2] Compare the descriptions of the mornings before the two battles:

> Soone after drayned the day: and the dew falleth,
> the sun shott up full soone: and shone ouer the feilds,
> birds bradd to the bowes: and boldly thé songen;
> itt was a solace to see: for any seege liuinge.
> then euery bearne full boldlye: bowneth him to his weapons. (174 ff.)
>
> All was damped with dew: the daysies about,
> flowers flourished in the feild: faire to behold;
> birrds bradden to the boughes: and boldlye thé songen;
> it was solace to heare: for any seege liuing.
> then full boldlye on the broad hills: we busked our standards. (310 ff.)

[3] It is interesting to note that certain words and phrases are used often in *D. L.* and not at all in *S. F.*, especially since they are such as are applicable to battle scenes. "Princes in the presse," for example, is used frequently in *D. L.*, and "doleful" (either in combination with "death," or else in the adverbial form) seven times; yet neither is found in *S. F.*

[4] Andrew Lang (*A History of Scotland*, I, notes to chap. xiii) speaks of *S. F.*, in mentioning the authorities of the battle, as follows: "Scotish Feilde by a Cheshire Squire, Leigh of Baggaley Hall, written about 1515."

[5] See Hales, Introduction to *S. F.*, in *Folio MS.*, I, 205 ff., for quotations from accounts in State Papers.

may in part be due to a lack of knowledge of the facts, but come chiefly from an indifference to any attempt at accuracy. The numbers are either grossly exaggerated or underrated, and the writer is so carried away with pride and enthusiasm over the deeds of the Stanleys that he pays little attention to truth in the case. The poem is rather in the strain of a minstrel who is celebrating in song the glories of a certain House. "A gentleman by Jesu that this jest made" is surely not one who contemplates philosophical and religious questions, who strives to gain for himself, and to impart to others, the meaning of life and death.[1]

II

S. F., therefore, does not furnish us with any definite information regarding the date of *D. L.* Both poems are evidently late products of the alliterative revival. The irregularity and occasional lack of alliteration in *S. F.*, together with the rhyming couplet at the end, points to a later period when alliteration was giving place to rhyme. In *D. L.* the alliteration is kept with obvious care, which makes it probable that it is the earlier of the two poems. The most valuable clue in regard to the date must be found in a study of the possible indebtedness of the author to some other writer or writers for ideas and literary conventions. There is abundant evidence, as will be shown later, that the author was indebted primarily to *Piers the Plowman*.

While much of *D. L.* is conventional, containing characteristics which can be found throughout the vision-poems and allegorical debates of the Middle Ages, there is, however, one idea which contributes greatly to the beauty of the work, and which one other writer[2] repeats again and again throughout his poems. This

[1] Professor Manly (" Piers the Plowman and its Sequence," *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, II, 46) states the same opinion, though without discussion. "That the author of this poem," he writes, "spirited chronicle though it be, was capable of the excellence of *Death and Liffe* is hard to believe: the resemblances between the poems seem entirely superficial." This investigation was made before Professor Manly's chapter appeared.

[2] There are a few passages where the responsiveness of Nature to some higher power has been noted:

Isaiah, lv, 12: For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth into peace:

idea, which is not a part of the conventional machinery of vision descriptions, is so similar and so similarly elaborated that it seems to show the definite influence of one work upon the other.

The effect of Life and Death upon nature, especially physical nature, is thus described in *D. L.:*

> And as shee came by the bankes · the boughes eche one
> they lowted to that Ladye · and layd forth their branches.
> blossomes and burgens · breathed full sweete,
> flowers flourished in the frith · where shee forth stepedd,
> and the grasse that was gray · greened beliue;
> breme birds on the boughes · busilye did singe,
> and all the wild in the wood · winlye thé ioyed. (69 ff.)
>
> both of birds and beastes · and bearnes in the leaues;
> and fishes of the flood · faine of her were. (112 f.)

And the effect of Death:

> He stepped forth barefooted · on the bents browne,
> the greene grasse in her gate · shee grindeth all to powder,
> trees tremble for feare · and tipen to the ground,
> leaues lighten downe lowe · and leauen their might,
> fowles faylen to flee · when thé heard wapen,
> and the fishes in the flood · faylen to swimme. (192 ff.)

Two poems by William Dunbar[1] contain passages to which these in *D. L.* show a striking resemblance. In *The Thistle and*

the mountains and hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

Dante, *Purgatory*, xxviii, 7–12 (trans. Plumptre):

> And a sweet breeze towards me then did blow
> With calm unvarying course upon my face
> Not with more force than gentlest wind did show.
> Thereat the leaves, set trembling all apace,
> Bent themselves, one and all, towards the side
> Where its first shade the Holy Hill doth trace.

Mabinogion (Lady Guest's translation), ed. Nutt, p. 119:

Whoso beheld her [Olwen], was filled with her love. Four white trefoils sprung up wherever she trod. And therefore was she called Olwen.

Morte Arthure, E. E. T. S., 3366: The Duchess in Arthur's dream makes the branches yield him their fruit:

> Scho bad the bewes scholde bewe downe, and bryng to my hondes
> Of the best that they bare on brawnches so heghe.

These passages, while slightly similar in idea, are not closely parallel to *D. L.*

[1] *Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. John Small, S. T. S., 1883, II, 183, 1; Arber, *Dunbar Anthology*, p 34, 7.

the Rose, Dame Nature bade all birds and beasts to be brought to her, and also every flower:

> To her, their Maker, to make obedience,
> Full low inclining, with all due reverence. (76 f.)
>
> And every Flower of virtue, most and least,
> And every herb by field far and near,
> As they had wont, in May, from year to year. (73 ff.)

The resemblance of the *D. L.* passage to the following one from *The Golden Targe* is still greater:

> Where that I lay, o'er-covered with leaves rank,
> The merry fowlès, blissfullest of cheer,
> Salute Nature, methought, in their manner;
> And every bloom on branch, and eke on bank,
> Opened and spread their balmy leavès dank.
> Full low inclining to their Queen so clear;
> Whom of their noble nourishing they thank.[1] (93 ff.)

Not only in his secular,[2] but also in his religious poems, Dunbar introduces the same thought. In the case of the latter, the world of Nature makes obeisance to "the rose Mary, flour of flouris," or to her blessed Son. The germ of this idea is related to the "Gloria in Excelsis," and may have come to Dunbar through that source. Several other passages will suffice to show how characteristic this is of Dunbar:

> Now spring up flouris fra the rute,
> Reuert ȝow upwart naturaly,
> In honour of the blissit frute
> That raiss up fro the rose Mary;
> Lay out ȝour levis lustely,
> Fro deid tak lyfe now at the lest
> In wirschip of that Prince wirthy. (41 ff.)
>
> All fishe in flud and foull of flicht,
> Be myrthfull and mak melody:
> All "Gloria in Excelsis" cry,
> Hevin, erd, se, man, bird, and best. (51 ff.)[3]

[1] The above passages are quoted from the *Dunbar Anthology*.

[2] A similar idea is expressed in *In May as that Aurora did upspring*:

> Lo, fresche Flora hes flurest every spray,
> As natur hes hir taucht, the noble quene,
> The feild bene clothit in a new array;
> A lusty lyfe in luvis scheruice bene. (21 ff.)

[3] *Rorate Celi Desuper*.

Deth followis lyfe with gaipand mowth,
Devoring fruct and flowring grane:
All erdly joy returnis in pane. (10 ff.)[1]

In his serious poems Dunbar lays much stress on the inevitable approach of old age, sorrow, and death,[2] and especially on the fact that death spares none, — treats all men alike. The following passages from *D. L.* (*a*), and Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris* (*b*), are similar in thought and expression:

(*a*) Of dukes that were doughtye · shee dang out the braynes;
merry maydens on the mold · shee mightilye killethe;
there might no weapon them warrant · nor no walled towne.
younge children in their craddle · they dolefullye dyen;
shee spareth for no specyaltye · but spilleth the gainest. (204 ff.)

(*b*) He takis the knychtis in to feild. (21.)
Takis on the moderis breist sowkand
The bab, full of benignite. (26 f.)
He takis the campion in the stour,
The capitane closit in the tour. (29 f.)
He spairis no lord for his piscence,
Na clerk for his intelligence. (33 f.)
Sparit is nocht ther faculte.[3] (47.)

The thought that the coming of death leveled all differences in knowledge, rank, and power was universal during these centuries, so that the similarities in these passages are not in themselves especially noteworthy, but are interesting in connection with the striking parallel previously noted. It is probable, therefore, that the writer of *D. L.* knew these poems of Dunbar and was influenced by them.

Dunbar, the "rhymer," or poet laureate of Scotland, was a prominent figure, and his poems were widely familiar. *The Thistle and the Rose* was written on the ninth of May, 1503, to commemorate the marriage of Margaret of England to James IV of Scotland, which took place the following August. *The Golden Targe* has been dated shortly before this,[4] and seems to have been written with the thought of Margaret's coming to Scotland. If the

[1] *All Erdly Joy Returnis in Pane.*

[2] See *Quhome To Sall I Complene My Wo; Man, Sen Thy Lyfe Is Ay In Weir; Qwhat is this Lyfe bot ane straucht way to Deid*, etc.

[3] Cf. Think, man, *exceptioun* thair is none. (*Memento, Homo, quod cinis es!* 15.)

[4] Æneas J. Mackay, Introduction to *Poems of William Dunbar*, (S. T. S.), I, xxxv.

author of *D. L.* was indebted to Dunbar, the poem must be dated after 1503. As has been said, the difference in alliteration makes it reasonable to believe that *D. L.* was earlier than *S. F.*, which was probably composed in 1515 or 1516, and revised or added to later than 1542.[1] It is safe, therefore, to assume that *D. L.* was written in the early years of the sixteenth century and more probably during the years immediately following 1503, when Dunbar's poems were fresh in the mind of the author, so that when he began to describe Dame Life, he wove into his picture a feature characteristic of the Scotch poet.

III

The source of *D. L.* is probably *Piers the Plowman*, especially those lines in the latter poem that precede the passage on the Harrowing of Hell, relating to the struggle between Life and Death after Christ's crucifixion:

> 'For a byter bataile,' · the dede bodye seyde,
> 'Lyf and Deth in this deorknesse · her on for-doth that other,
> Ac shal no wiȝt wite witerliche · ho shal haue the mastrye,
> Er Soneday, a-boute sonne-rysynge,' · and sank with that til erthe.
> (C, XXI, 67 ff.)
>
> 'Who shal Iuste with Iesus?' quod I, · 'Iuwes or scribes?'
> 'Nay,' quod he, 'the foule fende · and Fals-dome and Deth.'
> Deth seith he shal fordo · and adown brynge
> Al that lyueth or loketh · in londe or in watere.
> Lyf seyth that he likth · and leyth his lif to wedde,
> That for al that Deth can do · with-in thre dayes. (B, XVIII, 27 ff.)

D. L. is but one of a long list of mediæval debates concerning Life and Death.[2] It differs, however, from the general tendency

[1] See Hales, Introduction to *S. F.*, *Folio MS.*, I, 210.

[2] Debates on this theme exist in various languages. The following list is incomplete, but it serves to show how universal was the treatment of this subject: Latin — Ennius, *Mors et Vita*, and Novius, *Mortis et Vitae Judicium*. These mere fragments are found in *Scenicae Rom. Poesis Fragmenta*, ed. O. Ribbeck, 1852. There is also a dialogue in Euripides's *Alcestis* between Thanatos, god of death, and Apollo. *Speculum Sapientiae*, ed. Grässe, Tübingen, 1880, a collection of mediæval fables, contains one, "De Vita et Morte" (No. I, 22). For mention of several Italian debates on life and death, see D'Ancona's *History of the Italian Drama*. Another Italian debate was entitled *Due Contrasti, uno del vivo e del morto e l'altro de l'anima e del corpo*, Florence, 1568. Especially noteworthy is

of the writings of the time, since Death is portrayed, not as opposed to Life under the title of "Everyman," "King of Life," "Natürliches Leben," a typical instance merely, but Death as struggling with the life principle, the life that is everlasting. This is opposed to the conventional manner of treatment of the Life and Death debates, but is strictly in accord with the passage in *Piers the Plowman.*

The incident of the Life and Death struggle is the most important borrowing from *Piers the Plowman*,[1] but in various details used in developing the idea the author of *D. L.* seems also to be indebted to the older poet. The situation at the opening of the vision is very similar. Like "William," the dreamer goes out on the hills and sees a great company of people.[2] The emphasis is different, however, since the dreamer in *D. L.* describes the rich class, — knights, princes, and fair ladies, — while "William" sees only the workers. Dame Life comes from the East; "William" learns that the East is the abode of Truth. The other directions used in *D. L.* more closely accord with the arrangement of the old morality plays.[3] In *P. P.* Comfort is a knight, who helps those who cry out to him for fear of Death; Pride is the standard bearer

the French *Le débat des trois morts et des trois vifs* (Montaiglon, *Recueil de poesie françoise des XV et XVI siècles*, V, 60 ff.). Hans Sachs has written two: *Die Zwei Liebhabenden und der Tod*, 1543 (Genée's *Hans Sachs*, p. 449) and *Ein Kampfgespräch zwischen dem Tod und dem natürlichen Leben*, 1533 (Hans Sachs, *Deutsche National-litteratur*, ed. Arnold, I, 167 ff.). Henryson has a dialogue, *The Ressoning betwixt Deth and Man*, Poems, ed. Smith, S. T. S., 1908, pp. 134 ff. The following well-known moralities deal with this theme: *Pride of Life*, ed. Brandl (*Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*), Strassburg, 1898; *Ludus Coventriae*, ed. Halliwell, London, 1841; *Castle of Perseverance*, ed. Furnivall and Pollard (*The Macro Plays*, E. E. T. S., 1904); and *Everyman*, ed. Hazlitt, Dodsley's Old Plays, London, 1874, I, 99 ff. To Dr. James H. Hanford I am indebted for several of the Latin and Italian references above.

[1] In the A text of *P. P.* are several passages relating to a combat between Life and Death:

> I am dwellyng with Deth · and Hunger I hatte,
> To Lyf in his lordshepe · longyth my weye
> To kyllyn him ȝif I can · theigh Kynde Wit helpe:
> I shal felle that freke · in a fewe dayes. (XII, 63 ff.)
>
> We han letteres of Lyf · he shal his lyf tyne;
> Fro Deth, that is oure duk · swyche dedis we brynge. (XII, 86 f.)

[2] Cf. *D. L.*, 50 ff., and *P. P.*, A, Prologue, 19.

[3] See Skeat, *Piers the Plowman*, II, p. 4. In the morality of Castell of Perseverance, to which he refers, the South symbolized the fleshly nature of man; the West, the world; the North, the abode of Lucifer; and the East, of God.

of Antichrist; and Life flees from Death and Pride and kisses Conscience. These details are paralleled in *D. L.*[1] The description of the Harrowing of Hell follows that in *P. P.* so closely that it is evidently indebted to it rather than to the earlier source, the old English religious poem. Sir Comfort tells the dreamer that Lady Dame Life

> Hath fostered and fed thee · sith thou was first borne,
> And yett before thou wast borne · shee bred in thy hart. (127 f.)

A parallel to this is found in the description of Lady Anima:

> For loue of that ladi · that Lyf is i-nempnet,
> That is *Anima*, that ouer al · in the bodi wandureth,
> But in the herte is hire hom · hiȝest of alle;
> Heo is lyf and ledere · and a lemmon of heuene.
> Inwit is the help that · Anima desyreth. (*P. P.*, A, X, 43 ff.)

IV

The author of *D. L.* is indebted chiefly to *P. P.* for subject and incident, even though his theme, the struggle between life and death, is prominent in the literature and art of the Middle Ages.[2]

[1] (*a*) The lorde that lyued after lust · tho alowde cryde
After Comforte, a knyghte · to come and bere his banere. (B. XX, 89 f.)

(*b*) Then I kered to a knight · Sir Comfort the good. (*D. L.*, 118.)

(*a*) Antecriste hadde thus sone · hundredes at his banere,
And Pryde it bare · boldely aboute. (B. XX, 68 f.)

(*b*) Yonder damsell is death · that dresseth her to smyte.
loe, pryde passeth before · and the price beareth. (*D. L.*, 182 f.)

(*a*) That Lyf thorw his lore · shal leue Coueityse,
And be adradde of Deth · and with-drawe hym fram Pryde,
And acorde with Conscience · and kisse her either other. (B. XX, 349 ff.)

(*b*) Then my Lady dame Liffe · shee looketh full gay,
kyreth to countenance · and him comelye thankes,
kissed kindlye that knight · then carped shee no more. (*D. L.*, 229 ff.)

[2] See Paul Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältnis erläutert an einer Ikonographie der Kirche und Synagoge*, Stuttgart, 1894, ch. 8, pp. 63 ff. Dr. Weber mentions a picture of the crucifixion in the "Evangeliar der Uota in München," dated between 1002 and 1024, in which the two combatants, Life and Death, have taken the places of Church and Synagogue at the foot of the cross. This, he says, speaks plainly for its liturgical origin. It is merely the translation into art of the sentence from the "Praefatio de Sancta Cruce" in the mass: "Aeterne Deus qui salutem humani generis in ligno crucis constituisti, ut unde mors oriebatur inde vita resurgeret; et qui in ligno vincebat

For setting, details of description, and phraseology he has borrowed freely from earlier and contemporaneous writers, and thus followed the literary tendencies of his age. As a vision *D. L.* is conventional in form and setting. The dreamer walks alone in field and wood, is delighted with the singing birds and blossoming flowers, and is lulled to sleep by the murmuring stream. From the description of Paradise in the *Divine Comedy*, down through the *Romance of the Rose*, Lydgate, the minor lyrics and vision-poems, and the great mass of Court of Love debates, are found the same conventional elements, the same vision machinery.[1]

Life is a beautiful woman, a mediæval queen. Her description in its various details resembles closely that of other women in the literature of the Middle Ages, — Dame Nature, Lady Anima, Idleness, Helen, the Virgin Mary of the religious lyrics, and Venus and Flora of the Court of Love debates and Dunbar. Her countenance "brighter than the bright sun," "her rudd redder than the rose," her light-hearted joyousness and mirth, her relation to Nature, are appropriate to her character as Queen of Life. The effect of her approach upon the flowers and branches, which has been referred to, is especially symbolic.

in ligno quoque vinceretur." He also quotes an early mediæval hymn composed by Wipo aus Burgund, court chaplain of Konrad II and Heinrich III:

Mors et Vita duello — Conflixere mirando:
Dux Vitae mortuus — Regnat vivus.

The following song, according to Dr. Weber, is still found in German hymn books:

Todt und Leben treten in Kampff
Ein starker Lew und schwaches Lamb.
Der Todt meint er hat schon gesigt
Weil Christ der Herr im Grabe ligt.

In the eleventh century artists often placed the two sets of combatants, Ecclesia and Synagoge, Vita and Mors, together beside the cross. On the ivory crucifix of the Princess Gunhilde of Denmark, 1076, the four are represented, Vita as a woman with a crown on her head, staff and book in hand; and Mors as a monster, perhaps "der starke Lew," lying on a coffin about which flames are rising. The four figures are also found in company on an ivory plate preserved in the South Kensington Museum. Here Death is a woman, holding a broken lance like the masculine figure of Death in the Uota Evangeliar. In the same way, Synagogue was often represented. Dr. Weber thinks that the two sets of combatants were often confused and intermingled. Church and Synagogue were often thought of as fighting a life-and-death struggle at the foot of the cross.

[1] For material regarding vision settings see W. A. Neilson, "Origins and Sources of the Court of Love," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VI (1899); and George L. Marsh, *Sources and Analogues of "The Flower and the Leaf*," Chicago, 1906.

Dame Death, daughter of the Devil, is pictured as a most loathly, abnormal creature:

> The foulest freke · that formed was ever,
> Both of hide and hue · and hair also.
> She was naked as my nail · both above and below.
> She was lapped about · in linen breeches. (157 ff.)
>
> For she was long and lean · and loathly to see. (162.)
>
> Her eyes faren as the fire · that in the furnace burns. (165.)
>
> Her cheeks were lean · with lips full side;
> With a marvelous mouth · full of long tusks,
> And the neb of her nose · to her navel hanged.[1] (167 ff.)

Like Life she is a crowned queen. In the description of her we see again illustrated the conscious striving of the author for balance, for artistic effect. She is made as loathly and as horrible as possible, as a contrast to the freshness and beauty of Life. The author has departed from the general tendency of the age of depicting Death as a man and as a skeleton.[2]

Death and Life shows clearly the influence of the Court of Love debates. It is, however, more serious, and the two sides are better matched. There is no judge; the decision comes through Death's own act. She brings the doom on herself when she claims to have won the victory over Christ. This Life can deny boldly since she knows it to be false.

Death and Life may, therefore, be considered as in many respects a conventional mediæval poem, — conventional in subject,

[1] Quotations from the text in the *Dunbar Anthology*.

[2] A description similar in several details is found in Tundale's vision (ed. Wagner, Halle, 1893). Here, however, the picture is not of Death, but of the foul fiends in Hell:

> Here ene were brode, and brennand as fyre,
> And þai were ful of anger and ire;
> Her mowthes were wyde þai g-apud fast. (147 ff.)
>
> Here lyppes hynge benethe here chyn,
> Here teth were longe, her throtes wyde. (152 f.)

See also *Awntyrs of Arthure* (*Scottish Alliterative Poems*, S. T. S.) for description of the ghost that came to Gawain and Gaynour:

> Bare was þe body, and blake to þe bone,
> Al bi-clagged in clay, uncomly cladde;
> Hit waried, hit wayment as a womane,
> But on hide, ne on huwe, no heling hit hadde. (105 ff.)
>
> Al glowed as a glede þe goste þere ho glides. (118.)
> Þe houndes hiȝene to þe wode, and here hede hides,
> For þe grisly goost made a gryme bere. (124 f.)

development, and diction. Its phraseology accords almost entirely with that regularly used by poets of the alliterative revival of the fourteenth century.

The poem is worthy of attention, however, for merits of its own. The author, while greatly indebted to *Piers the Plowman*, evinces a joy in the beautiful, a keen delight in the pleasures of mere sensation, which are not revealed in the earlier poem. *Piers the Plowman* is almost barren of natural description, while *Death and Life* is rich in color, form, and sound. Though modeled after the Court of Love debates and poems by Dunbar, it is still fresh and vigorous, unlike many contemporary poems influenced by French artifice. The author shows, moreover, considerable restraint in dealing with his material, a sense of balance, a desire to make of his poem a unified whole, which is unusual in religious and didactic writers of the age.

PORTRAIT OF RICHARD ROLLE

(From Cotton MS. Faustina B. VI, pt. ii, folio 8b.)

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *PRICK OF CONSCIENCE*

BY HOPE EMILY ALLEN

The authorship of the Middle English didactic poem, the *Prick of Conscience*,[1] is generally regarded as established. All modern historians of English literature ascribe it without question to the hermit, Richard Rolle of Hampole; and most, paying but little attention to Rolle's mystical works, have selected the *Prick of Conscience* for particular illustration of his style.[2] My object in this

[1] This investigation has been made under the direction of Professor Schofield, to whom I am indebted for much generous assistance. I owe my first interest in Rolle to Professor Carleton F. Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, who suggested my study of the other writings ascribed to Rolle.

[2] Ten Brink (*Hist. Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, trans. H. M. Kennedy, New York, 1889, p. 295) declares that "Richard's position in English literary history and as an English poet rests chiefly on the *Prick of Conscience*." "There is also," he writes, "a Latin version of this work. But however it may be related to the English composition, there is no doubt that Richard was the author of the latter." H. Morley (*Eng. Writers*, IV, 264–269) gives long extracts and a full description of the *Prick of Conscience*. Jusserand (*Literary History of the Eng. People*, 1895, I, 216, n. 2) writes of Rolle: "His principal composition is his poem *The Prick of Conscience*." Garnett (*Illustrated Hist. Eng. Lit.*, 1903, I, 92) remarks of Rolle: "The most important of his English works, the *Prick of Conscience*, is in rhyme and extends to seven books. It is entirely ascetic in character, a perfect representation of the mediæval view of life *as beheld from the cloister*." (The italics are mine.) The histories that have appeared since the publication of Horstman's *Yorkshire Writers* do not judge Rolle so exclusively by the *Prick of Conscience*: for his mystical works, printed and described by Horstman, have made their impression. Professor Schofield, in his *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (London, 1906, pp. 105–108), gives a just estimate of Rolle as a mystic. Rev. J. P. Whitney, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (II, 49), also recognizes Rolle's strong mysticism. Jusserand, in *L'Epopée Mystique de William Langland* (Paris, 1893, p. 213), gives some space to Rolle as a mystic. Only in the very earliest works on Rolle may one catch some glimpses of uncertainty as regards the authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*. Warton (Warton-Hazlitt, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, London, 1871, II, 242) was led, by the existence of the Latin alongside of the English versions, to wonder which was Rolle's work. He thought it possible that the hermit might be the author of the Latin treatise, but not the English translator. Warton's conjecture was taken up by Ritson in his *Bibliographia Poetica* (London, 1802, p. 36), and by J. B. Yates (p. 334) in his description of his own manuscript of the *Prick of Conscience*, published in *Archaeologia*, XIX. Yates first mentions the poem (p. 315) as "generally

paper is to show, on the contrary, that there is no basis for this ascription, and that the character of the *Prick of Conscience* is such that it cannot reasonably be attributed to an author whose authenticated works are so wholly different from it in tone and teaching. I shall further venture to suggest who the real author of the poem may be.

I

It will perhaps be useful first to describe the man to whom the *Prick of Conscience* is generally attributed. The date of his death is fixed by many manuscripts at 1349.[1] Manuscript notes also inform us that Rolle was buried at Hampole, near Doncaster, and they bear evidence to his secluded life in the title, "Richard Hermit," by which they frequently designate him.[2] He calls himself by that name, moreover, in passages of his Latin mystical works.[3] In general, however, his writings give us no autobiographical information beyond vague references to persecutions and accounts of mystical experiences.[4]

Our knowledge as to his life has been altogether derived from the *Office*[5] prepared by the nuns of Hampole in the hope of his

ascribed to Richard Rolle," but he afterwards speaks of Rolle's authorship unquestioningly. Both Ritson and Yates reject Warton's theory as to Rolle's possible authorship of the Latin and not the English version of the poem; and Ritson believes (p. 37), from a note on a Pembroke Hall manuscript, that the Latin may be a translation from the English. Horstman (*Yorkshire Writers*, II, xli, n. 1) quotes the same manuscript note from MS. Dd. iv, 50, fol. 56–98, as follows: "Iste tractatus vocatur Stimulus conscientiae, qui ab anglico in latinam a minus sciolo est translatus: si quis igitur sapiens in illo aliquos reperiat defectus, deprecor ut eos corrigat mente pia et transactori imponat." He then gives the beginning of the treatise, and concludes: "It is of course not by R. Rolle himself. Latin translations of English works are not infrequent." The slight uncertainty raised by this discussion perhaps accounts for Dr. Morris's first reference to Rolle in his preface to his (the only) edition of the poem, in 1863. His first mention of Rolle (p. 1) is as "the reputed author of the work." But that single uncertain statement is afterwards lost sight of in the confident mention of "Hampole's dialect," "Hampole's metre," etc., which appears throughout the rest of the work.

[1] Also in some manuscripts at 1348; see *Anglia*, VIII, 171. MS. Ll. i, 8, gives the date of Rolle's death in one place as 1384; in another as 1348.

[2] Cf. *Psalter*, pp. xxi–xxii; *The Thornton Romances*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Camden Soc., 1844, pp. xxx f.

[3] Cf. Horstman, II, xxix.

[4] For references see below, p. 141.

[5] First edited from the imperfect Lincoln MS. by Canon Perry, E. E. T. S., No. 20, pp. xix–xlv; ed. for the Surtees Soc., No. 75, 1882, II, Appendix 5.

canonization.[1] This *Office* was certainly written after 1383, since it includes a miracle of that date. It is not likely to be much later.[2] Three manuscripts now exist, and have been collated for the edition of the Surtees Society. The fact that as many as three manuscripts of this *Office* have been preserved, seems to show that there was considerable veneration of Rolle in private prayers, even though (since the plan for his canonization failed) he was denied the right to such honor in public.[3] Such extended use of the *Office* within a half-century after Rolle's death would strengthen its authority. In any case, since it was apparently compiled by the nuns of Hampole, among whom the hermit lived many years, and finally died, its contents are entitled to respect.

The *Office* gives us a picturesque narrative. Richard, son of William Rolle of Thornton in Yorkshire, was sent to Oxford[4] by the patronage of Archdeacon Neville. He returned home, however, at the age of nineteen, because he was all at once seized with an overpowering fear of sin and sense of the uncertainty of life. One day he suddenly asked his sister for two kirtles and his father's ulster, out of which he made for himself a hermit's dress. In

[1] In the metrical Prologue to the *Psalter* of MS. Laud Miscell. 286, the Lollard interpolations in Rolle's *Psalter* are described, and Rolle's piety is emphasized. Cf. *Psalter*, pp. 1–2.

[2] It is, in fact, dated by Mr. Whitney (*Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 51) at 1381–1382. Horstman (II, xxxiv, n. 2), without stating his reasons, remarks that the *Miracula* is a later work, by another author than the *Vita*. If this can be substantiated, the *Vita* may be earlier than 1383.

[3] Such use of the *Office* seems to have been intended at the time of its writing, for we read as follows: "Officium de Sancto Ricardo heremita, postquam fuerit ab ecclesia canonizatus, quia interim non licet publice in ecclesia cantare de eo horas canonicas, vel solempnizare festum de ipso. Potest tamen homo evidenciam habens sue eximie sanctitatis et vite eum venerari, et in orationibus privatis ejus suffragia petere, et se suis precibus commendare" (Surtees Soc., No. 75, II, col. 785). Cardinal Newman in the prospectus (written in 1843) of his *Lives of the English Saints* (printed in *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, London, 1905, note D, pp. 323 ff.) states that he has "included in the series a few holy or eminent persons, who, though not in the sacred catalogue, are recommended to our religious memory by their fame, learning, or the benefits they have conferred on posterity." Among such persons one finds "B. Richard, H. of Hampole," whose feast day is given as September 29 (*Apologia*, p. 337). Rolle's life was, of course, never written.

[4] Abbé Feret (*La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses Docteurs les plus célèbres, Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1896, III, 247–250) takes up Rolle among "les Sorbonnistes anglais" because of the note, — "Vixit in Sorbona 1326," — found on MS. 1022 de l'Arsenal (par. iii, p. 122), containing "Domus et societatis Sorbonicae historia." My attention was called to Feret's notice of Rolle by Miss M. E. Temple.

this costume he ran away to the woods, leaving his sister in the belief that he was mad. He appeared on Sunday in a parish church attended by one Sir John Dalton, a friend of his father, where he mounted unsolicited into the pulpit and preached a remarkable sermon. The sons of Sir John, who had known Rolle at Oxford, could tell their father of his character, and the knight became so much interested in Rolle that he gave him a cell on his estate, and support. In this way the career of the hermit of Hampole began. Afterwards he moved about from place to place, but, though he was subject to persecutions, he never left his profession. His reputation for holiness was very great, and his influence commensurate. He is said to have attained to such preternatural concentration that he could write or meditate through any disturbance, and he even worked miracles. His grave in the nunnery of Hampole was the scene of more miracles, some of which are described at length in the *Office*. The tendency to ecstasy in his character is as evident in his Life as in his mystical writings. The responses as well as the narrative of the *Office* and his own mystical works agree in giving Rolle the same character of singular personal holiness.

II

We may now turn from the traditional character of Richard Rolle to the tradition that has ascribed to him the *Prick of Conscience*.[1] In this examination of the external evidence for the authorship of the poem we shall consider the *Office*, the actual manuscript attributions (so far as possible), the old bibliographies, and other old writings.

In the *Office* there is nothing that can be construed as a reference to the *Prick of Conscience*. Though the *Office* contains no formal list of Rolle's works, yet it should seem strange that in a work written solely to glorify the reputed author of the poem, so long

[1] The editions of Rolle's works used in this paper are as follows: *The Pricke of Conscience*, ed. Richard Morris, Philological Society, London, 1863; *Yorkshire Writers*, ed. C. Horstman, 2 vols., London, 1895–1896 (the prose extracts of the Thornton MS., published by Canon Perry, E. E. T. S., No. 20, 1866, are here included); *The Fire of Love* and *The Mending of Life*, trans. by Richard Misyn, Bachelor of Theology, Prior of Lincoln, Carmelite, in 1434–1435, ed. Rev. R. Harvey, E. E. T. S., No. 106, 1896; *The Psalter*, trans. by Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. H. R. Bramley, Oxford, 1884.

and popular a production, the largest original work ever ascribed to him, should be entirely neglected. Moreover, Rolle's writings are not left completely out of account. Two quotations appear from the *De Incendio Amoris*, and one from "a book found after his death." [1] There seem to be references to his work on the Scriptures, and to such pious treatises as the *Form of Living*. We read, "Verbum aeternum explicat" (col. 806); [2] "Docens morum regulam" (col. 807). The utter exclusion of any reference to the *Prick of Conscience* seems fair evidence that the compilers and users of the *Office* of Richard Rolle did not attribute that poem to their saint.

It is impossible for me at present to state definitely the proportion of manuscripts that attribute the work to Rolle. It is certain, however, that the most important ones do not.[3] The Northern manuscript Cotton Galba E. IX was chosen from ten in the British Museum as the basis of the text of Dr. Morris's edition,[4]

[1] Col. 794 (passage describing the first coming on of the mystical ecstasy, — the name of the book is here cited); col. 803 (passage describing the three grades of love, — the name of the book is here also cited); col. 797 (passage describing a temptation). In col. 796 we read also: "In sanctis exhortacionibus quibus quam plurimos convertit ad Deum, in scriptis eciam mellifluis et tractatibus ac libellis ad edificationem proximorum compositis, que omnia in cordibus devotorum dulcissimam resonent armoniam."

[2] I quote this reading from Canon Perry's text of the Lincoln MS. (E. E. T. S., No. 20, p. xl) where the stanza is, in full, as follows:

> Verbum aeternum explicat
> Ricardus dignum laudibus,
> Dum ipsum sic magnificat,
> Famâ, signis, virtutibus.

The edition of the Surtees Society, for which all the existing manuscripts were collated, gives (col. 806) the unintelligible reading "Ricardum." The text agrees otherwise with that of Canon Perry. I believe that the "Ricardum" must be a scribal error, such as would be easy because of the "um" following of "dignum." This is the first of a series of stanzas describing Rolle's piety by a series of sentences of which "Richard" is the subject. The next stanza, for example, begins:

> In vita totus innocens,
> Carnem affligat, macerat.

Any other subject than Richard for "explicat," even if the sense allowed it, would break the parallelism of the stanzas. A reference to Rolle's *Psalter* must certainly be intended.

[3] It should, perhaps, be noted that the Thornton MS. (f. 276 b) contains vv. 438–551 of the *Prick of Conscience*, without any mention of Rolle. Earlier in the manuscript (f. 192–197) occur the short prose pieces printed by Perry. These are attributed to "Richard Hermit" and "Richard the hermit of Hampole." See Horstman, I, 184–185, for a list of the contents of the Thornton MS.

[4] MS. Cotton Galba E. IX contained *lacunae*, which were filled out from MS. Harl. 4196.

and later writers acquainted with thirty-one manuscripts of the poem have agreed that it is the best. Yet it does not mention Rolle's name. Neither does Yates's Southern manuscript. Warton notes three copies in the Bodleian, in which the poem is ascribed to Robert Grosseteste,[1] and Yates notes one in the library of the Carmelites in London which attributes it "an Robt. Grosthed an Ric. Hampole."[2] Since it has been more than once stated that all English religious works of the fourteenth century that have gone astray are ascribed to Richard Rolle,[3] occasional attributions to him of the *Prick of Conscience* prove little. In the actual scarcity of such attributions, the manuscript evidence for Rolle's authorship is certainly inconclusive.

Moreover, few manuscripts attributing the poem to Rolle seem to have been discovered by the early bibliographers. Leland[4] has no mention of this work among Rolle's writings. His bibliography, to be sure, mentions only books in the Marian library at York and in that of the London Carmelites, where, however, plenty of mystical writings by the hermit were to be found. Bale's notebook[5] records one manuscript of *De Stimulo Conscientiae* in Westminster, which, to judge from the first line quoted, is in Latin prose; and

[1] Warton-Hazlitt, II, 240.

[2] *Archaeol.*, XIX, 335. Yates remarks in this connection: "Grosseteste wrote, in the Romance or French language of his time, a poem (never printed) which professes to treat of the Creation, the Redemption, the Day of Judgment, the Joys of Heaven, and the Torments of Hell. From the similarity of the subjects this mistake may have originated." The poem here referred to apparently exists in MS. Bodl. N. E. D. 69 (v. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.-Hibern.*, p. 350). It is worthy of note that William of Waddington's *Manuel des Pechiez*, from which Robert Brunne translated his *Handlyng Synne*, is attributed to Grosseteste in two manuscripts of the latter (*Handlyng Synne*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., No. 119, p. 1).

[3] Cf. *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 50; *Religious Pieces*, ed. Perry, E. E. T. S., No. 26, p. 11.

[4] John Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, Oxford, 1709, p. 348. Leland confesses that he does not mention all of Rolle's works, — "for he wrote many," — but only such as came to his hand. However, he records two books not in the two libraries mentioned. If the *Prick of Conscience* were in his day as conspicuous a work of Rolle's as it is to-day, it would certainly have been the first to be spoken of.

[5] *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, ed. R. L. Poole and Mary Bateson, Oxford, 1902, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, I, 348–351. Bale here calls Rolle "Ricardus Hampole, heremita," and "Ricardus Remyngton de Hampole," and "Richard heremita." It does not appear from what source Bale derived the name "Remyngton." At the second mention, "Rolle" is written above "Remyngton," but the latter is not deleted (p. 350, n. 1).

the *Fire of Love* and other mystical treatises by Rolle are several times noted. This information, without specific number and place of volumes found, is repeated by Bale in his bibliography.[1] Pits[2] found one book of the *Stimulus Conscientiae* in the library of Merton College, Oxford, and one in Caius College, Cambridge; also one book, *De Stimulo Conscientiae, latine*, for which the same first line is quoted as that given by Bale for his Latin *De Stimulo Conscientiae*. He gives a long account of the mystical life, and notes the *Fire of Love* in three books. Wharton[3] mentions a copy of the *Stimulus Conscientiae*, written in English verse, in the Lambeth library, and gives the titles of several mystical works. Oudin[4] also found the *Stimulus Conscientiae* in Merton College, Oxford, and Caius College, Cambridge; and Tanner[5] registers manuscripts of the same title, both in English and Latin. It will be seen that these early bibliographers do not present the solid front in regard to manuscript attribution of the *Prick of Conscience* that one would expect when the work in question, if Rolle's, is by far the largest original work of its author.

One may fairly assert that the external evidence for Rolle's authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*, as above considered, yields only doubt. But, as a matter of fact, it has been neglected in the general security given by a passage in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. That passage, which is really the chief prop of the traditional theory concerning the authorship of the poem, runs thus in Harl. MS. 1766, f. 262 (a contemporary manuscript):

> In moral mateer ful notable was Goweer
> And so was Stroode in his philosophye
> In parfight lyvyng which passith poysye
> Richard hermyte contemplatyff of sentence
> Drowh in ynglyssh the prykke of conscience.[6]

[1] John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brytanniae Catalogus*, Basel, 1557, pp. 431–432.

[2] John Pits, *De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus*, Paris, 1619, p. 466.

[3] Appendix to Cave's *Scriptorum Ecclesiae Historia*, Geneva, 1694, Secl. Wick., 24 A.

[4] *Commentarii de Scriptoribus et Scriptis Ecclesiasticis*, 1722, III, Secl. XIV, col. 928.

[5] Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. 374.

[6] As Professor Schofield has pointed out to me, it is worthy of note that Rolle's "contemplation" is emphasized in this reference, though knowledge of it could not be derived from the *Prick of Conscience*, the only work under discussion.

Professor Koeppel, in his dissertation on the *Fall of Princes*,[1] quotes the first words of the last line as, "brought in Englishe." It is "drew" in all of the five manuscripts of the British Museum which give this passage.[2] The remaining four omit almost all Lydgate's verses addressed to the Duke of Gloucester, in which these lines occur.[3]

The variation of the texts between "drew" and "brought" means little. "Drew" is found in other examples of Middle English, meaning "translated" or "compiled."[4] "Brought" is synonymous with "translated." Therefore the Lydgate passage can mean at most no more than that "Richard Hermit" "translated" or "compiled" the *Prick of Conscience*. Moreover "drew" is the word used consistently by the author. It is found once in the Prologue, four times in the Epilogue.[5] No other word is used by the author regarding his own work. Therefore the poet himself and the only real authority for Rolle's authorship agree in declaring the poem to be a translation or compilation.

That its authorship is a complicated question may be shown by the enumeration of a few facts regarding the condition of the manuscripts. Thirty-one copies of the poem have been examined

[1] *Laurents de Premierfait und John Lydgates Bearbeitungen von Boccaccios de Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, Munich, 1885, p. 99.

[2] The quotation from Harl. MS. 1766, and the references to the other early manuscripts and the printed books of the *Fall of Princes* in the British Museum, were made for me by Miss E. Margaret Thompson.

[3] A similar omission is made in Pynson's edition of 1527 and in Wayland's edition of 1528. Tottel's edition of 1551 gives the passage and the text, "Drough in Englische."

[4] The Oxford Dictionary gives the meaning: "To render into another language or style of writing; to translate." Mätzner gives the meaning, "zusammentragen, kompiliren."

[5] P. 10, l. 336: ". . . on Ynglese drawen"; p. 257, l. 9545: "In þir seven er sere materes drawen Of sere bukes . . ."; p. 257, l. 9549: ". . . Drawe I wald In Inglise tung . . ."; p. 257, l. 9575:

> Of alle þeis I haf sere maters soght,
> And in seven partes I haf þam broght,
> Als es contende in þis tretice here,
> That I haf drawen out of bukes sere.

P. 258, l. 9597: "þis tretice specialy drawen es, For to . . ."; p. 258, l. 9616: "Pray for hym specialy that it dru."

Price notes (Warton-Hazlitt, II, 242) the variant reading of "the King's MS.," which is more specific in regard to the translation. He notes also that Lydgate says no more than that Rolle translated the work.

and compared, eighteen by Dr. Percy Andreae,[1] thirteen by Professor Bülbring.[2] The result, as to establishing the text, is thus described by Professor Bülbring: "As yet no manuscript has been found which is the source of any other existing one. The whole number of sources whose existence is proved is twenty-three (the original being included); this number has been found by special inquiries into the materials of twenty-two existing manuscripts. It is remarkable that not one of all the twenty-three sources of the twenty-two remaining manuscripts is known, and that only these twenty-two apparently last copies are preserved. This fact would be surprising if we did not suppose that a considerably larger number of manuscripts, both sources and actually last copies, have been lost, or have not yet been found."[3] No one of the seven manuscripts later found by Professor Bülbring was the source of any other. All were divided into four general groups, and many seemed to belong to one group by reason of one part of the poem, to another by reason of another. Practically no one was the identical length of any other. The variations of manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience* are elsewhere described as sometimes enormous; for one is noted as adding an eighth book of the world after Doomsday, and another (Ashmole 60, of the fourteenth century) borrows fifty-eight verses from *Cursor Mundi*.[4] The three noted by Warton as bearing the name of Robert Grosseteste are "very different."[5] Again, the Latin and English works of this title noted by Pits[6] are

[1] *Die Handschriften des Prick of Conscience*, Berlin, 1888.

[2] See *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1888–1890, p. 261 (six manuscripts are here added to Andreae's eighteen); Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXVI, 386 (one manuscript is here added); *Eng. Stud.*, XXIII, 1–30 (six manuscripts are here added).

[3] *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1888–1890, p. 279.

[4] *Eng. Stud.*, XXIII, 24. — Ashmole MS. 60 is thus described in the catalogue (ed. W. H. Black, Oxford, 1845, col. 105): "This is a very valuable copy of the *Prikke of Conscience*. . . . It is well known that few manuscripts of it agree; and this copy differs materially from those above mentioned (i.e. Nos. 41 and 52), being larger, and containing longer Latin quotations in rubric (which are common in this author's work) and insertions of Latin text. . . . There is a large addition of thirty-two and one-half pages of sermonizing Latin prose, chiefly consisting of quotations from the Scriptures and the Fathers, and interspersed with English metre." The "English metre" is apparently the verses from the *Cursor Mundi*. Addit. MS. 36,983 (about 1442) contains part of the *Prick of Conscience*, viz. "nearly all of Bk. V (ll. 4085–6407), following, without indication of a break, on l. 22,004 of *Cursor Mundi*."

[5] Warton-Hazlitt, II, 240.

[6] Pits, p. 466.

given as each of one book, whereas we have the work in seven. A Southern manuscript of the *Prick of Conscience*[1] is owned by the Harvard Library. It is of the fourteenth century, beautiful in handwriting, and, except for the loss of the first three sheets, in excellent condition. This also is very much shortened. Such variations are perhaps strange in a poem of which we possess copies from the latter years of the reputed author's life.[2] Strange also is the fact noted by Dr. Morris, that of the ten manuscripts found by him in the British Museum, the oldest were among the six Southern transcriptions.[3]

It would be hard, moreover, to find the relation of the Latin and English versions of the poem. Conjectures on this matter have

[1] This manuscript, given in 1863 by Henry Tuke Parker, formerly belonged to Francis Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, and, after him, to Thomas Martin of Palgrave. It belonged also at one time to J. O. Halliwell, who described it in his *Brief Account of Theological Manuscripts* (Brixton Hill, 1854, pp. 4–5). It is an octavo volume on vellum, and retains the original board covers. The Latin quotations are written in red ink and there are many illuminated capitals.

[2] Introd. to *Prick of Conscience*, p. iv, note: "There are manuscripts (Southern) of the *Pricke of Conscience* as old as the middle of the fourteenth century, but their language is comparatively modern as compared with the Northumbrian ones of a later date.

"The fact of not finding manuscripts older than the middle of the fourteenth century would seem to show that Hampole compiled the *Pricke of Conscience* but a few years before his death (A.D. 1349)."

The best manuscripts of the *Psalter* are Northern (see A. C. Paues, *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, Cambridge, 1902, p. xli). Miss Paues (*op. cit.*) describes variations in the thirty-three manuscripts of the *Psalter* which are nearly as great as those among manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*. Particularly interesting are her quotations from manuscripts of Rolle's *Psalter*, showing Lollard interpolations. She gives (p. xxxv) several early references to Rolle's authorship of the *Psalter*. Another, not hitherto noted, is to be found in *English Reprints* (ed. Arber, No. 28, p. 177), in *A Compendious Olde Treatyse*, said to have been written about 1400 and printed in 1530 in the interests of the Reformation. Rolle's *Psalter* is there quoted from by name.— Professor Killis Campbell (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1905, p. 210) notes the existence of Bodl. MS. Rawlin. Poet. 175, dated about 1350. It is much like MS. Cotton Galba E. IX, but is complete. *The Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (v. Rolle) notes five manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience* in the Cambridge University Library, and "at least twelve" in the Bodleian.

[3] A manuscript of the *Prick of Conscience* is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 97, II, 216–220. It is of the fourteenth century and contains the ending, "Here endeth the sermon that a clerk made, that was clepyd Alquim, to Guy of Warwyk." The owner of this manuscript evidently considers "Alquim" to be the author of the poem, and the clerk of Guy of Warwick, "second Earl in the Beauchamp line," who died on the twelfth of August, 1315. There appears to be no possible connection between the *Prick of Conscience* and the well-known

already been quoted,[1] but no investigation of the subject has apparently been made. Some notion of the Latin version — one Latin version at least — can be gained from Dr. Andreae's statement[2] that one of the manuscripts listed by Morris (Harl. MS. 106) was really "only a short Latin prose tract." This is the copy said by Yates[3] to be ascribed "either to Grosseteste or Rolle." It is not impossible that a prose tract by Grosseteste may be the nucleus of the whole poem. At present, however, the relation of the Latin and English versions seems hopelessly confused.

"Sermon to Guy of Warwick" (printed Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, II, 24, and E. E. T. S., E. S. No. 75, ed. Georgiana L. Morrill). — A manuscript of University College, Oxford (No. 142, fourteenth century), contains the ending:

> Explicit stimulus consciencie
> Nomen scriptoris Thomas Plenus amoris
> Ricardus Rauf. P.L.

Ashmole MS. 61 (of the time of Henry VII) contains *Stimulus Conscientiae Minor*. Lambeth MS. 260 contains "*Stimulus consciencie interioris* per sanctum Ricardum heremitam de Hampole."

[1] These conjectures are, in full, as follows: Warton (Warton-Hazlitt, II, 242) makes the statement, "I am not in the meantime quite convinced that any manuscript of the *Pricke of Conscience* in English belongs to Hampole." Yates (*Archæol.*, XIX, 334), in answer to Warton's statement that Rolle would not translate his own work, makes the assertion that the English poem is "not a translation, but an adaptation," "an enlargement in English upon a Latin treatise." "Continual reference is made to 'the boke' and to 'the glose of the boke,' by which terms the author appears modestly to designate his own Latin treatise." Price (Warton-Hazlitt, II, 242, n. 8), after a quotation from the "King's MS." as to the translation of the *Prick of Conscience*, remarks as follows: "Indeed it would be difficult to account for the existence of two English versions, essentially differing in metre and language; though generally agreeing in matter, unless we assume a common Latin original." However, the investigations of Andreae, Bülbring, etc., seem to show large portions of the text of various manuscripts to be as much in agreement as other portions are in disagreement. This state of affairs would preclude the possibility of entirely separate translations, and point rather to extremely free use of a common text. This conclusion was early reached by Hood, a writer (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 97, II, 216–220) before quoted. After a description of his own manuscript of the poem he goes on to say (p. 216): "Some of the known copies vary so importantly in language and measure as to support a belief of there being different translations, were it not that the hard features of some passages found in common in several copies militate against such an opinion. On this point the merit or demerit of the poem need not be questioned, neither can unsettled orthography or the discrepancies of uninterested scribes be pressed forward as accounting for the multitude of variations in text, measure, and almost matter; whereby the poem bears the character almost of being rewritten by the author."

[2] Andreae, p. 5

[3] *Archæol.*, XIX, 335.

There is, furthermore, considerable confusion in the title of the work. We have *Stimulus Conscientiae* and *Prick of Conscience*, one or both, very commonly. (The manuscript printed by Morris contained both.[1]) But a Sion College copy is a *Treatise of Knowing Man's Self*, otherwise called the *Pricke of Conscience*.[2] A copy of Trinity College, Dublin, which is much shortened, is *Speculum Huius Vitae*.[3] MS. Digb. Bodl. 87 is called *The Key of Knowing*.[4] Addit. MS. 24,203, the manuscript of John de Bageby, monk of Fountains Abbey, is called *Clauis Scientiae*. This copy was apparently that described in 1816 by W. J. Walter as an *Account of a MS. of Ancient English Poetry entitled Clauis Scientiae or Bretagne's Skyll-Key of Knowing by John de Wageby, Monk of Fountains Abbey*.[5] Since MS. Cotton Galba E. IX

[1] There is no certainty that the Harvard manuscript, which has lost its first pages, was known by the usual title; for the description of the title, "prick of conscience," is not to be found in this copy either in the Prologue or the Epilogue. The explanations as to the "drawing" of the work are also lacking in this copy, as well as the invitation to clerks to correct the author's errors. The whole retrospective reference to hell in the last book is omitted (ll. 9353–9485), and the text of MS. Cotton Galba E. IX is not followed beyond l. 9530. After that occurs the following conclusion not in Morris:

> To þe whuche ioye he us brynge
> þat of nouȝt hay made alle þinge
> Amen amen so mote hyt be
> Seye we alle þo charyte. Amen.

[2] Noted by Bülbring, *Eng. Stud.*, XXIII, 2.

[3] Noted by Bülbring, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1888–1890, p. 262.

[4] Warton-Hazlitt, II, 239, n. 4.

[5] The identification of this British Museum manuscript with that in the possession of Walter is made in Warton-Hazlitt (II, 239). This Addit. MS. 24,203 has been seen by Professor Kittredge, who, with the greatest kindness, made notes of its text for my use. He verified the spelling of the monk's name as *de Bageby*, which is the form given in the catalogue of British Museum manuscripts. It is, however, given as *de Wageby* by Andreae and by Walter. Sir F. Madden, in his description of Walter's book in Warton-Hazlitt (II, 239), appears to quote Walter as writing *de Dageby*, but this reading is evidently only a typographical error, since the edition of Warton of 1840 (II, 36, n.) gives the form *de Wageby*. In any case, a photograph of the very rare pamphlet, lately presented to the Harvard Library by Professor H. N. MacCracken, shows Walter's reading to have been *de Wageby*. Professor Kittredge has noted other differences between Walter's text, as described in his *Account*, and the present Addit. MS. 24,203. There are slight differences, such as might have arisen from an imperfect understanding by Walter of the Middle English before him; but, further, Walter speaks (p. 2) of the manuscript as containing "296 pages of poetry and above 20 pages of prose." Addit. MS. 24,203 contains 300 pages of poetry and no prose. The transmutations exhibited by texts of the *Prick of Conscience* may be illustrated by quotations of a

expressly described its title in the text, a change of title means a change of text. Caius College MS. 216 (early fifteenth century) contains *Ricardi de Hampole Stimulus Amoris*, and Caius College

few lines from Morris's edition of the poem, Walter's *Account*, and Addit. MS. 24,203 (for the readings of which I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Herbert).

Morris (l. 9533 f.)

Now haf I here als I first undirtoke,
Fulfilled þe seven partes of þis boke . . .
(Here follow eleven lines describing the different books.)
Namly til lewed men of England,
þat can noght bot Inglise undirstand;
þarfor þis tretice drawe I wald
In Inglise tung þat may be cald
Prik of Conscience als men may fele,
For if a man it rede and understande wele,
And þe materes þar-in til hert wil take,
It may his conscience tendre make,
And til right way of rewel bryng it bilyfe,
And his hert til drede and mekeness dryfe.
(Here follow twenty-four lines not in the other texts.)

Walter (p. 3)

Now have I, als I undertuke,
Fulfylled the seven partys of this buke,
For leyed-men, namely of Yngelande
That noght but Yngelys understande:
Tharfor thys treytie draw I walde
In Yngelys, whylk may be calde
"*Bretayne's Skyll-Kay of Knawing*"
That may serve to ryght opponyng:
For men may oppen, and se thrugh this kay
Wat has been anceande, and sall be aye.
Of this I have sere materes wrought
And in seven partys I have them brought,
That sulde be oppened and noght spared
To make men of syne aferde.

Addit. MS. 24,203 (fol. 149)

Till lewdmene namly of yngelande
þat cane noght bot yngelys vnderstande
þarefor þis treytie drawe I walde
On yngelys whylk may be calde
Be certayne skyll kay of knawynge
þat may serue to ryght opponnynge
ffor mene may oppon t̃ se thurghe þis kay
þat has ben andeseande þ*at* sall be ay
Off þis I haue sere materes wroghte
And in vij partys I haue þam broghte
Als es contende in þis tretice here
þat I haue drwaene oute of bukes sere
Specialy of þis thynges vij
þat yhe herde me byfor neuene
þat suld be oppo*n*ne and noght sperde
To make mene of syne a ferde.

The colophon of the MS. reads:

A M E N Quod Bagby
In isto libro continent*ur* Quat*er*ni. ix*uem* *et* ϑ
Per fr*at*rem Joh*ann*em de Bageby co*mm*on*a*chu*m*
monast*erii* b*eat*e Marie de font*ibus*
Scriptoris miseri Dignar*e* deus misereri,
Nunc totam[*or* cotam = *quotam*] finio sit laus *et* gl*or*ia $\overline{\chi\rho o}$
Explicit liber Qui dicit*ur* clauis scientie

In the catalogue of British Museum manuscripts, Addit. MS. 24,203 (end of the fourteenth century) is called "Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Prick of Conscience* with alterations by John de Bageby, a monk of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire."

Halliwell (*Thornton Roms.*, p. xxii, n. 1), in commenting on William of Nassington's translation from John de Waldeby, writes as follows: "Can John de Wageby

MS. 353 contains *Stimulus Amoris Domini*, not ascribed to Rolle. Bale's notebook[1] registers *Stimulus Compassionis* of John Wylton. It might turn out to be of some importance for this question that Bodl. MS. 938[2] and MS. Arch. B. 65 are noted[3] as containing Rolle's English *Form of Living* under the title *The Prick of Love, treting of Love in Three Degres.*[4] *The Spore of Love*, called þe *Prikke of Love* in the heading, is among the minor poems of the Vernon MS.[5] *Stimulus Amoris* was, of course, the title of

in Walter's *Account of the Clauis Scientiae*, 8 vo., London, 1816, be an error for John de Waldeby? If so, it may be discovered that the *Prick of Conscience* is a translation of that author." No evidence can be found connecting John de Waldeby with the *Prick of Conscience*.

[1] *Anecd. Oxon.*, 1902, p. 275. [2] Horstman, I, 3.

[3] Warton-Hazlitt, II, 243, n. 1.

[4] It may be noted that there seem to have been three conclusions to the *Prick of Conscience*, in only the last of which the title is described; that is, we have (p. 255, ll. 9471 f.):

> Fra whilk payne and sorow God us shilde . . .
> And the right way of lyf us wisse,
> Whar-thurgh we may com til heven blysse. Amen.

The next line runs:

> Now es þe last part of þis buke sped.

Again we read (p. 256, ll. 9351 f.):

> Til whilk joyes þat has nan ende,
> God us bring when we hethen wende. Amen.

The next lines run:

> Now haf I here als I first undirtoke,
> Fulfilled þe seven partes of this boke.

In the last epilogue of almost a hundred lines that follows, the title, "Prick of Conscience," is fully described. Moreover, we read in the Prologue (p. 10, ll. 343 f.):

> When þai þis tretisce here or rede
> Þat sal prikke þair conscience withyn.

This reference, however, is not so definite as to preclude the possibility that the last Epilogue of the book may be an addition, together with the title. One has only to remember the familiar line in the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, "So priketh hem nature in hir corages," to realize how natural similar expressions might be. In any case, titles such as this were not confined to our poem. One remembers the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, as well as the other works whose titles are quoted above.

[5] This poem is strikingly like the *Prick of Conscience*, which it follows directly in the Vernon MS. The same poem follows the *Prick of Conscience* in Addit. MS. 22,283 also. It is listed in the catalogue under that manuscript as the *Prick of Love by Richard Hampole, or a Tretis of Contemplacioun and Meditacioun*. There exists also an Italian *Stimolo d'Amore*, which is in the manuscript attributed to St. Bernard, though it was probably written by Bernard of Chartres. See *Curiosita Letterarie*, No. 68, Bologna, 1866.

Bonaventura's mystical work,[1] which was translated into English prose in Addit. MS. 22,283, entitled at the end *The tretis that is cald Prikke of Loue ymaad by a frere menour Bonaventure that was a cardinal in the court at Rome*. Some confusion as to the *Prick of Conscience* may have arisen because of the existence of works of similar title.[2]

These facts will serve to show how complicated is everything connected with the *Prick of Conscience*. They indicate that it was one of those mediæval works that became almost common property — a kind of compilation, fair prey to any scribe. Evidently Rolle's authorship of the text in print cannot be established by any external evidence at present available. Its only support lies in the general careless reliance on the Lydgate quotation. Whether a translation

[1] A use of the phrase, "prick of conscience," occurs in Bonaventura's *Incendium Amoris* (ed. Lyons, 1668, VI, 184). This passage is, in part, as follows: "Ad stimulum conscientiae debet homo exercere se ipsum hoc modo meditando in via purgativa (the first stage of Christian life, according to Bonaventura). . . . Tria autem debet homo circa se circumspicere, scilicet diem mortis imminentem, sanguinem Christi recentem, & faciem iudicis praesentem. In his tribus acuitur stimulus conscientiae contra omne malum." The phrase, "prick of conscience," is, of course, a natural one with us to this day, and has been continuously used. It is used, for example, in the *Castle of Perseverance* (ed. E. E. T. S., E. S., No. 91, p. 78) and by Holinshed in his narration about Macbeth. In general, however, in the Middle Ages, the commoner phrase was "the worm of conscience." The gnawing of "the worm of conscience" was the tenth pain of hell in the *Prick of Conscience* itself (p. 190, ll. 7049 ff.). This metaphor was alive in the time of Shakespeare and occurs in his work. Benedick, for example, tells Beatrice what is "expedient for the wise (if Don Worm, his conscience, find no impediment to the contrary)"; and gnawing of the worm of conscience is part of Queen Margaret's curse (*Richard III*, I, 2, 222). A passage in St. Augustine's *City of God* (bk. xxi, chap. ix) gives the probable source of this image, in the passage in Isaiah lxvi, 24, as to going into hell . . . "where their worm dies not, and their fire is not quenched": "Now, as for this worm and this fire, they that make them only mental pains do say that the fire implies the burning of the soul. . . . And this language may be meant also by the worm. . . . Now such as hold them both mental and real, say that the fire is a bodily plague to the body, and the worm a plague of conscience to the soul. This seems more likely." (I quote from Healey's translation of the *City of God*, London, 1892.)

[2] Professor Schofield has called my attention to the confusion among manuscripts of the *Imitatio Christi*, similar to that found among manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*. The *Imitatio* appears in some texts as the *Musica Ecclesiastica* and the *Book of Internal Consolation*. In the greater number of copies it is given to Thomas à Kempis, but many give it to Walter Hylton or to Gerson, while some appear with the names of St. Bernard, Bonaventura, Kalkar, Francis de Sales, Thomas Aquinas. See Leonard A. Wheatley, *The Story of the Imitatio Christi*, London, 1891, pp. 112 f.

by Rolle, as indicated by that quotation,[1] can be considered plausible, will appear from the examination of the internal evidence regarding our question. This examination, to which we now proceed, will show that the poem is one that could hardly have been even translated by Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole and the author of mystical writings.

III

The unit chosen from the work of Richard Rolle, into comparison with which the *Prick of Conscience* will here be brought, must first be described. Something, also, must be said to establish the right to include the several works contained in that one unit. For, although all are among those the connection of which with Rolle has never been questioned, yet since this paper has been written to deny the attribution of one work commonly regarded as his, acceptance of authority in other cases ought to be explained. It is hoped that it will be made sufficiently clear why, at least, it seems necessary to believe that the works chosen are certainly the work of one person. They, rather than the *Prick of Conscience*, are ascribed to Richard Rolle, because, plainly all by a single author, they are works exactly suited to a hermit[2] such as Rolle is reputed to have been; and they are certainly referred to in the *Office*.[3]

The works that are to be included on the one side of the comparison with the *Prick of Conscience* are the Latin tracts *De Incendio Amoris* and *Emendatio Vitae*, used by me only in the literal, but awkward, translation of 1434 by Richard Misyn[4]; the

[1] It may easily be seen that the attribution to Rolle of some manuscripts may have its origin in nothing more than Lydgate's statement.

[2] As has been mentioned, Horstman quotes passages from the Latin tracts containing Rolle's name. He quotes a passage thoroughly consistent with the mystical work (II, xxix): "Ego Ricardus utique solitarius heremita vocatus, hoc quod novi assero: quoniam ille *ardentius* Deum diligit qui *igne Spiritus sancti succensus* a strepitu mundi et ab omni corporali sono quantum potest discedet." Cf. p. xxx.

[3] See above for references, pp. 119 f.

[4] See Harvey's illustrations of the closeness of the translation, E. E. T. S., No. 106, p. xiii. The Latin text of the *De Incendio Amoris* has not been accessible to me, but the Latin text of the *Emendatio Vitae* is accessible in the *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, Lyons, 1677, XXVI, 609 f., along with short Latin prose pieces of Rolle. It is given there the title, *Emendatio Peccatoris*. The other Latin pieces

three English prose epistles, written to nuns, published at the beginning of Horstman's volume;[1] the English translation and commentary on the *Psalter*, which Middendorff has shown, in a valuable dissertation,[2] to be in general a translation from Peter Lombard. The two prose meditations on the Passion[3] are not included, nor the several prose treatises of MSS. Thornton, Rawl. C. 285, Arundel 507, and Harl. 1022, thought by Horstman to be Rolle's work.[4] This is for various reasons in various cases. In the case of the meditations, which are ascribed to Rolle in unique manuscripts, — as I believe, justly, — it is not for our present purposes possible, in the general uncertainty of attributions, to trust to manuscript authority for sole security here, where the type of literature is distinctive, and cannot, by comparison of contents with other Rolle works, afford also internal evidence of authorship. In the case of the treatises, some are possessed of manuscript authority for Rolle's authorship, some are not. Those of the Thornton MS., though there seems no reason to doubt their attribution to "Richard Hermit," are all too short to afford valid internal evidence either way. The larger ones do not possess manuscript authority, and the internal evidence they afford is by no means substantial enough to outweigh that lack. All such possible work of Rolle, however, eliminated by me from this discussion, is more or less mystical, and could not assist in establishing his authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*. There will be included for use as a criterion of the Rolle canon only the *Fire of Love* and the *Mending of Life* (to call them by their English titles), and the English prose epistles, the *Form of Living* and (so called by their first lines) *The Commandment of Love to God*, and *Ego Dormio et Cor Meum Vigilat*. These, therefore, with the *Psalter*, form the unit into comparison with which we may bring the *Prick of Conscience*.

there included are too short to be used in this discussion. They are expositions of the Lord's Prayer and of the Apostles' and the Athanasian creeds; the *Nominis Jesu Encomium*; an extract from the *Fire of Love*; and a characteristic, perhaps even autobiographical, short exposition of the text *Adolescentulae dilexerunt te nimis*. The first expositions are colorless and not especially mystical; they are, however, all short, and none of them impossible for a mystic to write.

[1] I, 3–71.

[2] *Studien über Richard Rolle von Hampole*, Magdeburg, 1888.

[3] Horstman, I, 83–103.

[4] *Ibid.*, 104–172, 184–198.

Any reader will admit that these works show a striking mutual resemblance, amounting often to identity; but the general lines of likeness should, nevertheless, be pointed out. The similarity of dialect of the English mystical works, distinguishing them from the *Prick of Conscience*, will appear later. The discussion of the *Psalter* will likewise, in general, be postponed.

These writings are all of the same type of literature. They are all works of spiritual counsel, written especially in the interests of the mystical or contemplative life. The Latin treatises address themselves to all those who are eager to be "God's lovers," especially to those whose whole lives are given up to that condition. The three English epistles are addressed to special friends of Richard Rolle, all vowed to the contemplative life. The *Psalter* has always been the favorite food of the mystic, and Rolle's *Psalter*, moreover, as we shall afterwards see, abounds in mystical passages.[1] All these documents, therefore, are exactly what one would expect from a hermit vowed to the contemplative life; and they treat their common subject in a manner common to all. The same subjective manner, the same favorite aspects of the subject, the same habit of repetition,[2] appear constantly. All the treatises, now and then, break into lyric ejaculations and "songs of love" to Christ, "the lemman."[3] There is, in all of them, exhortation against overmuch abstinence no less than overmuch indulgence;[4] there is longing for death, praise of love, distrust of the "habit of holiness" *per se*.[5] The mystical ecstasy is everywhere spoken of as the rare privilege given by God, not a foregone conclusion to any achievement of virtue.[6] Rolle seems a thorough type of the mystic,

[1] Many passages might be cited from Rolle's mystical writing to show the value he set on the Psalms as aids to spirituality. Cf. *Ego Dormio* (Horstman, I, 55): "And when þou ert by þe al-ane, gyf þe mykel to say þe psalmes of þe psauter, and Pater noster, & Aue maria."

[2] Kühn (*Über die Verfasserschaft der in Horstman's Library . . . enthaltenen Gedichte*, Greifswald, 1900, p. 52) notes Rolle's habit of repetition and gives examples of parallel phrases drawn from the various works.

[3] Cf. Horstman, I, 34, 57, 60: *Fire of Love*, p. 26, ll. 24 f.; p. 76, ll. 33 f.; p. 77; p. 88; *Mending of Life*, p. 122, ll. 30 f.; *Psalter*, p. 215.

[4] Horstman, I, 6 f., 14, 26 f., 64: *Fire of Love*, p. 25, ll. 36 f.; *Mending of Life*, pp. 113–114.

[5] Horstman, I, 8, 16, 68: *Fire of Love*, p. 26, ll. 5 f.; *Mending of Life*, p. 110, ll. 24 f.

[6] Horstman, I, 42, 58: *Fire of Love*, p. 70, ll. 11 f.; p. 27, ll. 3 f.

but, for all his ecstasy, a man of largeness of temper, of independence, and considerable lucidity of mind. One gets, more than from most mediæval works, a distinct and consistent impression of the style and personality of the author. For the common characteristics of these works are not confined to the common characteristics of all works treating of mystical experience, which are well marked, and (as Mr. Inge notes in his *Christian Mysticism*[1]) practically timeless. Richard Rolle describes his mystical experience with certain eccentricities.

A matter of detail that may be called an eccentricity of the author is his confession, in the Latin *Fire of Love*[2] and the English *Form of Living*,[3] that when he "loved God" he "lufed for to sytt," rather than "gangand, or standand, or kneleand. For sittand am I in maste rest, & my hert maste vpwarde."

Again, the metaphor of the "fire of love"[4] becomes almost a hall-mark of Rolle's style. It is used in the prologue of the *Fire of Love*, which begins (p. 2, l. 5):

> Mor haue I meruayled þen I schewe. fforsothe, when I felt fyrst my hert wax warme, and treuly, not ymagynyngly, bot als it wer with sensibyll fyer, byrned . . . Oft-tymes haue I gropyd my breste, sekandly whedyr þis birnynge wer of any bodely cause vtwardly.

The metaphor is used also when Rolle describes at length the first coming on of the ecstasy in the passage quoted by the *Office*.[5] "Heat" is one of the essential elements of that crucial experience of his life, and henceforth *calor*, *canor*, and *dulcor* are the constant three characteristics of the mystical ecstasy. They appear in the

[1] W. R. Inge, *Hist. of Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899, p. 6, n. 1; pp. 104–105.

[2] P. 33, ll. 9 f.

[3] Horstman, I. 45. This is the passage quoted.

[4] This metaphor was not, of course, original with Rolle. The fact has not, I believe, hitherto been pointed out that Rolle borrows the title of the *Incendium Amoris* directly from Bonaventura's work of the same name, along with all of Bonaventura's prologue, which appears as Rolle's prologue prefaced by an apparently genuine autobiographical account of the first coming on of the "fire." Walter Hylton shows the prevalence of the metaphor in his time (doubtless due to Rolle) by feeling it necessary to explain that the fire of love is no "bodily thing"; though "some are so simple as to imagine that, because it is called a fire, that therefore it should be hot as bodily fire is" (*Scale of Perfection*, ed. J. B. Dalgairns, London, 1870, p. 31). Rolle, however, apparently believed that he felt an actual physical sensation of heat.

[5] *Fire of Love*, p. 35, ll. 37 f. The metaphor of the "fire of love" has been italicized wherever occurring in the quotations from Rolle.

Office.[1] This metaphor runs riot through all Rolle's works; we have constantly not only the "fire of love," the "burning of love," "burning as if one put his finger in the fire," but also the "slaking of love," a "molten heart," a "heart enkindled," and so on through all possible implications of the figure. It is very frequent in the *Fire of Love*. In the three short prose epistles it is present or implied thirty-six times, and in the *Psalter* fifty-four times. In the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*,[2] on the contrary, the contemplative life is described by many metaphors, but not once by the favorite one of Rolle. The favorite substitute there is that of the "light of love." Usually, in fact, Rolle's metaphor, though natural, and hence not uncommon among mystics, changes place equally with others, such as that of light, or hunger, or thirst.[3] Such an extravagant fondness as Rolle's for one figure must be said to have become an eccentricity. We have fair evidence that it was so considered in his own time, from the fact that it is constantly found in the *Office*.[4]

A comparison of Rolle's descriptions of the mystical process in the five works reveals identity of thought and eccentricity in comparison with such treatments elsewhere. The mystical doctrine of love in the *Mending of Life*,[5] the *Commandment*,[6] and the *Form of Living*[7] is described in three stages, named "insuperable," "inseparable," and "singular." In the *Fire of Love*[8] the formal divisions do not appear, though the same progressive character is given as in the other treatises. In *Ego Dormio*[9] the division into three grades is made, and the grades are there described in exactly

[1] Col. 792: "Ardet pectus ex flamma spiritus, *calor* fortis sentitur afforis: Ex quo patet fervoris exitus, et quod amor sit magni roboris. Melor *canorius* ardorem sequitur et *dulcor* ingens: Deo laus rettitur."

[2] Pp. 199, 245.

[3] The pseudo-Dionysius carefully analyzes the superior advantages of the metaphor of fire for divine things to any other, though he finds it possible to use images from many parts of the body (*Celestial Hierarchy*, XV).

[4] It has appeared in quotations above. Cf. also col. 796: "Amor monstrat *mentis incendium*"; col. 806: "Caritatis *incendio inflammat* Dei populum." Compare also the Metrical Prologue of the *Psalter* (p. 1, l. 12): "Hit makes hertys all *brennyng in luf* of god lastand aye."

[5] P. 123, l. 23 f. [6] Horstman, I, 62 f. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 31 f.

[8] Cf. p. 62, l. 3: "And so fro gre to gre þai pass"; p. 66, l. 27: "And þus als wer be degrese be giftys of þe holy goste to þe heght of godis behaldynge it ascendis." Compare also p. 81, ll. 5 f. The emphasis on the progressive character of "love of God" appears also, of course, in such titles as the *Scala Perfectionis* of Walter Hylton.

[9] Horstman, I, 52.

the terms of the other works, without the names. Rolle himself says of the contemplative man in the *Fire of Love* (p. 72, l. 16): "To slike a lufer sothely happyns in docturs writynge þat I hafe not fun expressyd." [1] Thus we have an expression from Rolle himself of the eccentricity of his mystical theory.[2]

By such examples [3] the close interconnection of these writings will be seen, as well as the author's habit of unifying his work. Their identity of authorship will now be taken for granted, and they will be used as the standard with which to bring the *Prick of Conscience* into comparison.

[1] Mystics in general describe the mystical process in three stages; cf. Inge, *Hist. Christian Mysticism*, p. 9.

[2] It seems, moreover, that we have in the treatise *On the Contemplation of the Dread and Love of God*, printed by Horstman (II, 72), a fair piece of evidence for believing in the special association of Rolle, in his own time, with the doctrine of love in three grades. That treatise, though not given to Rolle in any manuscript, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1506, under Rolle's name. His authorship is rejected by Horstman (II, xlii, n. 2) on account of the following passage reasonably thought by Horstman to be a reference to the hermit. In this passage we read (p. 74) that there were "other ful holy men of ryght late tyme whiche lyueden a ful holy lyfe. Some of these men as I haue herde and redde were vysyted by the grace of god with a passynge swetenes of the loue of cryste. . . . This loue whiche they haue wryten to other is departed in thre degrees of loue." There follows (as Horstman has noted) a description of love in three grades according to Rolle's own terms in the *Form of Living*. The third degree "is so *brennynge* . . . that who so hath that loue may as well fele the *fyer of brennynge loue in his soule as an other man may fele his fynger brenne in erthely fyre*." There follows (as Horstman notes also), apparently from *Ego Dormio*, a description of love in three grades without the names. That this passage refers to Rolle seems probable. It apparently justifies our taking the metaphor of the "fire of love" and the peculiar description of the doctrine of love as hall-marks by which to identify Rolle's mystical work when supported by all the similarities of style and substance apparent in the five prose treatises.

[3] Rolle shows also a slight favoritism for certain quotations. *Amore Langueo*, the favorite text of the mystic, occurs twice in the epistles, five times in the two Latin works. It is quoted with the connected passage from the Song of Solomon in the *Office* (col. 806). "Love is as strong as death and as hard as hell" occurs twice in the epistles, twice in the Latin works, and once in a passage later to be quoted from the *Psalter*. It occurs also once in the short *Encomium Nominis Jesu* found in the Thornton MS. (printed by Horstman, I, 186), which is there, and very often, ascribed to Rolle. It seems probable that Rolle wrote the Latin of this piece but not the English.

Since the number of quotations in the mystical works is extremely small, such a favoritism as that above described is notable. Neither quotation occurs in the *Prick of Conscience*, though the number of quotations there is extremely large.

The chapter on the *Setting of Man's Life* (*Mending of Life*, pp. 111 f.) is almost identical in its classifications with the English *Form of Living* (Horstman, I, 21 f.). This is noted by Hahn (*Quellenuntersuchungen*, p. 7).

IV

Even simple juxtaposition is effective in revealing the entire incongruity of these mystical works with the *Prick of Conscience*.[1] The difference was felt by ten Brink, though it led him to no conclusion:

> Richard's many writings deal partly with that which formed the heart of his inner life, and they aim partly, in more popular manner, at theological teaching and religious edification. He would be a guide to congenial souls in the path of asceticism and contemplation; or he strives to remind the sinner of the hollowness and misery of life, of God's majesty, kindness, and justice, and of the eternal requital of good and evil deeds.[2]

It is true that the mystical work is entirely spiritual and subjective; the *Prick of Conscience*, one may say, is entirely material and objective. The differences interpenetrate the tissue of both. These differences may be subdivided into the more mechanical differences of the author's habit and the more essential differences of his thought. All together make up the internal evidence regarding Rolle's authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*, as the matters first treated made up the external evidence.[3]

First and most mechanical of these matters concerning the author's habit must be put his dialect. Morris, Bramley, and Horstman, the editors of Rolle's English works, knowing the Yorkshire origin of the hermit, have been careful to print the purest Northern texts they could obtain. Horstman goes farther, and prints of the *Form of Living* all three Northern texts existing; of the *Ego Dormio*, the one Northern text and one mostly

[1] The extracts, both from the Latin and English works of Rolle, collected by Horstman in his introduction (*Yorkshire Writers*, II), though often used as material on which to base extravagant conclusions, are nevertheless valuable in the just impression they give of Rolle's mysticism. The same is true of the extracts printed by Middendorff.

[2] *Hist. Eng. Lit.*, I, 294.

[3] The difference in general style between the mystical works and the *Prick of Conscience* was felt also by Hahn (*Quellenuntersuchungen zu R. Rolles Schriften*, Halle, 1900, p. 46). After the remark that Horstman's praise of Rolle's originality cannot extend to the *Prick of Conscience*, for that poem "does not contain a new idea," he goes on to say: "Etwas besser dürfte es in Hinsicht auf Originalität mit den englischen Prosaschriften stehen." The literary quality of the *Prick of Conscience* has been something of a bone of contention. Warton (Warton-Hazlitt, II, 239) saw in the poem "no tincture of sentiment, imagination, or elegance." Yates and Walter (there quoted) warmly defend the poem.

Northern; of the *Commandment*, besides the single Northern text, the best Southern transcription. We should therefore be able to examine all the English works under discussion in the same dialect, the Northern, which is presumably that in which they were written. However, a thorough examination of the dialect of the *Prick of Conscience* and the other works ascribed to Rolle has not been made, though comparison in regard to certain details has revealed the existence [1] of distinct divergence in the dialect of the poem from that of the *Psalter* and epistles.

[1] The Northern "gar," for example, noted by Morris (p. viii) as "common enough in Barbour, the Cursor Mundi, and Metrical Homilies, yet never occurring either in the Psalms or Hampole," occurs in each manuscript of the short *Form of Living* eight times; in the Northern manuscripts of the other two very short epistles it occurs in each once. It is registered twenty-two times in the somewhat over five hundred pages of the *Psalter*, but a most cursory examination has revealed eleven new cases. It is registered in the York Plays (ed. L. T. Smith) twelve times; in *Piers the Plowman* (ed. Skeat, Oxford, 1886) nine times. This must seem of importance. Moreover, the Northern "never-the-latter," which Morris registers but once in the nearly ten thousand lines of the *Prick of Conscience*, where "never-the-less" is common, occurs six times in the three short mystical epistles, where "never-the-less" does not occur. "Never-the-latter" is the consistent usage of the *Psalter*. Morris notes (p. viii) the use of "swa" in the *Prick of Conscience* for the "sa" frequent in other Northern works. "Sa" is more frequent than "swa" in the three mystical epistles, but the various Northern manuscripts printed by Horstman do not always agree for this matter. The question of "swa" and "sa" was probably somewhat a matter of spelling, dependent upon the vagary of the scribe. "Gar" and "never-the-latter," however, were more probably questions (in the author's native region, at least) of vocabulary, and preserved by the scribe in the forms written by the author. In their presence in the English prose works we have fair evidence for the variant authorship of those works from the *Prick of Conscience*, in which, large as it is, they do not occur. W. Bernhardt, in a review of the *Psalter* (*Angl.*, VIII, 172), makes a short comparison of dialect between the *Psalter* and the *Prick of Conscience*. The dialect of the former (p. 172), "dem Hampole's ausserordentlich nahe steht." However, two divergencies may be noted: where A. S. *-ag* in the *Psalter* gives both *-agh* and *-aw*, the same short syllable in the *Prick of Conscience* gives only *-aw*. The same divergence appears for the A. S. *-âg*. The *Prick of Conscience* has here also only *-aw*, while the *Psalter* shows *-agh* as well. Mätzner (*Sprachproben*, I, 119) notes the divergencies in style and dialect of the Thornton treatises from the *Prick of Conscience*. Though, as has been stated above (pp. 131 f.), some of the Thornton treatises published by Perry as Rolle's have lately been shown to belong to other authors; several of the short ones apparently belong to Richard Rolle. Therefore Mätzner's observations are significant for our present inquiry. Dr. Murray (*The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1870–1872) remarks that in "the prose works attributed to Hampole in the Thornton MS." the orthography, like that in the *Prick of Conscience*, is somewhat modified by Midland English, but it is "on the whole more Northern" than in the poem.

In the consideration of vocabulary and phraseology there are elements present that render that part of the inquiry somewhat unfruitful. The subject matter is so unlike as to explain many differences of this sort. One particular may, however, be found significant against Rolle's authorship, — the fact that in the *Prick of Conscience* the metaphor of the "fire of love" is but once introduced. In the joys of heaven there are no burnings of love. But the "hill of heaven," we read,

> Es noght els bi understandyng,
> Bot haly thoght and *brynand yhernyng*,
> þat haly men had here to þat stede. (P. 244, ll. 9059 f.)

That objective statement, in what is almost the sole reference to the contemplative life in the whole poem, is such as might be natural to any writer. Further, as to this part of the comparison, the observation may perhaps be hazarded that the phraseology and vocabulary of the mystical work seem better than that of the *Prick of Conscience*. The long quotations later will present the characteristic styles of both.

There is also a difference to be easily observed in the system of construction used in the two groups. The mystical work is notably vague in its divisions, in spite of the separation into chapters that is usually present. The subjects run over from one part to another continually without remark. Repetition of all sorts, without remark, is also very frequent. But the *Prick of Conscience* of MS. Cotton Galba E. IX. is extremely systematic.[1] At the outset it is divided into books; there is a prologue and epilogue to the whole, in both of which a table of contents of the whole appears. Repetition is usually accompanied by references back to the exact location of the first mention. This difference in treatment between the mystical works and the poem is such as, in modern works at least, we should certainly put down to difference in the temperament of the authors.

Suitable, one cannot help feeling, to the methodical manner of the *Prick of Conscience*, is its verse form — four-stressed rhymed couplets. Though it is, of course, the usual verse form for sustained metrical attempts of the time, one cannot be sure of any of

[1] Ullmann, in his comparison of the *Speculum Vitae* with the *Prick of Conscience* (*Eng. Stud.*, VII, 435), remarks of the latter: "Bezeichend sind die übergange von einem passus zum andern, in welchen der inhalt des folgenden abschnitts angekündigt wird."

Richard Rolle's verse with which it may be compared. The lyrics ascribed to him in MS. Cambr. Dd. V. 64 (which are printed by Horstman) belong to him on grounds too unsettled to permit their use as a criterion here; in any case, none of them employ rhymed couplets. There remain the four devotional songs introduced into the epistles,[1] which, however, are all of an original character. They are of an extreme irregularity and mixture of metres, so that in many cases they can scarcely be written as verse; rhymed couplets do not appear in them, but their favorite verse form, on the contrary, is a sequence of four lines or more of a single rhyme. They use alliteration largely, which was used in the early Latin *Melum Contemplativum*[2] of Rolle and appears, as well, in lines of rhythmic prose introduced into *Ego Dormio*[3]; examples of alliteration in all Rolle's English prose have been collected by Dr. John Philip Schneider in his dissertation on the *Prose Style of Richard Rolle*.[4] The revival of alliteration even is claimed by Horstman for Rolle, and Professor Saintsbury, in his *History of English Prosody*,[5] declares it to be a "not impossible guess" that the revival had "something to do with the great intellectual and religious stir effected about that time by the Yorkshire hermit, Richard Rolle of Hampole." There is, however, no alliteration in the *Prick of Conscience*, though we are told that it is in narrative rather than in lyric poetry that it is generally found. This is surely a fact of importance for the question of the authorship of that poem.[6]

Ten Brink, in the passage already quoted as distinguishing the two classes of Rolle's work, goes on to notice that in the mystical work, the first class, Rolle "draws from his own experience; in the latter (the *Prick of Conscience*) entirely from books."[7] This

[1] Horstman, I, 30, 34, 57, 60. It may be noted that the eight lines surrounding Rolle's portrait contain but two rhymes. Rolle seems to have had the habit of dropping into rhyme in his prose. Horstman (see below, p. 150) notes an instance of rhyme in the *Psalter*, and the insertion of lines from one of the poems that he prints, in one of the *meditations* (I, 86). I believe that it has not hitherto been noted that this *meditation* contains two other instances of rhyme (p. 81, ll. 7 f.; p. 89, ll. 5 f.).

[2] Horstman, II, xxxvi.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 53.

[4] Baltimore, 1906.

[5] London, 1904, I, 101.

[6] The instances of alliteration collected by Ullmann from the *Prick of Conscience* (*Eng. Stud.*, VII, 444) are not sufficient to be significant. In the whole poem less than twenty instances are noted, and these are of the most insignificant sort.

[7] *Hist. Eng. Lit.*, I, 294.

observation may well introduce the consideration of the last comparison with respect to outward matters. In the use of authorities our two groups of work ascribed to Rolle are strikingly divergent. An early writer on the poem [1] remarked that his manuscript was "bloomingly erubricated with Latin quotations." As a matter of fact there are some three hundred and fifty-four citations of authority in the *Prick of Conscience*. On the other hand, in the three epistles together there are but twelve citations, and in the *Fire of Love* and the *Mending of Life* together but sixty-five. In the more than five hundred pages of the *Psalter* but eight quotations are noted by Bramley (p. xvi) outside of the Scriptures; the citations of Scripture are equally few. Yet the work is almost wholly a translation, a fact acknowledged in the phrase of the Prologue (p. 5), — "in expounding I follow holy doctors." Of the three hundred and fifty-four quotations of the *Prick of Conscience* only one hundred and twenty-six are recognizably from the Scriptures; two hundred and twenty-eight are from Church Fathers by name, or simply from "the boke" or "clerkes." Of the twelve in the epistles, seven are recognizably from the Scriptures, one from a "great doctor," one from "the wiseman," three from Fathers of the Church by name. Of the sixty-five in the Latin mystical works, one is "the sentence of the wise," one from "the play"; all the rest are either specific quotations from Scripture or recognizably such. In the use of authorities, therefore, the two groups are extremely divergent. The citations — especially those of clerical writers — become in the *Prick of Conscience* the eccentricity that the metaphor of the "fire of love" becomes in the mystical work.[2] The use of authorities in the mystical work is, for mediæval writing, sparse. It is conspicuous in its preference for Scriptural quotations. Here, then, is a deep-seated difference of habit between the writing of the two groups.

It is, moreover, worthy of remark that the twelve quotations of the epistles, all except the two *Amore languco* and *Ego Dormio et Cor Meum Vigilat*,[3] which are used practically as mottoes,

[1] Hood, *op. cit.*

[2] Ullmann (*Eng. Stud.*, VII, 433) remarks of the *Prick of Conscience:* "Der autor liebt es, zur bekräftigung der wahrheit des von ihm ausgesagten, sich entweder ganz allgemein auf die vorlage und quelle zu berufen, oder den mann, die autorität zu citiren, welche diesen oder jenen ausspruch gethan hat."

[3] Horstman, II, 29, 32, 33, 50.

appear translated directly into English. Each of these two quotations, however, appears once introduced into the text in English. Here is a notable contrast to the parade of Latinity in the *Prick of Conscience* of MS. Cotton Galba E. IX.

Indeed, the whole pompous use of authorities in that work, especially of Church Fathers and clerks, is in disagreement with Rolle's declared conviction, as well as with his habit elsewhere. Consistently, as we shall see, he speaks with indignation of the vainglorious wisdom of many clerks of his day, such as is apparent in the *Prick of Conscience*. Although, as a matter of fact, his *Psalter* is almost wholly a translation, he did not, as we have seen, parade his authority at every step, but preserved at once his accustomed modesty, and the impression of orthodoxy he thought necessary, by saying at the outset, once for all, that he followed orthodox interpretations.[1] Towards the secular clergy in general he took a patronizing attitude,[2] for contemplative men, in his opinion, were superior to those in active life.[3] It seems unlikely[4] that the man who uncompromisingly throughout his mystical work set himself above the highest prelates and reviled the vainglorious learning of clerks[5] would, in a lengthy work like the *Prick of Conscience*, seek

[1] *Psalter*, p. 5: "In expounynge i fologh haly doctours. for it may come in some enuyous man hand that knawes noght what he sould say, that will say that i wist noght what i sayd and swa doe harme til hym."

[2] Cf. *Fire of Love*, pp. 29–34, 48.

[3] It is conjectured that Rolle was persecuted by the secular clergy; cf. Middendorff (pp. 3 f.), Horstman (II, xvi, n. 1, xxiv), *Fire of Love* (pp. 26, 35, 60, 68 f., 74). After noting his "not improbable collision with the ecclesiastical authorities" (*Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 52), Mr. Whitney felt compelled to remark of Rolle (II, 55): "If he had any quarrel with the Church, it was rather with some of its theologians who did not share his philosophy than with its system, or its existing development." Whereupon he quotes the interpretation, in the *Prick of Conscience*, of "the gates of the Daughter of Zion" as the Church.

[4] The contrast is the greater, because of Rolle's real spiritual arrogance. He does not scruple to call himself a saint (Horstman, II, xxviii); cf. *Fire of Love*, p. 26, l. 29: "He þat þis joy has & in þis lyfe þus is gladdynd, of þe holy goste he is inspiryd, he may not erre; what-euer he do, leefful it is."

[5] Professor Brown's statements as to the religious attitude of the author of *The Pearl* could very well be applied to Rolle: "On the whole," he says, "it is evident that our author's attitude towards religious matters was evangelical rather than ecclesiastical." "Still more significant is our author's disregard of patristic authority and tradition. We miss the familiar 'as seynt Austen saith,' or 'thus writes the holy Gregory.' . . . Finally, one feels . . . a deep ethical fervor. . . . His intuitive sense of justice leads him to make short work of doctrinal subtleties" (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XIX, 140).

to strengthen himself at every turn by clerical references, and end the whole piece with such an invitation as this:

> And if any man þat es clerk
> Can fynde any errour in þis werk,
> I pray hym he do me þat favour,
> Þat he wille amende þat errour. (P. 258, ll. 9587 f.)

All the matters of the author's habit — dialect, phraseology, system, verse-form, use of authorities — show essential divergencies, more and less, between the two groups of work ascribed to Richard Rolle, — the mystical work and the *Prick of Conscience*. We may now pass from these more external matters of the author's habit to a comparison of the more essential matters of his thought, or subject matter.

V

The fundamental difference in substance between the mystical work and the *Prick of Conscience* is, of course, immediately apparent. The subject matter of the two groups is utterly divergent. The one is of the type of a direct "guide to holiness," — this, moreover, of a mystical character; the other, though of course indirectly spiritual, is directly of the type of the theological narrative or history. The first is such work as one might call the professional task of a hermit; the second is such as might become the labor of any religious person. The first is written particularly for that specialized class of Christians, the contemplative; the rank and file of the Church would find it above their needs. The second is written for the general Christian public; presumably the contemplative would find it below their needs. The *Psalter* is such as would be suited to both. There is, of course, nothing impossible in the supposition that a hermit, a professed mystic, might at some time turn from his mysticism to address, for the moment exclusively, the less aspiring folk of the flock. It is, however, improbable that the hermit of Hampole should so descend, for ten Brink speaks justly of his "inexorable consistency of thought and deed."[1] In this matter of the mingling of the active and the contemplative life he was peculiarly uncompromising. Other mystics of the same age did not follow him in exhorting the contemplative never to leave their contemplation. We have the epistle

[1] *Hist. Eng. Lit.*, I, 291.

urging the "mixed life," printed under Rolle's name in Mätzner's *Sprachproben*, which Horstman, who also prints it (I, 264), shows to have been written by Walter Hylton, reputed to have been a follower of Rolle. But Rolle seems to have suffered a mystical metamorphosis of his whole organism, which allows a contemplation interrupted, he often tells us, only by sleep. That he even reached sometimes a state of morbid ecstasy appears not only by his consciousness of the sensible fire of love, but also by the tale of friends changing his garments while he remained rapt and wholly unconscious.[1] This is related in the *Legenda*, where also the passage is introduced of the hallucination of a young woman. To one in ecstatic condition sufficient to receive such hallucinations the works of the active life must have seemed unessential. He himself says, in the *Mending of Life* (p. 125, l. 3):

> All my hert truly festynd in desire of Ihesu, is turnyd into *heet of lufe* & it is swaloyed Into anoþer Ioy and anodir form.[2]

As a result he earnestly and repeatedly absolves the contemplative man from the obligations of the secular clergy. The obligations of his own life are higher, sufficient, and exclusive:

> Best contemplative ar hear þen þe best actife. . . . Sum for soth, gaynsettand, says: Actife lyfe is more fruytfull, for warkis of mercy it doys, it prechis & slike oþer dedis wyrkis; Qwharfore more meritory it is. I say nay, for slyke warkis langis to accidentale rewarde, þat is, joy of þinge wroght. . . . Als oft tyems it happyns þat sum of les meed is guyd & preches; A noþer prechis not, þat mikyll more lufys: is he not þis bettir for he prechis? no: bot he þis þat more lufys, hyar & bettir is; þof he be les in prechinge, sum meed he sal haue þat þe more was not worþi for he prechid not.[3] Scheuyd þerfore

[1] *Office*, col. 797. It must be put to Rolle's credit that he never tries deliberately to reach a state of morbid ecstasy, as did so many saints of the Middle Ages. The regimen that accomplishes his mystical metamorphosis is a simple one: "þis name IHESU fest it swa fast in þi hert, þat it com neuer owt of þi thoght" (Horstman, I, 35; cf. pp. 55, 70). He earnestly seeks to dissuade his readers from excessive abstinence that may "forbreak their brains," and he bids them be suspicious of visions and dreams (Horstman, I, 12 f., 15 f.).

[2] Compare, for identical phrase, *Fire of Love*, p. 26, l. 20.

[3] This slighting reference to ordinary preaching need not be in the least inconsistent with some preaching on Rolle's own part, — in the rôle of a mystic, however, not of a priest. The sermon before Lady Dalton, that opened his career, and the "*sanctae exhortationes*" mentioned by the *Office*, were doubtless mystical discourses and as unlike ordinary preaching as the mystical treatises were unlike the *Prick of Conscience*. It would be natural that a man who wrote so much should sometimes teach *viva voce*, — to the highest, however, not the lowest in the ranks of piety.

it is, þat mane is not holyar or hear for vtward warkis þat he doys. . . . For, þe more *byrnyngly* þat a man lufys, in so mikyl to hyar reward he ascendis (p. 48, ll. 4 f.).

The writing of such a work as the *Prick of Conscience* must be regarded as analogous to the preaching of the priest in active life here mentioned; it is care of the lowest of the flock. Again Rolle, in the *Fire of Love*, is more specific about the exclusive nature of his contemplative life.

To me treuly it is I-noghe my god to lufe & to hym to cum, sen I may do non oþir nor to þe wark of oþer þinge my-self I fele disposyd bot to lufe criste. And ȝit I cum not to so grete lufe of god as myn eldar fadyrs, þe whilk also many odyr profetabill þingis has done — wharof full gretely I am a-schamyd & in my-self confusyd. O lorde, þerfore my hart make brode þat it may be more abyll þi lufe to persaue (p. 21, ll. 10 f.). Bot with-oute doute [he writes again] emang al a-statis þat ar in þe kyrk, with a speciall gift þa joy þat ar becum contemplatife, in godis lufe now wer þa worþi singandly to Ioy. if any man truly both lifys myght gett, þat is to say contemplatyfe & actife, & þame keep and fulfyll, he wer full greet, þat he bodily seruys myght fulfyll & neuer-þe-les in hym-self fele heuenly sounde. And in to Ioy of heuynly lufe syngandly he wer *multyn*. I wot not if euer any deedly man had þis: to me impossibil it semys þat both to gidyr be. Criste truly in þis party emonge men is nott to be nowmbyrd, nor his blyst modyr emong wymmen. Criste truly had no scrithyng þoghtis, & contemplatife he was not in comon maner als sayntis in þis lyf ar contemplatife; hym nedyd not treuly labyr als vs nedis, for fro þe begynnynge of his consaueing he sawe gude: . . . He, þerfore, actife life þat sarifis wele, to contemplatif lyfe he is besy to go vp. Qwho truly with gift of heuenly contemplacion in maner forsayd is raysyd, to Actif cums not down, bot if parauntyr he be compellyd, gouernans to take of cristin, — þat seldom or neuer I trow has happynd (p. 49, ll. 18 f.).

It seems incredible that the man who wrote this would devote the time and energy of writing nearly ten thousand lines of verse on most elementary questions of the "active life," Christianity of the "first degree," such as might be the concern of the commonest parish priest.

On the contrary, we should expect him to write such mystical works as actually appear in the five prose treatises, and his conviction about what it would be important to write in general would be well expressed by actual words of Rolle about what it would be important to read. We find in his chapter on reading in the *Mending of Life* (p. 121, ll. 5 f.):

If þou desyre to cum to lufe of god, & in desire be *kyndyld* of heuenly Ioys, & be broght to despisynge of eerþly þingis, be noght necgligent in þinkynge

& redynge holy scripture, moste in þo placis qwher it techis maners & desaytis of þe feynd to eschew, qwher it spekys of godis lufe & of lyfe contemplatyfe.

This rule for profitable reading is exactly followed in what Rolle himself provided for readers. In his *Form of Living* these three subjects make up the whole discourse, — the "sotell craftes and whaynt of the devil," "God's love," and the contemplative life. Elsewhere in the mystical works the last two are practically the whole subject matter. This is a typical example of Rolle's "inexorable consistency of word and deed." The sort of subject he treated in his own mystical writings is that which he specifically and exclusively recommended. That he composed the *Prick of Conscience*, which treats subjects far removed from those specially commended by him, is most improbable.

It seems, moreover, impossible to reconcile the poem with Rolle's mystical works by any separation of the period of writing of the two products. For, if we believe the *Office* (our only evidence for his life), he was a youth of nineteen at the time he fled from Oxford and embraced the contemplative life. In the *Melum Contemplativum* (even in the title, as may be seen, thoroughly mystical) he calls himself[1] *puer, pusillus, juvenculus*. Our only evidence, therefore, by dating Rolle's entrance into mysticism very early, denies the *Prick of Conscience* to his early years. Morris hazarded the conjecture that the poem was written late, since we have no manuscript earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century, the time of Rolle's death.[2] But it seems unlikely that this mysticism, once begun, ever should abate so that he might write the poem in the latter part of his life. Certainly it was his declared conviction that no one who has once attained the highest degree of love — which is, one must remember, only by special gift of God — ever can slip from that height.[3] Further and better evidence against Rolle's withdrawal from the mystical life is his late connection with the Hampole nuns. According to the *Office* and all tradition, he died as the hermit of Hampole, spiritual counselor to the nunnery, and still mystic, as appears not only from the extracts

[1] According to Horstman (II, xix).

[2] *Prick of Conscience*, p. iv, note.

[3] Cf. *Fire of Love*, p. 49, for the passage already quoted concerning the coming down from contemplative to active life: "that seldom or never I trow has happend." For Rolle's mysticism, cf. *Office*, cols. 785, 791, 792, 794, 796, 807, 808.

from the *Fire of Love* inserted in the *Office*, but also from the continual phrases of the responses. We read further (col. 803):

> Verum autem ne lateat homines, maxime eos qui devotis et attentis studiis circa vite perfeccionem adipiscendam insistunt, qualiter et quibus mediis beatus iste Dei zelotipus heremita Ricardus gradum perfecti amoris et caritatis prout promittit status mortalium adeptus est, ita ut omnis alius amor ei vilesceret et horrorem abhominabilem generaret.

This could hardly have been written if, toward the end of his life, he departed from the character in which the nuns, nevertheless, still present him in the *Office*. It is necessary to suppose, since it was those among whom he died who probably composed it, that he died in the full odor of sanctity there described. It does not seem possible to assign the *Prick of Conscience* to an unmystical period of the life of the author of the mystical works before us. Therefore, there seems nothing that can render in any way probable the writing by Richard Rolle of such a work of elementary religion.

VI

If, however, we grant the improbable, and agree that such an uninspired task as the *Prick of Conscience* might have been chosen by the hermit of Hampole, even then it is hard to admit that this particular poem could ever have been the work of such an author. One must believe that the life and personality of the writer, when so distinctive and absorbing as in the case of Richard Rolle, would influence those passages of the work where that particular life and personality might naturally be described. In a large poem of Christian theology, like the *Prick of Conscience*, it might be supposed that any strongly marked type of Christian might find occasion in which to interpolate some of his characteristic doctrines. In Rolle's *Psalter*, which, though appropriate in material, as a translation could never be entirely characteristic, this is what actually did happen. The mystical passages there are abundant and thoroughly consistent in all points with the original mystical work of Rolle. They come in part, to be sure, from the source of his *Psalter*, the commentary of Peter Lombard. But since that work was a compilation from many Church Fathers, so that several interpretations usually appeared for each text, Rolle's choice even in what he

decided to translate, must be seen to be significant for his character and method. For wherever he carried over a mystical passage from his source, he left unnoticed other unmystical material. He never made use of all the material gathered by Peter Lombard. As a matter of fact, more often than not, the mystical passages that appear in the *Psalter* are not really derived from his commentary. Sometimes they are expansions of a word or a phrase really found there, but in very many cases they are interpolations. This treatment is so characteristic of the unoriginal work of Rolle, and so instructive in its unlikeness to the *Prick of Conscience*, another unoriginal work ascribed to him, that we shall now study it in some of its details. This study will not by any means exhaust the consideration of the relation of the *Psalter* toward the mystical life, for the mystical material there is so abundant as to preclude any possibility of full examination here. However, a few notable examples will suffice to show a significant contrast to the short but exhaustive account of the mystical passages in the *Prick of Conscience*, to which we shall proceed — a contrast more illuminating perhaps than anything else with respect to the whole question of the authorship of the poem.

The following passages from the *Psalter* are instructive in exhibiting Rolle's use of his sources for that work.[1]

[1] Middendorff says (p. 53): "Die Uebersetzung ist im Allgemeinen eine wörtliche zu nennen. An manchen Stellen ist dieselbe sehr steif, weil sie sich gar zu eng an das Latein anschliesst. Wo z. B. im Latein ein abl. abs. war, tritt auch in der Uebersetzung eine absolute Participialkonstruktion ein. Petrus Lombardus reicht fast überall aus, und das Wenige, was von ihm abweicht, ist entweder Eigenes von Richard, oder hier und da den Schriften anderer Kirchenlehrer entnommen. Hin und wieder hat Richard auch den Augustinus, Cassiodorius, Remigius, Rufinus, Beda und einige spätere Commentare nachgeschlagen" (p. 27). Middendorff (pp. 28–45) has printed entire the passages from Peter Lombard and other authorities used by Rolle for the Prologue and Psalms X, XVIII, XXXIX, LI, XC, XCIX, CXXIX, CL. He also prints the sources for some single passages. Reference has been made, for the uses of this paper, directly to Peter Lombard in the case of certain passages not treated by Middendorff, the likeness of which to Rolle's mystical work has seemed especially striking. In such cases there may be sources for Rolle's *Psalter* outside Peter Lombard. But that seems improbable in all instances, since Rolle rarely, according to Middendorff, went so far for his material. Since, moreover, the passages are strikingly consistent with Rolle's mystical work, they would seem to disprove such statements concerning the *Psalter* as that in the *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.* (II, 53): "It is really a translation of Peter Lombard's Commentary and is therefore devoid of originality and personal touches."

Prologue: The first extract is at first pretty carefully translated, though some transpositions occur. A characteristic expansion is found at the end of the passage.

Ignem spiritalem in corde succendit, omnium vitiorum solicitudinem tollit.[1]	[The *Psalms*] *Kyndils* thaire willes with the *fyre of luf;* makand thaim *hate and brennand* withinen & faire and lufly in crystis eghen. And thaim that lastes in thaire deuocioun: thai rays thaim in til contemplatyf lyf & oft sith in til soun & myrth of heuen (p. 3).
Hic enim describuntur praemia bonorum . . . perfectio pervenientium, vita activorum, speculatio contemplativorum.[2]	Thare in is discryved the medes of goed men . . . the perfeccioun of haly men, the whilk passis til heven. the lyf of actyf men, the meditacioun of contemplatifs & the ioy of contemplacioun, the heghest that may be in man lifand in body & feland (p. 4).
Psalm XVIII, 12: Nequit dici . . . in custodiendis illis in futuro reddetur praemium.[3]	Ffor na man may tell the mykilnes of his ioy that enterly gifes him til godis luf and for the kepynge of thaim is mede withouten end (p. 71).
Psalm XXXIX, 3–4: *Statuit*, inquam, *pedes* meorum, *et direxit gressus* eorum; *et* hoc modo *immisit in os meum*, id est, meorum, scilicet, et in os cordis et in os corporis *canticum novum*, . . . quod est *carmen*, id est, laus *Deo;* . . . Ut novum canticum nemo nisi innovatus cantare praesumat.[4]	When he had taken me fra syn & fra all bisynes of erth, and stabild me in luf and vertus thain he sent in til the mouth of my hert and of my body alswa a new sange, that is the melody of the tone of heuen, that nane may synge bot his derlyngs, for it is ympyn, that is, verray louynge, til oure god: for god anly wate it, and nane may be heghid thar of for louynge of men, for men may not knaw how it is (p. 146).

[1] Middendorff, p. 28. The passage here quoted by Middendorff from the *Commentary on the Psalter* of St. Augustine does not occur in Migne's edition of that work. Similar passages, sometimes using identical phrases, are found there, in a Prologue said by Migne not to occur in all copies of the Commentary.

[2] Middendorff, p. 29; Migne, CXCI, col. 40.

[3] Middendorff, p. 32. This passage is found in Migne, CXCI, col. 212, as follows: "Et ideo non ait, pro custodiendis, sed in custodiendis illis, quia non tantum pro eis in futuro reddetur praemium, sed et hic meorum custodia magnum est gaudium."

[4] Middendorff, p. 33; Migne, XCIII, col. 693. I quote here directly from Migne.

Psalm XXXVI, 11: *Immolavi in tabernaculo ejus*, id est ecclesia toto orbe diffusa *hostiam vociferationis* vel jubilationis, id est laudis ineffabilis, ut deficiente sermone sola jubilatio restet, et de reliquo *cantabo* Domino, scilicet fecunditate contemplationis, et *psalmum dicam*, id est opus manifestabo. Et est sensus: corde laetabor Domino, et opere et verbis gloriam Dei praedicabo, et factis. . . . Jubilus enim gaudium vel laus est, quod verbis explicari non valet.[2]

I offird in his tabernakile, that is in haly kyrke, the hoste of heghynge of voice: that is, of gastly criynge & lovynge in wondirful ioy, that ioy is & criynge when a haly saule is fild with cristis luf, that makis the thoght to rise in til soun of heuen, or the soun of heuen lightis thar in, and than that man may loue god in heghynge of voice. All the clerkis[1] in erth may noght ymagyn it, ne wit what it is, bot he that has it and in that i sall synge in dilatabilte of contemplacyon, thus is sayd in the glose. and i sall say psalme til lorde: that is i sall shew goed dede til his honur (p. 96).

Psalm LXXII, 22: Quia per eos invidiae *inflammatum est cor meum*. id est invidi felicibus (col. 676).

Aswhasay, i am not bigilyd with thaire dremys & slepe, for my hert is *enflaummed with fire of cristis luf*, that i fele it *brenand and turnyd in til flawme* (p. 261).

Psalm XXXV, 9, shows a characteristic interpolation.

And in this warld godis lufers ere drunkynd in the wondirful swetnes of contemplacioun, and gretly delytid in the *ardaunt* accesse of cristis luf (p. 129; cf. col. 365).

Psalm LXXIX, 19, shows an interpolation that may profitably be compared with a passage of Rolle's original English work to show the close relations that his mystical works bear to one another.

In þis [" singular " or 3d] degre es lufe stalworth as dede, & hard as hell. For als dede slas al lyuand thyng in þis worlde, sa perfite lufe slas in a mans sawle all fleschly desyres and erthly couaytise. And als hell spares noght til dede men, bot tormentes al þat commes þartill, alswa a man þat es in þis degre of lufe, noght anly he forsakes þe wretched solace of þis lyf, bot alswa he couaytes to sofer pynes for goddes lufe.[3]

Thou sall make vs qwyk and ay *brennand* in thi seruys, slaand in vs all thynge that lettis vs of thi luf. The luf of god is oure life, if we luf any creature we ere ded. forthi says the wyse man that luf is stalworth as ded. for as ded slas all lifand thynge swa verray luf of god distroyis in oure saules all willis and thoghtis and ȝernyngis of ilke a creature swa that noght lifis in us bot ihū crist sothely nane other affeccyon than of him has pouere in a saule that dwellis in his luf (p. 297).

[1] Compare the reverential attitude towards clerks in the *Prick of Conscience*.

[2] Migne, CXCI, col. 272. Other references to "col.," with number following, unless otherwise stated, are to this volume.

[3] Horstman, I, 63. The line here quoted from the Canticles is, as has already been noted, a favorite with Rolle. It occurs in the same connection once in the

A curious example, noted by Horstman (II, xxxii, n. 2), of the consistency of Rolle's mannerisms occurs in Psalm LXI, — sufficient proof in itself, Horstman believes, for Rolle's authorship of the *Psalter*. Rolle there, at the end of the comment, lapses into a few lines of his typical jerky verse, such as is used in the four songs of the English *Epistles*.

For i wate na bettere wele. than in my thoght to fele, the life of his lufynge. of all it is the best. ihū in hert to fest, and ȝerne nane othere thynge (p. 215).[1]

The interpretations of Sion, Manasses, Israel, etc., as they appear in the *Commentaries* of Rolle and of Peter Lombard, have been followed with some completeness. The result is interesting in showing how completely Rolle carried over into his translated *Commentary* his strong mystical partisanship. The mystic in the *Psalter*, as in the original mystical work, plays the chief part. Sometimes such an interpretation existed in the Latin, sometimes it did not.

Psalm II, 6: *Super Sion montem sanctum ejus.* id est super Ecclesiam de Judaeis (col. 72).	Syon, that is, contemplatif men, the whilke has the eghe of thaire hert ay till heuen, his haly hill (p. 10).
Psalm IX, 11: *Qui habitat in Sion*, id est in praesenti Ecclesia, quae nunc per speculum contemplatur Deum. . . . Quia Sion interpretatur *speculatio* (col. 134).	In Syon, that is, in halykirke, and in a contemplatif saule, that has ay the eghe vpwarde til him (p. 33).
Psalm XIX, 2: *Sion* interpretatur *specula* vel *speculatio* (col. 216).	Of syon, that is, of heghe contemplacioun (p. 72).
Psalm XXXV, 6: *Montes Dei*, id est justi tui . . . quia luce veri solis ante alios illustrantur (col. 363).	Thi rightwismen ere gastly hilles of god: fore thai ere heghe in contemplacioun & sonere resayues the light of crist (p. 128).
Psalm XLVII, 2: Sion is interpreted in two quotations as "the Jews" (col. 459).	The hill of syon, that is, men heghe in contemplacioun of god (p. 171).

Form of Living (Horstman, I, 39), once in the *Commandment* (here quoted), twice in the *Fire of Love* (p. 22, l. 36; p. 100, l. 33); also in *Encomium Nominis Jesu* (Rolle?) (Horstman, I, 186 f.).

[1] These last three lines, slightly different in reading, occur in the Thornton MS. (see *Thornton Roms.*, p. xxx).

Psalm XLVII, 10: Sion is interpreted as "Judæa" (col. 462).	The hill of syon, that is, saules heghe in contemplatife life (p. 173).
Psalm LVI, 11: Per *psalterium* . . . una caro Christi intelligitur (col. 531).	Psautery, that is, gladnes of thoght in life of contemplacioun (p. 203).
Psalm LIX, 7: Manasses omnis ille est qui oblitus prioris vitae, in anteriora cum Apostolo se extendit (col. 555).	Manasses, that is, contemplatife men, that forgets this warlde, and gifes them haly to christes lufe (p. 212; cf. p. 294).
Psalm LXVIII, 39: *Laudent illum caeli*, id est apostoli, *et terra*, id est Ecclesia Judaeorum, *et mare*, id est gentes (col. 640).	Heuen he calles contemplatife men, that ere bright in life, and heghe in godis luf. the erth is actife men, that ere laghe for warldis nedis, the se is tha that ebbis and flowis in fleyssly likyngis (p. 245).
Psalm LXVIII, 40: *Salvam faciet Sion*, id est Ecclesiam, salvam in aeternum (col. 641).	Syon is ilke perfite saule, that thynkis on the ioy of heuen, noght of erth, the whilke god sall make safe in endles rest eftire this trauaile[1] (p. 245).
Psalm LXXI, 10: Et est sensus: *Reges Tharsis*, id est fideles in contemplatione fixi, qui dicuntur reges, quia sunt dominatores vitiorum (col. 662).	Kings of tharsis, that is, contemplatif men, that ay lokes til heven & ar laurds of all ill stirringe (p. 254).
Psalm LXXV, 2: *Sion*, id est in contemplatione futura, quando videbimus eum facie ad faciem (col. 706).	In syon, that is, in tha that has ay thaire hert til heuen (p. 270).
Psalm LXXVI, 19: Nothing is to be found in Peter Lombard about contemplation.	In many watirs, that is, in pore men wilfully the whilke ere swete in contemplacioun of god (p. 276).
Psalm LXXIX, 11: *Cedros Dei*, id est doctores (col. 762).	The trese, that is, vertus, couyrd cedirs of god, that is, heghest men in contemplacioun ere hild fra vicys, dwelland in vertus (p. 295).
Psalm CXVII, 26. The horn of the altar is here interpreted as the sacrament (col. 1040).	Waxand in luf til ȝe cum til the horne of the autere, that is, til ȝe be raysid in til the heghnes of contemplacioun, whare ȝe sall loue god in voice of ioiynge and wondirful devocioun in *brennand* softnes (p. 410).

[1] Rolle's sense of the security of the mystic after death appears well in this passage.

Interpretations of Scripture are very rare in the mystical works of Rolle. In the only ones noticed the contemplative man is honored as in the *Psalter:*

> Qwharfore in þe meetbuyrd of trew Salamon þe pilars ar siluer, & his resting-place gold. Pilars of þe chayr ar stronge vpberars And gude gouyrnours of holy kyrk . . . þe resting-place gold ar men contemplatife, in þe whilk in he rest beand, criste specially restis his heed. & þa forsoth in hym syngulerly restis. þis ar goldly, for purare & darrar þa er in honeste of lyfynge, And reddar in *byrnynge of lufynge* and contemplacioun.[1]

We read also in the *Form of Living:*

> A grete doctor says þat þai er goddes trone þat dwelles still in a stede, and er noght abowte rennand: bot in swetnes of Cristes lufe er stabyld.[2]

The numerous quotations here presented will be sufficient to show Rolle's method of translation and compilation as operative in the *Psalter.* We have seen exactly what we should expect in the accomplishment of such a task by such a man, — the development and interpolation at every turn of whatever belongs to his own all-absorbing life of mysticism.

VII

Brought into contrast with such an investigation as that we have just left behind us, the investigation of the *Prick of Conscience,* to which we now proceed, will show a very striking dissimilarity. Our conjectures as to the hermit's method of handling material, such as is not his usual choice, will here be disappointed as completely as they were satisfied in the case of the *Psalter.* This detailed study will finish the consideration of the internal evidence regarding our question.

It has been said that the *Prick of Conscience,* as an unoriginal work, imposed much the same sort of a task on its author as did the *Psalter.* The fact of its unoriginal character has been sufficiently determined for our present purposes, whether or not later research may discover that the "drawing" of the work meant a complete translation; for, as I have pointed out, it contains three

[1] *Fire of Love,* p. 48, ll. 40 f.

[2] Horstman, I, 45. It may be noted that there occurs in the *Fire of Love* (p. 34, ll. 20 f.) an elaborate comparison, in the manner of the lapidaries, of the contemplative man to the topaz.

hundred and fifty-four direct quotations, as well as the many unacknowledged quotations traced by Dr. Köhler in his article on its sources.[1] Since the *Psalter* appears less original than the *Prick of Conscience*, the author's peculiarities ought to appear more largely in the latter.

But in the nearly ten thousand lines of the *Prick of Conscience* there is absolutely no treatment of the mystical life. The words "contemplative" and "contemplation," omnipresent in the *Psalter* and the mystical works, cannot be found once. The hermit is but once mentioned. It is said that there will be seen in heaven

> Innocentes many ane
> Of whilk som was, in Goddes name slane,
> And other martyrs and confessours,
> And haly heremytes and doctours. (P. 235, ll. 8721 f.)

"Holy men" and "perfect men" are several times referred to casually, without, it seems, any particular intention of classifying. Such references, including the vaguest, do not reach a dozen. In one of them, a passage already quoted from the description of heaven, the mystical life is perhaps referred to:

> þat hille es noght els bi understandying,
> Bot haly thoght and *brynand* yhernyng,
> þat haly men had here to þat stede. (P. 244, ll. 9059 f.)

We read also:

> Bot parfit men, þat þair lif right ledes,
> Welthe of þe worlde ay flese and dredes. (P. 36, ll. 1289 f.)

Again we read of

> Haly men and parfit,
> þat with hym in dome þan sal sitt. (P. 153, ll. 5635 f.)

> þa þat sal deme and noght demed be,
> Sal be parfit men with God privé, . . .
> First þas þat with Crist sal deme þat day
> And noght be demed, er namly þai
> þat here forsuke þe werldes solace,
> And folowed rightly Cristes trace,
> Als his apostels and other ma,
> þat for his luf tholed angre and wa. (P. 163, ll. 6024 f.)

[1] R. Köhler, *Quellennachweise zu Richard Rolle von Hampole's Gedichte The Pricke of Conscience* (*Jahrb. für Rom. und Eng. Lit.*, VI, 196–212). Mr. Whitney (*Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 55) speaks of the *Prick of Conscience* as a "popular summary of current mediæval theology, borrowed from Grosseteste and others."

This passage on the Judgment Day well serves to disclose the real vagueness of meaning in "perfect men" as used in the *Prick of Conscience.* For these "perfect men" here turn out to be the virtuous of any sort, in the active life as well as in the contemplative. If meant as references to mysticism, they are utterances astonishingly vague and objective for a mystic so accomplished as Richard Rolle shows himself to be throughout his other writings. Indeed, it seems almost more improbable that he could so control his feelings and neglect his opportunities as to refer in this way to his vocation, than that he could have kept silent on the subject altogether. At all events, hardly a half dozen of such passages as these are the only ones in the *Prick of Conscience* that can be construed as having reference to mysticism.

VIII

We have noted the lack in the *Prick of Conscience* of the favorite references of Richard Rolle to the mystical life. We can now go even farther and find the presence there of statements distinctly opposed to the mystical doctrines or to Richard Rolle's individual opinions. The poem differs from the mystical work that we are considering in its treatment of learning, of the sovereign virtue, of salvation, and of death.

The attitude of Rolle's mystical writings toward clerical learning has already been somewhat brought out. It may now be further illustrated. We read in the *Fire of Love :*

Alas, for schame! an olde wyfe of goddis lufe[1] is more expert, & les of warldly likynge, þen þe grete devin, whos stody is vayne (p. 13, ll. 25 f.). — Þis boke I offyr to be sene, noȝt to philisophyrs nor wyes men of þis warld, ne to grete devyens lappyd in questions infenyte, bot vnto boystus & vntaght, more besy to con lufe god þen many þinges to knawe[2] (p. 3, ll. 22 f.). — Let them fle all erthely dignyte, þat þai hate all pryde of connynge & vayn-glory (ll. 32 f.). —

[1] This exclamation is, of course, not original with Rolle. One may compare St. Augustine's Confessions: "A Christian old woman is wiser than these philosophers." It is also related of the Franciscan Giles that once he praised Bonaventura's learning, and Bonaventura answered that a poor little old woman could love God more than a master in theology. Giles, thereupon, ran to a window and shouted out to an old woman who was passing, her possibilities of greatness (*Golden Sayings of the Blessed Giles*, ed. Robinson, Philadelphia, 1907, p. xxix).

[2] The Prologue, in which this sentence occurs, is, as has already been noted, an exact translation from Bonaventura.

Lat no coueytys of worschip, fauyr or mens praysynge sett vs to conynge of scripture, . . . not to be haldyn connyng a-nens þe pepull, bot raþer vs aw to hyde our conynge þen schew it to praysynge.[1] — Many now sauours in so mykill in *brynninge* of connyng & noȝt of lufe, þat playnly what luf is, or of what sauour. þai know noȝt, þof all þer laboure of all þer stody þame aght to sprede vnto þis ende þat þai myȝt *byrne in goddis lufe.*[2] — But (of love) he has takyn wysdome & sotelte. . . . þofe he a foyll & vnwyse before wer haldyn. . . . Bot taght by connynge gettyn. not inscheed, & bolnyd with foldyn Argumentis, in þis disdene sayand: "qwher lernyd he, qwho reed him?" for þai trow not þat lufers of endles lufe of þer inward maister myȝt be taght to speek better þen þai of men taght, þat at all tymes for vayn worschip has stodyd.[3] — Reading belongs to the lower part of the contemplative life. þe þare noght couayte gretely many bokes: halde lufe in hert. & in werke. and þou hase all þat we may say or wryte: for fulnes of þe law es charite; in þat hynges all.[4]

To these statements the *Prick of Conscience* affords great contrasts. The whole purpose of that book, dwelt on at length in the Prologue, is in entire disagreement with the convictions of Rolle expressed above. If man wishes to be higher than "an unskilful beast, þat nother has skil, witt, ne mynde," his only hope lies in knowledge of all the facts of human life. Indeed, several manuscripts name the poem from this central idea. The variant titles of "Clauis Scientie," and "A Treatise of Knowing Man's Self," have already been noted. But the version of MS. Cotton Galba E. IX is itself specific enough in emphasizing its principal purpose, as regeneration through education of the mind.

For þe right way þat lyggus til blys,
And þat ledys a man theder, es þys;
þe way of mekenes principaly,
And of drede, and luf of God almyghty,
þat may be cald þe way of wysdom;
In-tyl whilk way na man may com
Wyth-outen knawyng of God here,
And of his myght, and his werkes sere,
Bot here he may til þat knawyng wynne.
Hym behoves knaw him-self with-inne,
Elles may he haf na knawing to come
In-til þe forsayde way of wysedome. (P. 5, ll. 139 f.)

Bot na wonder es, yf þai ga wrang
For in myrknes of unknawyng þai gang,
Wyth-outen lyght of understandyng

[1] *Mending of Life*, p. 121, ll. 17 f.
[2] *Fire of Love*, p. 13, ll. 22 f.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 74, ll. 21 f.
[4] Horstman, I, 35.

Of þat, þat falles til ryght knawyng.
Þar-for ilk cristen man and weman
Þat has witte and mynd, and skille can,
Þat knaws noght þe ryght way to chese,
Ne þe perils þat ilk wise man flese,
Suld be bughsom ay, and bysy
To here and lere of þam, namely,
Þat understands and knawes by skille,
Wilk es gude way and wilk es ille. (P. 6, ll. 193 f.)

With this introduction the book proceeds on its way of information. It was influenced, doubtless, by the conventional theory that wisdom was the seventh and highest of the virtues and the first of the joys of heaven.[1] Facts of clerical learning are, at any rate, its prime weapons of attack against the sinner. Such, indeed, constituted its originality, when viewed over against such a work as the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, with its simple analysis of sin and virtue. The contrast here between the *Prick of Conscience* and the mystical writings is a vital one.

The quotations from the mystical treatises in the preceding paragraphs have shown to some extent Rolle's choice of the sovereign virtue. The essential to spirituality is love. That is the typical virtue of the mystic, in which Rolle is not lacking. It is the most conspicuous theme of the *Office*, where it is well said: "Amor thema fit doctrine et celestis discipline" (col. 807). Its constant repetition there shows its prominent connection with Rolle shortly after his own day. It is described on nearly every page of his mystical writings:

For mekenes makes vs swete to god, Purete ioynes vs tyll god, Lufe mase vs ane with god: luf es fairhede of al vertus. . . . Lufe es perfection of letters, vertu of prophecy, frute of trowth, help of sacramentes, stablyng of witt and conyng; Rytches of pure men, lyfe of dyand men. Se how gude lufe es.[2]

A quotation of the whole of this passage would show not only the preëminent position of love in Rolle's religion, but also the virtues of his English prose.

[1] Professor Schofield has kindly called my attention to lines by Gower (*Conf. Am.*, vii, 15), of a similar tenor to the *Prick of Conscience*:

For wisdom is at every throwe
Above all other thing to knowe
In loves cause and elleswhere.

[2] Horstman, I, 36.

The *Prick of Conscience*, if less specifically exclusive than the mystical works in designating its sovereign virtue, is yet sufficiently definite in not making it love. One passage has already been quoted, declaring that the

> Right way þat lyggus til blys,
> And þat ledys a man theder, es þys;
> þe way of mekenes principaly,
> And of drede, and luf of God almyghty,
> þat may be cald þe way of wysdom. (P. 5, ll. 139 f.)

Meekness, dread, and love are the three general first requisites of a Christian, but among them meekness, as the first of the cardinal virtues, bears the leading part usually apportioned to it in the Middle Ages. In the *Prick of Conscience* this conventional position is consistently kept, while in the mystical writings it is but vaguely referred to by the way; as when, for example, we are reminded of it by the declaration that

> In þe self degree, þar prowde deuels fel downe fra, er meke men and wymen, Criste dowves sett.[1]

Thus, in a general way, the conventional position is once or twice recognized, at the same time that it is discarded for the mystical. The *Prick of Conscience*, as has been said, knows nothing beyond the conventional doctrine:

> Swa may he tyttest come to mekenes,
> þat es grund of al vertus to last,
> On whilk al vertus may be sette faste. (P. 6, ll. 208 f.)

> Ffor tylle þe kyngdom of heven may no man com
> Bot he ga bi þe way of wisdom;
> þe way of wysdom es mekenes
> And other virtuse, mare and les. (P. 203, ll. 7541 f.)

> Tylle þat ioyfulle lyf may alle men com
> þat meke of hert er here, and bowsom. (P. 219, ll. 8147 f.)

The gates of the New Jerusalem signify meekness,

> And fredom of ryght fayth and bowsomnes,
> þat gyfes way and entré tylle men boghsom,
> Intylle þe ceté of heven for to com. (P. 245, ll. 9097 f.)

We are once told that this book is written to stir to "love and dread" (p. 255, l. 9486). We are again told that it is written to

[1] Horstman, I, 51.

> Pryk and stirre a mans conscience,
> And til mekenes and luf and drede it dryfe,
> For to bring hym til ryght way of lyfe. (P. 257, ll. 9572 f.)
>
> It may his conscience tendre make,
> And til right way of rewel bryng it bilyfe,
> And his hert til drede and mekenes dryfe,
> And til luf and yhernyng of heven blis. (P. 257, ll. 9554 f.)

The only trace of Rolle's doctrine of the preëminent necessity of love appears when we are told, as Rolle tells us, that position in heaven depends on the degree of love on earth (p. 248, l. 9232). Since the writer of the *Prick of Conscience* gathered all sorts of material into his work, we have here included, along with the conventional doctrine of the preëminence of the cardinal virtue meekness, a trace of the mystical doctrine of the preëminence of the virtue love. But it is the conventional doctrine that receives all the emphasis.

Naturally associated with Rolle's mystical doctrine of love as the cardinal virtue, goes his doctrine of salvation by love and not by works. The declaration that "in charity hangs all" has already been quoted.

> The diversity of love is the diversity of meed.[1] Love is in the heart and will of a man, not in his hand, nor in his mouth, that is to say, not in his work, but in his soul.[2] — Not to doars, bot to godis lufars is plente of heuenly crowne.[3] — Good works are but a sign of love, not love.[4]

This was the common mystical version of the doctrine of "salvation by faith," which, of course, was the orthodox Augustinian doctrine of the Church; but many writings of the time show the influence[5] of the Pelagian heresy then popular, teaching salvation by works. This influence appears in the *Prick of Conscience.* Though the author arranges heaven according to the diversity of love, though he declares that the way to bliss lies through meekness, yet he is continually betrayed into expressions favoring the doctrine of "salvation by works." We read of the way to heaven in a passage already quoted (p. 203, ll. 7539 f.):

[1] Horstman, I, 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[3] *Fire of Love*, p. 39, l. 38.
[4] Horstman, I, 38–39.
[5] Professor Schofield has called my attention to the contrast between *The Pearl* and *Piers Plowman* in regard to the theory of salvation. For the position of *The Pearl*, see the valuable article of Professor Brown, "The Author of The Pearl," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XIX, 128 ff.

> Bot whasa wille tak þe way þider-ward,
> Behoves in gud werkes travaille hard;
> Ffor tylle þe kyngdom of heven may no man com
> Bot he ga bi þe way of wisdom.

The effect particularly hoped for from the book (p. 10, l. 335) is that the reader may "wirk gude werkes and fle foli." We read (p. 153, l. 5635) of those "haly men and perfit þat with hym in dome þan sal sitt," which has been quoted as a possible reference to the contemplative man who is to occupy that position with Rolle. But that no particular distinction of the kind was understood we see when we read:

> Som sal noght deme, bot demed be
> Til blis, als men of grete charité
> Þat blethely wirk wald þe werkes of mercy,
> And keped þam here fra syn dedly. (P. 164, ll. 6049 f.)

God has ordained heaven

> for þair wonyng,
> Þat gyfes þam here tylle rightwise lyfyng. (P. 209, ll. 7769.)

The importance of good deeds appears also from the description of the judgment of every deed, every minute of life, to which all mortals are to be subjected at Doomsday by all devils and multitudes of all other creatures.

Richard Rolle is certainly not without his counsels to righteous living. "Stifly put thee from all deadly sins"[1]: that counsel belongs to the first degree of love requisite to all that would be saved. But he is never so unguarded as to recommend good works without subordinating their importance to that of love. The resultant impression of the author's opinion in the *Prick of Conscience*, confused as it is, is certainly that he had strong leanings toward the doctrine of "salvation by works."

In the account of the Last Judgment and the description of death appears a further striking contrast between the *Prick of Conscience* and Rolle's mystical writing. We are told in the *Fire of Love* that all true contemplative men (and, by implication, the writer himself) may, at their death, enjoy absolute security as to the Day of Judgment.

On þys wyes sothely is mane made parfyt & with fyer to be purgyd hym sall not neyd aftyr þis lyfe qwhome *byrnandly* in flesche beand *fyre byrnys of*

[1] Horstman, I, 53.

þe holy goost (p. 50, ll. 31 f.). — Parfytte forsoth when þai dy, before god onone þai ar broght & sett in setys of blistful rest (p. 61, ll. 25 f.). — After dede sothely to aungels songe he is takyn, for now in musyk of the spirit purgyd & profetand he dwellis. And forsoth in melody ful meruellus he sall dy (p. 38, l. 24).

Such is the secure and happy end of the mystic. His life is not "dread," as the *Prick of Conscience* would enjoin, but "joy that cannot be told."

Owr doctors say: parfyte aw to greit & þe more parfite more plenteuus of tenys þai suld be, for wrechidnes of þis lyfe & for þe delay of heuenly lyfe: to me certan a wondyrfull longynge in godis lufe was nere (p. 97, ll. 33 f.).

Only his longing for death makes his regret.

This longing for death is expressed hardly less constantly and extravagantly than the theme of love. Death, indeed, to the mystic is the consummation of love.

Now grauntt, my best belouyd, þat I may cese: for dede, þat many drede, to me suld be als heuenly musyk (p. 39, ll. 5 f.). — þan þe wil thynk þe deed swettar þan hony, for þan þou ert ful syker, to se hym þat þou lufes.[1]

We read in the *Office* (col. 797):

Solvi cupit a carnis carcere, clamat, mors veni, festina propere. . . . Dulcis mors, en diu langui, fac me meo dilecto perfrui: Curre.

Apostrophes and welcoming ejaculations to death, as has been noted, are frequent in the mystical writings. We have the long song in *Ego Dormio*, the largest of the four lyrics that are to be attributed to Rolle as the only sure examples of his poetry. The whole song, called a "song of love," is really a pleading for death.

My sange es in syhtyng,
My lyfe es in langynge,
Til I þe se my keyng,
So fayre in þi schyning.
So fayre in þi fayrehede:
In til þi lyght me lede,
And in þi lufe me fede:
In lufe make me to spede,
þat þou be euer my mede.[2]

It goes on for a column and a half with the same mixture of metres and constant alliteration.

The two passages in the *Prick of Conscience* as to longing for

[1] Horstman, I, 32.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 60. Horstman prints the poem without separating the lines.

death have already been mentioned. The longer one (p. 60, ll. 2176 f.) tells us that

> Halymen yherned to dyghe
> For to be with God in heven hyghe.

There follows a short consideration of their expressions concerning death, but the conclusion of the whole is (p. 61, ll. 2206 f.):

> Bot alle-yf haly men may digh wele,
> Yhit þe payn of dede byhoves þam fele,
> Þat es mare þan man can ymagyn. . . .
> For sen Crist, als I sayd befor, had dred
> Of the ded, thurgh kynd of his manhed,
> Þan aght ilkman, bathe mare and les,
> Drede þe dede here þat swa bitter es.

Hints of comfortable doctrine are but chance gatherings into the great commonplace book of the *Prick of Conscience*. They are beside the main purpose and, in the general impression, altogether lost sight of. We have the two passages and the scanty references already noted, concerning those holy men that shall judge and not be judged at the Last Day. But a whole book of the poem is given up to the consideration of the terrors of death, which are there stated without any quarter to any soul alive.

> Ded es þe mast dred thing þat es
> In all þis world, als þe boke witnes:
> Ffor here es na qwyk creature lyfand
> Þat it ne es for þe ded dredand
> And flese þe ded ay whils it may. (P. 46, ll. 1666 f.)

> For swa wyse and witty man es nane,
> Þat wate, when þe dede him has tane,
> For certayn, whederward he sal ga,
> Whether he sal wend til wele or wa. (P. 70, ll. 2574 f.)

There appears here no dying to music, such as Rolle describes; instead devils come to make horrible all deathbeds, —

> Sen haly men þat here liffed right
> Mught noght dygh with-outen þat sight,
> Ne godys moder þat he loffed mare. (P. 63, ll. 2284 f.)

So the poem goes on in its sensational method of scaring the sinner into repentance. Clearly neither the author of the book nor the public for which it was written had any understanding of the mystical attitude towards death.

IX

We must conclude, in general, that the author of the *Prick of Conscience* had no conception of the mystical theory. In this paper an effort has been made to show his divergencies from it in the essential matters of the value of learning, of the sovereign virtue, of the means of salvation, of security at the Judgment Day, and of attitude towards death. In all he seems to show himself totally at odds with the mystical conceptions. When, in stray sentences, he refers to the mystic, or to mystical doctrines, his objective manner completes the impression that these were but chance findings in the academic labor of compiling his commonplace book. His true purpose is to create a corpus of clerical facts that may drive the reader into virtue through "dread" and "prick of conscience." The theme of his book, his way to bliss and to the prime virtues of meekness, love, and dread, is wisdom. The theme of Rolle's book, his way to bliss, and at once his prime virtue, is love. His work is not a commonplace book, negligently collected here and there, but an impassioned apology for his own vocation; the earnestness of his purpose fuses his material in his own "fire," and touches it with his own experience, whether, in the first place, it was original or borrowed. Herein lies the total discrepancy between the two groups,—a discrepancy the more notable since Rolle's mystical writings not only further exclusively their own doctrine of love, but expressly deny the doctrine of wisdom urged by the *Prick of Conscience*. The many minor differences follow in the wake of this vital one. The general purposes of the two works are therein involved. The sum of all the differences seems to be so great that it is impossible to harmonize them for one writer; nor can it seem likely that the author of the mystical tracts—above all, of the *Psalter*—could ever have translated from the Latin the *Prick of Conscience* as we have that work.

It is not hard to understand all the confusing consequences of the general, confident assumption of Rolle's authorship of the poem. Dissertations have been written attempting, by tests of language, etc., drawn from the most notable piece of literature ascribed to him, to determine the validity of the attribution of various works to Rolle.[1] But such circular argument is the lesser evil consequence.

[1] Cf. Ullmann already quoted; Franz Kühn, *Ueber die Verfasserschafts Lyrischen Gedichten aus Horstman's Sammlung*, Griefswald, 1900; Adler and Kaluza, "Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole," *Eng. Stud.*, X, 215 f.

The greater is, that Rolle's true character as a mystic is largely obscured by his false reputation as the author of the *Prick of Conscience*. That work furnishes, as has been shown, the material for most of his portion in the histories of literature. The resultant impression is distorted enough, and, as a corollary, he is entirely omitted from the histories of mysticism,[1] where he justly should occupy an important place. The exact documents descriptive of the mystical process to be found in his writings are entirely neglected by psychologists. Mr. Inge, in his *History of Christian Mysticism*, does not mention Rolle, though he treats Walter Hylton, reputed to have been his follower, at some length. Both Walter Hylton and Juliana of Norwich are discussed in separate essays in Mr. Inge's later *Studies in Mysticism*. The work of Walter Hylton, in a modernized form, has been edited twice in recent years by Roman Catholic priests. Richard Rolle, meantime, rests under the shadow of the *Prick of Conscience*. How uncertain and improbable it is that he ever wrote that work must surely now be evident. The ascription to him rests principally on the passage in Lydgate, written long after Rolle's death; and that passage says nothing more certain than that "Richard Hermit" translated the poem.

X

In 1884 J. Ullmann printed an article[2] concerning the contents of Cambridge University MS. Ll. I. 8. This manuscript contains two pieces, both there ascribed to Richard Rolle: a poem on the Pater Noster, commonly called the *Speculum Vitae*, or *Mirror of Life*, and said to have been translated by one William of Nassington from the Latin of John de Waldeby; and a prose Meditation on the Passion, elsewhere ascribed to Rolle.[3] The first three hundred and seventy lines of the *Speculum Vitae* (the whole of which does not exist in print) is quoted by Ullmann at the end of his article. He prints the Meditation entire. The main part of his paper is taken up with an attempt to prove the truth of the attribution of the poem also, as given in the manuscript before him, to the

[1] An exception is the *Thomas à Kempis* of J. E. G. De Montmorency (London, 1906, pp. 69–73, 75, 76, 90), where Rolle takes his place among other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century mystics. Part of the picture of Rolle in MS. Faustina B. VI is there reproduced.

[2] *Eng. Stud.*, VII, 415 f.

[3] Published also by Horstman, I, 83, and referred to above.

hermit of Hampole. The Meditation, which is mystical in character, thoroughly consistent, be it said, with Rolle's other mystical work, Ullmann notes as very unlike the *Speculum Vitae:*

> Diese [the latter] einen ganz anderen ton athmen als die vorliegende Meditatio, so dass sich aus dem stil allein nicht wohl ein schluss auf den autor machen liesse (p. 419).

Ullmann, therefore, makes no attempt to establish Rolle's authorship of the Meditation, but he finds that the *Speculum Vitae* may be profitably compared with the *Prick of Conscience*, then, except for the treatises of the Thornton MS., the only work of Rolle in print.[1] By his exhaustive comparison of the *Speculum Vitae* with the *Prick of Conscience* he believes that he has proved the identity of authorship of the two works; that is, since the latter poem is commonly given to Richard Rolle, he believes that he has proved the correctness of the attribution to Rolle in the manuscript before him of the former also.

The *Speculum Vitae*, as here described by Ullmann and illustrated in his quotations, does seem extremely like the *Prick of Conscience*. An exhaustive comparison of the two works has not been made,[2] but sufficient examples have been cited to support Ullmann's statement that in both "zahlreiche verse, ja ganze stellen grosse anklänge und fast wörtliche übereinstimmungen zeigen" (p. 429). He appears justified in believing as he does, in the "übereinstimmungen beider gedichte in bezug auf dialekt, stil und geist." Kölbing, under whose direction Ullmann studied, accepts

[1] Two of these treatises — the only published mystical work then ascribed to Rolle — have since been shown to be probably by Walter Hylton. The treatise on the *Mixed Life*, before mentioned as presenting a less extreme attitude towards the mystical life than Rolle's, is one that formerly, on the authority of Canon Perry, went under Rolle's name. Three of the Thornton treatises printed by Canon Perry as Rolle's, of which this was one, were not ascribed to the hermit in the manuscript.

[2] Ullmann does not seem always to exhaust the evidence for the similarity of the two poems, contained in the quotations that he gives. He says nothing, for example, of the similarity of metre, which is amply illustrated in his extracts. Ten Brink noted that the author of the *Prick of Conscience*, "unlike most Northern poets, does not trouble himself at all about the number of syllables. The verses of his short couplets have always four accents, but often more than four unemphatic syllables" (*Hist. Eng. Lit.*, I, 297). The same peculiarity may be noted in the author of the *Speculum Vitae*. Moreover, the *Speculum Vitae*, like the *Prick of Conscience*, apparently contains in its Epilogue several layers of conclusion (see

his conclusions.[1] Mr. Whitney, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (II, 52), referring probably to the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum Vitae*, remarks of Rolle that "followers such as William Nassynton imitated him in poems hard to distinguish from Rolle's own." Apparently, then, Ullmann proves that Rolle is the author of the *Speculum Vitae* if he also wrote the *Prick of Conscience*.

The poem which Ullmann here attempts to give to Richard Rolle is, of course, a well-known work. As has already been stated, it is usually ascribed to William of Nassington. This is from the authority of the following note sometimes affixed to it, in which the author begs

> That ȝe wald pray specialy
> For Freere Johan saule of Waldby,
> That fast studyd day and nyght,
> And made this tale in Latyne right, &c.
> Prayes also wᵗ deucion
> For William saule of Nassyngtone,
> That gaf hym als fulle besyly
> Night and day to grete study
> And made this tale in Inglys tonge,
> Prayes for hyme old and ȝonge.[2]

Ullmann, in his attempt to prove Rolle the author of the *Speculum Vitae*, tries to disprove (p. 421) Nassington's authorship

Ullmann, p. 419). Again, the closing couplet is practically the same in both poems. The *Prick of Conscience* concludes:

> Til whilk place he us alle bryng,
> Þat for us vouched safe on rode to hyng. (Ll. 9623–9624.)

The *Speculum Vitae* concludes:

> To qwilk blis he us alle brynge,
> Þat an þe crosse for us wold hynge.
> (MS. Ll. I. 36 — quoted from the catalogue of manuscripts.)

Other peculiarities, unnoticed by Ulmann, though common to both works, have been noted above.

[1] *Eng. Stud.*, XXIV, 276.

[2] This ending from Reg. MS. 17 C. VIII is quoted from Warton-Hazlitt (III, 116, n. 2). Ullmann quotes the corresponding passage from his manuscript as follows:

> At þis tyme wyle I no more say,
> But ȝe þat han herd þis, I ȝow pray,
> Þat ȝe pray for hem, boþe olde and ȝunge,
> Þat turnyd þis boke into Englysch tunge,
> Where sere þei be and in what stede,
> Wheþer þei lyue or þei be dede,
> And ȝe þat prayen for oure travayle,
> Of mede for hem schulen ȝe nouȝt fayle. (200ᵃ, 33ʳ, p. 420.)

by quoting the note of Sir Frederic Madden, found on the Reg. MS. 17 C. VIII, stating that the attribution to Nassington is made in only two manuscripts. Eighteen manuscripts [1] of the poem can easily be traced. Eight or nine others are mentioned, but cannot be traced from the fact of their belonging to private collections or having changed libraries or numbers.[2]

Who the William of Nassington may be, to whom the *Speculum Vitae* has been commonly ascribed, has never been determined. Horstman summarily assigns to him various works, and concludes (II, 274):

> So we have in him another Yorkshire poet of Richard Rolle's time, and his follower; but he is rather an easy versifier and translator, than an original thinker and poet.

Warton, without giving his reasons, stated that there were two Williams of Nassington:

> To this period belong two persons, who had the same name in common, and who have been consequently confounded — two writers known as William of Nassyngton. One wrote a treatise *De Trinitate et Unitate;* the other, who was a proctor in the ecclesiastical court at York, translated into English John de Waldeby's *Myrour of Life.*[3]

[1] These are as follows: Stowe MS. 951; Addit. MSS. 22,283, 22,558, 33,995; Sloane MS. 1785; Harl. MS. 435; Trinity Coll. Camb. MSS. 593, 603; Univ. Lib. Camb. MSS. Ff. IV. 9, Gg. I. 7, Gg. I. 14, Ii. 36, Ll. I. 8; Tiber. MS. E. VII; Rawl. MSS. A. 356, C. 884, C. 890; Vernon MS. A note in Warton-Hazlitt (III, 118) remarks that "Lord Ashburnham is said to possess the best manuscript." Horstman (II, 340) states that Tiber. MS. E. VII "of about 1350 is the oldest and probably the original manuscript." MS. Ii. 36 of the Univ. Lib. Camb. (dated 1423) contains a note describing the successful examination of the poem to clear it from heresy, at Cambridge in 1384. The same note is quoted by Halliwell (*Thornton Roms.*, p. xx) from "MS. Bodl. 446." Dr. Furnivall (*Notes and Queries*, 4th series, III, 169) gives a quotation from the *Speculum Vitae* as found in "Mr. Corser's manuscript," where it is called *Liber de Pater Noster per Johannem Kylyngwyke.*

[2] Ritson (*Bibl. Poet.*, p. 63) refers, under Hylton's name, to "certain pious contemplations in English rime and a Northern dialect which are extant in the Cotton Library" (Faust. B. VI. 22). Ritson notes: "It is presumed the catalogue-maker had some authority for ascribing his poem to Hylton, whose name, however, does not occur in it." In the copy of Ritson once belonging to Sir Frederic Madden, now in the Harvard Library, occurs the following manuscript note on the same passage: "There appears to be no authority. The poem is chiefly taken from Nassington's (*alias* Hampole's improperly?) *Myrour* adapted to the allegory of a Forest, etc." This is the manuscript from which the portrait of Rolle is reproduced. It contains other portraits of nuns and hermits.

[3] Warton-Hazlitt, III, 116 f. Warton gives a quotation from the *Speculum Vitae*, pp. 117–118.

The poem *De Trinitate et Unitate*,[1] here mentioned, occurs in the Thornton MS., where a note is found with it giving the information regarding William of Nassington's position as a proctor at York. This, our only piece of information regarding that person, is therefore connected with the first of Warton's two Williams of Nassington. The note runs as follows:

Incipit tractatus Willelmi Nassyngtone quondam advocati curiae Eboraci, de Trinitate et Unitate, cum declaracione operum Dei et de Passione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, etc.[2]

A careful study of the records reveals considerable evidence as to the existence of one or more Williams of Nassington in the fourteenth century. One, who was the chaplain of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, can be traced with considerable completeness from the accession of the bishop in 1326 to his own death in 1359.[3] He was described in a letter to the abbot of Warden Abbey (perhaps fifty miles from Nassington in Northampton) as "originaliter vobis non extraneus sed vicinus"; he was also said to be "utroque jure instructus." He held many benefices and, in the first years of his establishment at Exeter, he already held a benefice at Osmunderle in the diocese of York. It is the only one mentioned as belonging to him, in the letter to the abbot of Warden Abbey in 1328.[4]

Other records of this period contain the same name. In 1344–1345 one Master William de Nassington, the king's clerk, is given

[1] Printed in Horstman (II, 334) and in Perry's *Religious Pieces* (E. E. T. S., No. 26, p. 60). It is a poem of perhaps slightly higher intellectual tone than the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum Vitae*. Halliwell (*Thornton Roms.*, p. xxx) notes of it: "Warton has confused this poem, which has no merit, with Nassington's translation of Waldeby. The mistake was corrected by Sir F. Madden in Warton's History (II, 368), where the commencing lines do not seem to be accurately given." Mr. A. F. Pollard, in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, entirely confuses this poem with the *Speculum Vitae*. He declares that "Nassington's one claim to remembrance is his translation into English verse of the *Treatise on the Trinity and Unity* . . . written in Latin by one John de Waldeby. . . . The *Myrour of Life*, sometimes attributed to Richard Rolle, is identical with Nassington's translation." The compiler of the bibliography for the *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.* also (II, 498) implies that the shorter poem of Nassington is likewise from John de Waldeby. He states that "Nassington translated some Latin works, such as one of Waldeby's *On the Trinity and Unity*, and also his *Mirror of Life*."

[2] Quoted from the table of contents of the Thornton MS., as printed in *Thornton Roms.*, p. xxx.

[3] *Register of John de Grandisson*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, London, 1894.

[4] *Register*, pp. 167–168.

a benefice in the diocese of Chichester;[1] in 1345 Master W. de Nassington, vicar of the archbishop of York, is to be paid for a visitation of the Benedictine House of Weremouth in Durham;[2] a William of Nassington in 1337 is executor of the will of Master Philip of Nassington (a name found both at York and Exeter);[3] a Master William of Nassington is pardoned for acquiring land at York irregularly in 1333;[4] William of Nassington, on his resignation in 1352, is succeeded in the benefice in Chichester given him by the king by Philip of Nassington.[5]

These are the only records to be found in the Rolls as to any one bearing the name William of Nassington.[6] Any attempt to settle the question of the authorship of the *Speculum Vitae* is at present blocked by our ignorance of everything connected with the traditional author of the poem. But the character of advocate at an ecclesiastical court, given him by our only information, is such as would be far more suitable to the author of the *Prick of Conscience* — and apparently of the *Speculum Vitae* — than would be that of an original and devoted mystic, like the hermit of Hampole.

Several more facts may be recorded as of possible bearing on the connection of the *Prick of Conscience* with the *Speculum Vitae*. No attempt can be made to determine their significance, but they seem possibly to indicate a connection between the two poems. It is worthy of note that Addit. MS. 22,283 (1380–1400), "closely agreeing with portions of the somewhat earlier Vernon MS.," contains a text of the *Speculum Vitae* described in the catalogue by the following puzzling note:

> *The Mirrour of Life*: a poem generally attributed to William of Nassington, and founded on *La Somme de Vices et de Vertus*, of which there were two English prose translations in the fourteenth century, the one described under

[1] Pat. Nov. 6, 18 Ed. III, p. 374; June 7, 19 Ed. III, p. 477.

[2] Surtees Society, No. 29, 1854, p. 147.

[3] Close Rolls, Jan. 16, 10 Ed. III, p. 736.

[4] Pat. Jan. 22, 6 Ed. III, p. 783.

[5] Pat. Dec. 12, 26 Ed. III, p. 396.

[6] The name William of Nassington is found belonging once (at St. Ives in 1315) to a servant (Selden Soc., XXIII, 96). Other De Nassingtons are to be traced at Exeter at the same period as the Bishop's chaplain, William. They were lawyers or prominent ecclesiastics, some with connections at York. The same names are, in more than one case, found both at York and at Exeter. In the case of "John of Nassington" the existence of two persons bearing the name is indicated in the Rolls by the suffixes "Senior" and "Junior."

Art. 21 of this volume, the other known under the title *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, represented in a couplet at the end of the present poem:

> Prikke of Conscience hette this book,
> Whoso wol may rede and look.[1]

Some information as to the real author of the *Prick of Conscience* may be hidden in the tradition concerning a manuscript once in the possession of Dr. Munro, described by Ritson (p. 37) as "left after the death of Hampole and his brother to the Society of Friars Minor at York." A manuscript note in Sir Frederic Madden's copy of Ritson[2] states that this manuscript was then in the possession of Hudson Gurney. Since there is no record of a brother of Rolle, or, even in tradition, of any connection on his part with the Friars Minor, it is possible that this copy may have connected with it some facts regarding the actual writer of the *Prick of Conscience*. Again, Addit. MS. 33,995 (late fourteenth century) contains only four poems, namely, the *Speculum Vitae*; a poem on "Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, the Misery of human life, etc." (which is apparently the poem of similar heading printed by Horstman, with the remark that "it treats partly the same topics as the *Prick of Conscience*,

[1] Morris (*Ayenbite of Inwyt*, E. E. T. S., No. 23, p. 2, n. 1) notes that Tiber. MS. E. VII (said by Horstman to contain the oldest manuscript of the *Speculum Vitae*) contains a Northern metrical translation of *La Somme* attributed to Hampole, and that the same work exists as a fragment among the Sion College manuscripts. The quotations from the *Speculum Vitae* given by Ullmann show the debt of that work to Friar Lorens. The tract of Waldeby, if the source of the English poem, must be itself largely derived from the French tract; for, allowing for the necessary differences between poetry and prose, the first three hundred lines of the *Speculum Vitae* and pp. 98–105 of the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* may be said to be close enough to each other to make them appear translations from the same work; that is, practically everything in the *Speculum Vitae* can be found in the *Ayenbite*, though the reverse is not true. It is worth noting that *La Somme* appeared sometimes under the title *Le Miroir du Monde*, which title is preserved in the English prose translation of Bodl. MS. 283 (*Ayenbite*, ed. Morris, Preface).

It should perhaps be noted, concerning John de Waldeby, that there seems some difficulty in connecting him with the *Speculum Vitae* on account of his late date. He is said (v. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) to have been the Provincial of the Augustinian Friars in England, and the brother of Robert Waldeby, archbishop of York, who died in 1398 (v. *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, ed. James Raine, Rolls Series, London, 1886, II, 428). He himself is said, in a manuscript note on the "Trinity MS." (Tanner, *Biblio. Brit.-Hib.*, p. 746, n. *e*), to have died in 1393. It may be remembered that Horstman put the Tiberian manuscript of the *Speculum Vitae* at 1350. Some autobiographical details are said to be found in Waldeby's prologue addressed to the Abbot, St. Albans, which introduces his sermons in Caius Coll. Camb. MS. 334.

[2] In the Library of Harvard College.

often in identical terms"); [1] the *Prick of Conscience;* Nassington's poem of the Thornton MS. under the title the *Bande of Louyng.*

These facts, joined with the evidence already presented, make the question of the connection of the *Prick of Conscience* with the *Speculum Vitae* seem worth further investigation. Whether William of Nassington or some one else proves to be the author of the *Speculum Vitae,* it is possible that that author may be found to be also the author of the *Prick of Conscience.*

[1] Horstman (II, 36), in printing the piece from Reg. MS. 17 B. XVII, remarks that a later manuscript is Addit. MS. 10,053. He adds (n. 2) that this copy at the end adds two stanzas asking the reader to pray for him "that this tretis on englisshe drowe." The description in the catalogue of Addit. MS. 33,995 states that this poem (No. 2) exists also in Addit. MS. 10,053. f. 69. A note is added denying this, and stating, on the contrary, that the poem of Addit. MS. 10,053 is the *Speculum of St. Edmund.* As a matter of fact, Addit. MS. 10,053 contains both the poem on "Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, etc.," and the *Speculum.* The latter work is said by Horstman (I, 219) to be "the great storehouse from which R. Rolle derived some of his favorite subjects and ideas." M. Konrath, in a review of *Yorkshire Writers* (Herrig's *Archiv.*, XCVI, 390), objects to this statement. It seems probable that Rolle's borrowings from the *Speculum of St. Edmund,* which are referred to by Horstman, are to be found in the *Prick of Conscience.* The following sentences may be noted as similar to portions of the *Prick of Conscience:* "Sed ad cognitionem Dei qui est veritas, non potes venire nisi per cognitionem tui ipsius. Ad cognitionem tui ipsius potes venire isto modo; cogita diligenter & frequenter qualis tu es, qualis fuisti & qualis eris." There follows a passage very similar to pp. 15 f. of the *Prick of Conscience.* Later we read: "Reddes etiam rationem de quolibet verbo ocioso, de omni cogitatione ociosa" (M. de la Bigne, *Magna Bibl. Vet. Patr.*, Paris, 1654, V, col. 767).

NOTE. The portrait of Richard Rolle reproduced at the beginning of this article is one of the illustrations to an English poem on the ascetic life, entitled *The Desert of Religion,* which has been attributed to Walter Hylton. Mr. J. A. Herbert (who most kindly arranged for making the photograph which has been used in this reproduction) is of opinion that it cannot safely be assigned to an earlier date than the beginning of the fifteenth century, though Horstman thought it to be of Rolle's own time. Mr. Herbert points out also that other copies of the poem are in Stowe 39 and Addit. 37,049, both manuscripts of the first half of the fifteenth century. They both have portraits of Hampole, viz. Stowe 39 on p. 16 *b*, and Addit. 37,049 on p. 52 *b*; but these are altogether inferior to the Cottonian manuscript. The three manuscripts give three different faces. Therefore one cannot assert that any one of them is an authentic likeness.

RADCLIFFE COLLEGE MONOGRAPHS

(Formerly known as the Fay House Monographs)

(Publications of the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women)

No. 3. Fugitive Slaves (1619–1865)
By MARION G. MCDOUGALL. Prepared under the direction of ALBERT B. HART, Professor of History in Harvard University. 8vo, paper, 151 pages, $1.00 net.

No. 4. The Personal Character of Dante as Revealed in his Writings
By LUCY A. PATON. First published by the Dante Society. Reprinted by permission. 8vo, paper, 44 pages, 50 cents net.

No. 6. A Classified List of Printed Original Materials for English Manorial and Agrarian History during the Middle Ages
By FRANCES G. DAVENPORT. Prepared under the direction of W. J. ASHLEY, recently Professor of Economic History in Harvard University. 8vo, paper, 65 pages, 75 cents net.

No. 7. The Unity of Fichte's Doctrine of Knowledge
By ANNA B. THOMPSON. With an Introduction by JOSIAH ROYCE, Professor of the History of Philosophy in Harvard University. 8vo, paper, 215 pages, $1.50 net.

No. 8. The Primitive Streak and Notochordal Canal in Chelonia
By GERTRUDE C. DAVENPORT. Prepared under the direction of EDWARD L. MARK, Professor of Anatomy in Harvard University. 8vo, paper, 54 pages, with eleven plates, $1.25 net.

No. 9. An Inquiry into the Authorship of the Middleton-Rowley Plays
By PAULINE G. WIGGIN, recently Instructor in English in Vassar College. Prepared under the direction of GEORGE P. BAKER, Professor of English in Harvard University. 8vo, paper, 61 pages, 50 cents net.

No. 10. On the Sources of The Nonne Prestes Tale
By KATE OELZNER PETERSEN. 8vo, paper, 144 pages, $1.00 net.

No. 11. Anti-Slavery in America from the Introduction of African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave Trade (1619–1808)
By MARY STOUGHTON LOCKE. 8vo, paper, xv+255 pages, $1.50 net.

No. 12. The Sources of The Parson's Tale
By KATE OELZNER PETERSEN. 8vo, paper, 81 pages, 75 cents net.

No. 13. Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance
By LUCY A. PATON. 8vo, paper, xi+288 pages, $1.50 net.

No. 14. The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America (1808–1831)
By ALICE DANA ADAMS. 8vo, paper, xi+307 pages, $1.50 net.

No. 15. Studies in English and Comparative Literature. Irwin Tribute

195½

GINN AND COMPANY PUBLISHERS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

DEC 6 1964

OL OCT 1 1979

OL JAN

REC'D LD-URL

REC'D LD-URL
OL SEP 25 1972

AUG 7 1972

LD URL MAR 14 1973

INTERLIBRARY LOANS
FEB 28 1973
THREE WEEKS FROM DATE OF RECEIPT
NON-RENEWABLE UCR 73-1321
LD URL MAR 14 73

Form L9–32m-8,'58(5876s4)444

3 1158 00474 5948

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 000 297 650 4

U