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THE HARROWING OF HELL IN LITURGICAL DRAMA.

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The place of the story of the *Harrowing of Hell* in mediaeval literature in general¹ and in mediaeval vernacular drama in particular² has been comprehensively reviewed, and in many details exhaustively investigated. So far as mediaeval vernacular drama is concerned, the attention to this theme has followed inevitably upon the widespread diffusion of the *Harrowing of Hell* story in mediaeval dramatic cycles. However, except for a few scattered references and a few printed texts, the place of this story in the liturgical drama that underlies the principal vernacular developments has not yet been expounded.³ In the

¹ See R. P. Wülcker, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Literatur*, Paderborn, 1872; J. Monnier, *La Descente aux Enfers*, Paris, 1905; W. H. Hulme, *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*, London, 1908, pp. lx-lxx; E. K. Rand, *Sermo de Confusione Diaboli*, in *Modern Philology*, Vol. II (1904), pp. 266-267.

² See Monnier, pp. 211-245; Wülcker, pp. 60-95; W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, Vol. I. Halle, 1893, pp. 108-361 *passim*; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 74-5; W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 61-64, 98-104. A study of the place of the *Harrowing of Hell* theme in mediaeval drama is expected from the hand of Professor W. H. Hulme. See Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. xxi, note 1.

³ On the *Harrowing of Hell* in liturgical drama see Chambers, Vol. II, p. 20; Meyer, pp. 62-64; Creizenach, Vol. I, pp. 55-56; G. Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Wolfenbüttel, 1880, pp. 126-131; 135-136. These writers have used the following printed sources: (1) *Ordo Augustensis*, 1487, printed by Milchsack, pp. 127-129 (cf. F. A. Hoeyneck, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Liturgie des Bisthums Augsburg*, Augsburg, 1889, pp. 220-221); (2) *Ordo Wirceburgensis*, 1564, printed by Milchsack, p. 135; (3) *Bamberg Agenda*, 1587, printed in *Zeit-*

following pages I venture to contribute to this phase of the subject certain new texts, with certain observations as to their significance.

Without attempting a review of the diffusion of the Harrowing of Hell story in dramatic literature, one may say that for the mediaeval drama of Western Europe the source of this story is the *Evangelium Nicodemi*. In its complete form this monument is composed of two parts, the *Acta Pilati* and the *Descensus Christi ad Inferos*, which were probably written at different times, and in entire independence of each other. The older of these two parts, the *Descensus*, assigned to the second or third century, is the particular document with which we are immediately concerned.¹

The *Descensus* contains a lively and dramatic account of Christ's descent into Hades in the interval between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, of his breaking down the gates of hell, of his binding Satan, and of his releasing the souls of the patriarchs from their long imprisonment. The most dramatic part of the *Descensus*, and the part that shows its effect most directly upon drama, is found in the following passage from the Latin version:²

Et cum haec ad invicem loquerentur Satan princeps et inferus, subito facta est vox ut tonitruum et spiritualis clamor: *Tollite portas*

schrift für deutsches Alterthum, xxix, 247-250; (4) *Sacerdotale Romanae Ecclesiae*, 1560, printed in *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, xxix, 253-255. To these may be added the *Elevatio Crucis* from *Breviarium secundum usum Hereford*, Rouen, 1505, reprinted by W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown, *The Hereford Breviary* (Henry Bradshaw Society), Vol. I, London, 1904, pp. 324-325. This ceremony seems not to be found in the earlier service books of Hereford. See *id.*, p. ix.

¹For evidence on these matters connected with the *Evangelium Nicodemi* see the article by Von Dobschütz, *Gospel of Nicodemus*, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, pp. 544-547; A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 21-24; Rand, *loc. cit.*, p. 262; Hulme, pp. lx ff.

²*Evangelium Nicodemi*, Pars II, Cap. v-vi, C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 397-400. Although Greek versions of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* undoubtedly preceded the Latin versions, the extant Latin MSS. are older and more authoritative than the extant Greek MSS. See Von Dobschütz, *loc. cit.*, p. 545.

principes vestras, et elevamini portae aeternales¹, et introibit rex gloriae. Haec audiens inferus dixit ad Satan principem: Recede a me et exi de meis sedibus foras: si potens es praeliator, pugna adversum regem gloriae . . . Haec autem audiens omnis multitudo sanctorum cum voce increpationis dixerunt ad inferum: Aperi portas tuas ut intret rex gloriae . . . Haec autem audientes omnes sancti ab Esaia dixerunt ad inferum: Aperi portas tuas: nunc victus, infirmus et impotens eris. Et facta est vox magna ut tonitruum dicens: *Tolite portas principes vestras, et elevamini portae infernales,¹ et introibit rex gloriae.* Videns inferus quia duabus vicibus haec clamaverunt, quasi ignorans dicit: *Quis est rex gloriae?* Respondens David ad inferum ait: Ista verba clamoris cognosco, quoniam ego eadem per spiritum eius vaticinatus sum. Et nunc quae supra dixi dico tibi: *Dominus fortis et potens, dominus potens in praelio, ipse est rex gloriae.* Et ipse dominus de caelo in terris prospexit ut audiret gemitus compeutorum et ut solveret filios interemptorum. Et nunc, spurcissime et foetidissime infere, aperi portas tuas ut intret rex gloriae. Haec dicente David ad inferum supervenit in forma hominis dominus maiestatis, et aeternas tenebras illustravit et indissolubilia vincula disruptit: et invictae virtutis auxilium visitavit nos sedentes in profundis tenebris delictorum et in umbra mortis peccatorum . . . Tunc rex gloriae maiestate sua conculcans mortem et comprehendens Satan principem tradidit inferi potestati, et attraxit Adam ad suam claritatem.

Before we undertake to consider the direct relation of certain parts of this dramatic passage to liturgical drama, we may first notice their resemblance to similar passages in the Vulgate and in the liturgy itself. The last four verses of Psalm xxiv (xxiii) are the following:

7. Attollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae.

8. Quis est iste rex gloriae? Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in praelio.

9. Attollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae.

10. Quis est iste rex gloriae? Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex gloriae.

That this passage from the psalm represents in some way the source of the parallels in the *Descensus* there can be no doubt.

But waiving this consideration for the moment, we may note

¹As Tischendorf suggests (p. 397), *aeternales* and *infernales* have apparently exchanged places in the MS.

that the effect of these dramatic passages,—whether from the psalm or from the *Descensus*, or from both,—is seen in early versions of the *Liber Responsalis*, where we find as the first respond of Matins for the first Sunday of Advent the following beautiful composition:

Responsorium: Aspiciens a longe ecce uideo Def potentiam uenientem et nebulam totam terram tegentem. Ite obviam ei et dicite: Nuntia nobis si tu es ipse, Qui regnaturus es in populo Israhel.

Versus: Quique terrigene et filii hominum simul in unum, dives et pauper. Ite.

Versus: Qui regis Israhel, intende, qui deducis uelut ouem Ioseph, qui sedes super Cherubim. Nuntia.

Versus: Tollite portas, principes, uestras et eleuamini porte aeternales, et introibit. Qui regna <urus>.¹

Similarly, in the *Graduale (Liber Antiphonarius)* we find the following as the Gradual of the Mass for Thursday in the third week of Advent:

Resp. Tollite portas principes uestras, et eleuamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae.

Vers. Quis ascendet in montem Domini, aut quis stabit in loco sancto ejus? Innocens manibus, et mundo corde.²

In the *Processionale* used in many churches north of the Alps we again meet the familiar dramatic challenge under the rubric of Palm Sunday. The rendering of this dialogue at the church door after the processional hymn, *Gloria, laus, et honor* has been sung is attested by the following evidence:

Hujus hymni <i. e. *Gloria laus*>, qui longe prolixior est in veteri missali Albiensi et in Pictaviensi Pontificali ab annis circiter 800 exarato, quinque aut sex dumtaxat strophas dicimus, quibus finitis, olim

¹ *Antiphonarium Hartkeri, saec. xi*, St. Gall MS. 390-391, pp. 15-16, published in photograph in *Paléographie Musicale*, Deuxième Série, Tome I. Since *Paléographie Musicale* is not at present accessible to me, my friend, H. W. L. Dana has very kindly copied for me the text given above. P. Batiffol (*History of the Roman Breviary*, London, 1898, pp. 115-117) comments upon the dramatic splendor of this respond.

² Migne, *Pat. lat.*, lxxviii, 643. On the *Tollite portas* formula in the offertory of the Mass for the day preceding Christmas see P. Wagner, *Origine et Développement du Chant Liturgique*, Tournai, 1904, p. 113.

episcopus, sive ille qui officio praeerat, portas percutiebat dicens: *Attollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae; cui existentes in ecclesia reponebant: Quis est iste Rex gloriae? Ad quos cum ille tertio dixisset: Attollite portas, similemque illi dedissent responsionem, ipse tandem clamabat: Dominus virtutum, ipse est Rex gloriae.* Tunc clausae aperiebantur valvae. Ita fere legitur in missali Arelatensi, in Bituricensi, in Catalaunensi, in Pictavensi, in missali canonicorum regularium monasterii de Aqua viva in dioecesi Turonensi, in ordinario Rotomagensi, in Cenomanensi, et Namnetensi, in Rituali S. Martini Turonensi et aliis quibusdam. Apertis januis, cantor imponebat antiphonam: *Ingrediente Domino.*¹

So far as I know, it would be idle to try to establish a direct relation between any of these three liturgical elements,—from the *Liber Responsalis*, the *Graduale*, and the *Processionale*, respectively,—and the *Evangelium Nicodemi*. Whatever echoes from the *Evangelium* may have sounded in the ears of the liturgists who first entered these formulas in the service-books of the Church, those pious men must have used the psalm as their direct model. The intention of each of these liturgical pieces is to celebrate the entry of Christ into the world or into Jerusalem, an intention entirely consonant to that of the psalm.²

¹ E. Martene, *Tractatus de antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina*, Lugduni, 1706, pp. 195–196. Cf. *id.*, pp. 206, 212, and E. Wiepen, *Palmsonntagsprozession und Palmesel*, Bonn, 1903.

² Verses 7–10 of Psalm xxiv constitute a triumphal procession quite separate in origin from the rest of the psalm. See B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, Freiburg, 1899, p. 76; G. H. and A. von Ewald, *Commentary on the Psalms*, Vol. I, London, 1880, pp. 79–80; C. A. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Book of Psalms*, Vol. I, New York, 1906, pp. 216–218. The question as to the ultimate relation of these verses of the psalm to the parallels in the *Evangelium Nicodemi* is of no great importance in the present study. On this point my information is very inadequate. Hulme (*op. cit.*, p. Lxii) seems to imply that the psalmist had definitely in mind as his model some version of the *Descent* story, an implication not expressed by the commentators mentioned above. The opinion of T. K. Cheyne (*Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, London, 1891, p. 223) is that “the highly dramatic use of v. 7 in the apocryphal *Descensus Christi* can scarcely be viewed as more than a poetical licence.” Chambers’s view is (*Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II, p. 74) that “the narrative [*i. e.*, of the *Evangelium*

None of these formulas is in any way associated with the notion of the descent to hell.

In the Ceremonial for the Dedication of a Church, the case seems to be somewhat altered. The early adoption of the *Tollite portas* formula into the *Rituale* is shown in the following passage from an *Ordo Dedicacionis* of the ninth century:¹

. . . Incipit pontifex aquam aspergere consecratam a foris sequendo feretro reliquiarum, cleroque canente antifonam *Asperges me Domine* cum psalmo L^{mo}, sed uno ex clericis in nova ecclesia clausis hostiis quasi latente. Nam pontifex circumit ecclesiam ab hostio in partem aquilonarem prima vice usque iterum ad idem hostium; et cum illic perventum fuerit pulsat hostium tribus vicibus, dicendo: *Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae.* Ille deintus respondens dicat: *Quis est iste rex gloriae?* Iterum circumienda est ecclesia secunda vice sicut prius, cum eadem antiphona et eodem psalmo, usquedum perveniatur ad hostium, atque iterum pulsetur sicut prius eisdem verbis et idem respondente deintus latente. Tunc tertio iterum circumienda est eodem modo cum eodem cantu usque iterum ad hostium. Tunc dicenti pontifici et pulsanti respondum est ei sicut prius: *Quis est iste rex gloriae?* Pontifex respondeat: *Dominus virtutum ipse est Rex gloriae.*

Tunc aperientur hostia et canenda est antiphona *Ambulate sancti Dei, ingredimini in domum Domini*, cum psalmo *Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi*, et cetera. Et ille qui prius fuerat intus quasi fugiens egrediatur ad illud hostium foras, iterum ingressurus per primum hostium vestitus vestimentis ecclesiasticis. . .

Although the text itself of the *Dedicatio* may seem in places clearly to echo the words of the Psalm,² and although the rite certainly carries the intention of a triumphal entry "in domum Domini," the ceremonial contains clear suggestions also of Christ's entry into hell. The notion of the harrowing of hell seems to be suggested in at least two ways: namely, by the

Nicodemus] makes use of the *Tollite portas* passage from the twenty-fourth Psalm."

¹ Printed from the Sacramentary of Drogo, Bishop of Metz (826-855), by L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship, Its Origin and Evolution*, translated by M. L. McClure, London, 1904, pp. 487-488. On the *Dedicatio Ecclesiae* see J. Baudot, *La Dédicace des Eglises*, Paris, 1909.

² The expression, *Dominus virtutum*, for example, seems to come from the psalm. For the opinion that Psalm xxiv, 7-10 was itself a formula of Dedication see Duhm, p. 76.

cleric who, hidden within the church (*quasi latente*), utters the challenge, *Quis est iste rex gloriæ?*, and flees (*quasi fugiens*) when the doors are opened; and by the subsequent purifying of the building.

But since none of the liturgical pieces hitherto mentioned ever had any connection with drama, in tracing the entrance of the Descent theme into true liturgical drama we must seek a new avenue of approach, an avenue that leads us at once to a well-known series of dramatic offices connected with the *Sepulchrum* of Eastertide.¹ This series of dramatic offices

¹An admirably clear account of the Easter Sepulchre is given by Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 16-25. A later article, *The Easter Sepulchre*, by the late Father Feasey, O. S. B., is found in the *Ecclesiastical Review* (Philadelphia), 1905, pp. 337-356, 468-500. Unfortunately Father Feasey seems not to have known Mr. Chambers' indispensable book.

Both accounts seem,—perhaps inevitably,—to lack precision in the following points:

- (1) the origin of the *Sepulchrum* itself;
- (2) the confusion of the false "sepulchre" of the *reservation* from Thursday to Friday and the true *sepulchrum* of the *burial* from Friday to Easter;
- (3) the attachment to the *sepulchrum* of the *Quem quaeritis* Visitation Office.

In another place I shall venture to add a modicum to the information on these points at present accessible to students of the drama. In addition to the materials used by Chambers and by Feasey, one may consult Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-ecclesiastico* Vols. VIII, 293-4, LXIV, 81-90; J.—B. Thiers, *Traité de l'Exposition du S. Sacrement de l'autel*, T. II, Avignon, 1777, pp. 175-192; C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe: Études archéologiques sur ses monuments*, 8 Vols., Paris, 1883 ff., I, 107-109, 239, II, 57-78; H. A. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1847, p. 375; *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*, xx (1854), p. 43; *Annales Archéologiques*, iv, 238, 241-2, 246-248; F. X. Kraus, *Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, Vol. I, pp. 39, 89-90; X. Barbier de Montault, *Les Tabernacles de la Renaissance à Rome*, Arras, 1879, pp. 5-7; *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1887, p. 84; G. Diclich, *Dizionario Sacro-Liturgico*, Vol. IV, Venice, 1836, pp. 7-9; J. Corblet, *Histoire dogmatique, liturgique et archéologique du Sacrement de l'Eucharistie*, 2 Vols., Paris, 1885-86, I, 538, II, 92; J. Corblet, *Essai historique et liturgique sur les ciboires*

comprises the following: (1) the *Depositio Crucis*, an office which was performed usually just after the Mass of Good Friday, and which centered in the placing within the *sepulchrum* of a crucifix, or of a Host, or of both of these; (2) the *Elevatio Crucis*, consisting in the raising from the *sepulchrum* of the "buried" object or objects, celebrated usually just before Matins of Easter morning; and (3) the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, observed immediately after Easter Matins, in commemoration of the visit of the Maries to the empty sepulchre,—an office that followed naturally, but not inevitably, upon the *Depositio* and the *Elevatio*. It was to the second of these offices that the *Tollite portas* very naturally attached itself, and it is primarily to the evolution of the *Elevatio Crucis* that we must direct our subsequent attention.

In the following pages I present texts of the *Elevatio* illustrating both the simpler forms of the office in which there is no trace of the Descent theme, and the more elaborate forms in which the *Tollite portas* is a dominating element. Since no real study of the *Elevatio* has yet been made, I am glad of this modest opportunity for calling attention to this important office. Of the *Depositio* I make no study in the present article. For the sake of completeness I present such texts of the *Depositio* as are found in the manuscripts from which I print texts of the *Elevatio*, deferring for the moment a more special study of the former office. Likewise, for the sake of completeness I shall offer a few texts of the *Visitatio*, hoping thus in a measure to escape condemnation from those investigators who have too often been exasperated by the printing of only one or two of these closely related dramatic offices from a manuscript that contains all three of them.

et la réserve de l'Eucharistie, Paris, 1858, pp. 14-15; *La Civiltà Cattolica*, Serie XVI, Vol. VIII, 1896, pp. 598-9; *Messenger des Fidèles*, 1886-87, No. 2, pp. 66-7; H. Thurston, *Easter Sepulchre, or Altar of Repose*, in *The Month* (1903), pp. 404-414; D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, Vol. IV, London, 1904, pp. 278-9; One is surprised to find no contribution to this subject in G. Cohen's *Histoire de la Mise en Scène dans le Théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1906, pp. 21-3.

I

The text of the *Elevatio* from MS. 387 of the Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gall,¹ may well come first, both because of its age and because of its simplicity. It is to be observed, in the first place, that the office before us occupied the precise liturgical position, at the end of Easter Matins, that was later given over to the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, this latter ceremony being, almost certainly, of later origin than either the *Depositio* or the *Elevatio*.² In the second place, one notes that although the act of elevation itself seems to be accompanied by no precisely appropriate liturgical text, this simple ceremony is followed immediately by the singing of a respond, the general content of which is the same as that of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* that later took this position in the liturgy.³ Lastly, it appears that according to the use of St. Gall in the eleventh century, the monks "buried" in the *Sepulchrum* the *Corpus Domini* alone, without the cross.⁴

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁵

(p. 55) *Responsorium*.⁶ Dum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalena et Maria Iacobi et Salome emerunt aromata, ut

¹ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 387, p. 55, *Breviarium Monasticum Sangallense saec. xi*,—described by G. Scherer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, Halle, 1875, pp. 131–132. The attachment of this breviary to the monastery of St. Gall is clearly shown by the *Sanctorale* (S. Gallus, pp. 31, 461; S. Otmarus pp. 33, 512; S. Columbanus, p. 33).

² This MS contains no *Depositio* for Good Friday, and no suggestion of an *Elevatio* other than that printed herewith.

³ In another place I shall make certain observations on the importance of this text for the history of the "Quem quaeritis" *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

⁴ That the St. Gall use changed in this matter is shown by St. Gall MS. 448, *Breviarium Sangallense saec. xv in.*, the pertinent parts of which I have published elsewhere (See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXIV, 1909, pp. 319–321. According to St. Gall MS. 448 (p. 102) the *Cruz* alone was "buried" on Good Friday.

⁵ S. Gall, MS. 387, p. 55.

⁶ Third Respond of Easter Matins.

uenientes unguerent Iesum, aeuia, aeuia. *Versus*: Et ualde mane una sabbatorum ueniunt ad monumentum, orto iam sole, aeuia. *Gloria*.

SUBLATO IGITUR CORPORE DOMINI DE MONUMENTO INCIPiAT CANTOR *responsorium*: Angelus domini descendit <de celo et accedens reuoluit lapidem, et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere, scio enim quia crucifixum queritis; iam surrexit, uenite et uidete locum ubi positus erat dominus, aeuia. *VERSUS*: Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem queritis, an Ihesum queritis? Iam surrexit.> IN-TRANTIBUS AUTEM IN CHORUM INCIPiAT CANTOR ANTIPHONAM: Surrexit Xpictus et illuxit populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, aeuia.

VERSUS: Haec est alma dies in qua spoliatur auernus.

Resurrexit homo Deus, exultate redempti.

Te Deum laudamus.¹

II

The text of the *Elevatio* from Bodleian MS. Miscellaneous Liturgical 202² is conspicuously different from the text given above, both in position and in ceremonial. It will be observed that the present office is placed immediately before Easter Matins,—the normal position for the *Elevatio*. The advance in ceremonial in this version is simple and obvious. A certain interest attaches to the fact that the office includes the singing of the respond, *Angelus domini*, the content of which is more appropriate to the *Visitatio Sepulchri*; which is found at the end of Matins in this same manuscript.³ From the text below it appears that the *Cruz* alone is raised.

¹ The rubric, In *Matutinis Laudibus*, follows immediately.

² Oxford, Bodleian MS. Misc. Liturg. 202, fol. 71v-72r,—*Breviarium Monasticum* of the 13th century, probably of Dominican use and from South Germany. The MS. is described by W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, Vol. I, London, 1901, No. 85. The MS. contains also a *Visitatio*, but no *Depositio*.

³ Printed by C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887, pp. 81-2. A fresh text appears below.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS.>¹

(fol. 71^v) IN NOCTE AUTEM AD MATUTINAS² SURGUNT FRATRES, ATQUE MONASTERIUM INTRANTES CLAUDUNT ILLUD, NEC ALIQUEM LAICORUM INGRESSE PERMITTUNT. TUNC STANTES FACIUNT ORACIONES. DEINDE MYRRAM 7 TYMIAMA ACCENDUNT 7 AQUAM BENEDICTAM ASPERGUNT AC CRUCEM DE LOCO SEPULTURE AD LOCUM SUUM PORTANT CANTANTES *responsorium*: Angelus domini. IBI LINTEAMINA 7 LUMINA DIMITTUNT. POSTEA CUSTOS IUBET APERIRE (fol. 72^r) IANUAS ATQUE SONARE MATUTINAS. POST HEC IN CHORO MUTUA CARITATE SE INVICEM OSCULANTES DICUNT *antiphonam*: SURREXIT. RESPONDENT Gaudeamus omnes.³

<VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁴

(fol. 72^v) Post GLORIA⁵ HUIUS⁶ PATRI INCIPIAT CANTOR *RESPONSORIUM* A CAPITE 7 EXEANT DE CHORO CUM MAGNA REVERENCIA PORTANTES CANDELAS IN MANIBUS ARDENTES. ILLIS ERGO⁷ ORDINATIM⁸ STANTIBUS TRES PRESBITERI MAIORIS PERSONE INDUTI⁹ BONIS CAPPIS CUM TURRIBULIS FUMIGANTIBUS SUB TYPO SANCTARUM MULIERUM UADUNT AD SEPULCHRUM. IBI SEDENT DUO DIACONI DALMATICIS UESTITI SUB UICE ANGELORUM. PRESBITERI UERO LOCO MULIERUM DICANT¹⁰ HUNC UERSUM:

¹ Bodleian MS. Misc. Liturg. 202, fol. 71^v-72^r.

² Matins of Easter morning.

³ Followed immediately by the rubric, Deinde, Domine labia mea aperies, 7 Deus in adiutorium,—a rubric indicating the beginning of Matins.

⁴ Bodleian MS. Misc. Liturg. 202, fol. 72^v-73^r, printed by Lange, pp. 81-2.

⁵ Lange, Gloriam.

⁶ Omitted by Lange. Refers to the third respond of Matins, which immediately precedes.

⁷ Lange, vero.

⁸ Lange, ordinate.

⁹ MS., unditi.

¹⁰ Lange, dicunt.

Quis revoluit¹ nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sacrum
cernimus sepulchrum?

ANGELI respondeant:

Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumulo plorantes?
MULIERES:

Iesum querimus² nazarenum crucifixum.

ANGELI:

Non est hic quem queritis, sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis
eius 7 Petro quia surrexit Iesus.

Antiphona: Venite 7 uidete locum ubi positus erat dominus,
aeuia, aeuia.

TUNC PETRUS 7 IOHANNES CURREBANT AD SEPULCRUM:

Currebant duo simul 7 ille alius discipulus precucurrit cicius
Petro 7 uenit prior ad monumentum, aeuia.

TUNC SACERDOTES INTRANSANTES LOCUM SEPULTURE LINTEAMEN³
INDE ACCIPIUNT⁴ 7 PORTENT ANTE SE USQUE AD MEDIUM
MONASTERIUM, ILLUDQUE OMNIBUS OSTENDENTES (fol. 73^r)
DICANT HANC ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in
ligno, aeuia.

TUNC CANTOR ALTE⁵ INCIPIAT: TE DEUM LAUDAMUS, ET
POPULUS: *Kyrie*, CAMPANIS CLARE SONANTIBUS. POST HEC
NEQUE HODIE NEQUE IN TOTA ISTA EBDOMADA⁶ IN MATUTINIS
LAUDIBUS DICAS, *Deus in adiutorium.*

III

MS. 279 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, contains
an *Elevatio*⁷ of which the ceremonial is somewhat more
elaborate than that of the offices given above, the *Corpus*

¹ In the MS. the words, *Quis revolū*, without musical notation, pre-
cede this sentence.

² In the MS. the n of *querimus* is erased by the dot under it.

³ *Lange*, *linteramina*, which may well be right.

⁴ *Lange*, *accipiant*.

⁵ Omitted by *Lange*.

⁶ MS., *ebdomoda*.

⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 279, fol. 200^r-200^v, a 13th
century breviary of the Collegiate Church of St. Sépulcre at Caen.
A description of the MS. is given by H. Martin, *Catalogue des Manu-*

Domini and the *Crux* being removed from the *sepulchrum* separately. The office occupies its normal place, immediately before Matins.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS.>¹

(fol. 200^r) DIE *sancto* PASCHE AD *Matutinas*, CLERICIS IN ECCLESIA CONGREGATIS *Episcopus* UEL *Sacerdos* CUM CLERO, CEREIS, ET THURIBULIS AD SEPULCHRUM ACCEDAT, QUO INCENSATO CORPUS DOMINI INDE SUMPTUM CUM REUERENTIA SUPER ALTARE DEONAT. ITEM EXTOLLAT CRUCEM DE SEPULCHRO, INCIPIAT *antiphonam*: *Xpistus* resurgens. TUNC OMNES CUM GAUDIO ADORENT CRUCEM CANTANTES *dictam antiphonam* CUM SUO UERSU, ET SIC CUM MAGNA UENERATIONE DEPORTETUR CRUX AD LOCUM PROVISUM. ANTIPHONA *Xpistus* resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur, quod enim uiuit, uiuit Deo, alleluia, alleluia. *Versus*: Dicant nunc Iudei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem, quare non seruabant petram iusticie; aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent² nobiscum dicentes alleluia, alleluia. *Versus*: Surrexit dominus de sepulchro. ORATIO: Deus, qui pro nobis filium tuum crucis patibulum subire uoluisti, ut inimici a nobis expelleres potestatem, concede nobis famulis tuis ut resurrectionis *gratiam* consequamur. Per eundem. POSTEA STATIM (fol. 200^v) INCIPIANTUR *Matutine* MORE COMMUNI, FESTUM DUPLEX CUM QUATUOR CAPIS DE STALLO.³

IV

In MS. 253 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Rouen⁴ we are fortunate in finding texts of the three related offices,—*De-*

scrips de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Vol. I, Paris, 1885. The MS. contains no *Depositio* and no *Visitatio*.

¹ Paris, Arsenal, MS. 279, fol. 200^r–200^v.

² MS., adorant.

³ The rubric, *Inuitatorium*, follows immediately.

⁴ Rouen, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 253 (*olim* A. 538), *Agenda* of the 14th century from the monastery of Fécamp, described in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, Vol. I, Paris, 1866.

positio, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio*.¹ Although the simple ceremonial of this *Elevatio* shows no important advance toward drama, the text offers interesting variations from the three texts of the *Elevatio* given above.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>²

(fol. 44^r) *POSTQUAM*³ *OMNES ADORAUERINT CESSAT CHORUS A CANTANDO 7 PROCEDAT ABBAS, 7 REUESTITI AD CRUCIFIXUM, ATQUE PORTANT ILLUM IN SEPULCHRUM RETRO ALTARE AD HOC HONORIFICE PREPARATUM, PRECEDENTIBUS SERUITORIBUS ECCLESIE CUM THURIBULO 7 CANDELABRIS DUOBUS. ET IN COLLOCANDO ILLUM IBI INCIPIT ABBAS PERCANTANDAM A CHORO ANTIPHONAM: In pacem idipsum. INDE RECEDENS APPOSITO INCENSO PRIMITUS INCIPIT PORTANDO A CHORO CUM UERSU SUO RESPONSORIUM: Sepulto domino. INTERIM PRECEDAT PRECEDENTIBUS SERUITORIBUS AD ARMARIUM IUXTA ALTARE SANCTI SALUATORIS pro DOMINICO CORPORE super IPSUM ALTARE AFFERENDO; THURIFICATQUE ABBAS ILLUD, DEINDE AFFERT AD ALTARE INCIPIENS PSALMUM: Miserere mei, Deus, quod CHORUS, PSALMODIAT STATIM FLEXIS GENIBUS INCHOATIM.*⁴

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁵

(fol. 53^v) *DIE sancto PASCHE ANTEQUAM PULSETUR AD MATUTINAS LEVATUR CRUCIFIXUS AB ABBATE 7 OFFICIARIIS UNA AC SERUITORIBUS 7 CLERICIS ECCLESIE EXCITATIS AD HOC A SACRISTIS DE SEPULCHRO IN LOCUM SUUM super ALTARE SANCTE TRINITATIS IN HUNC MODUM. ABBAS REUESTITUS IN CAPA ACCEDENS AD SEPULCHRUM, THURE PRIMITUS APPOSITO INCIPIT 7 ALII PERCANTANT⁶ CUM EO RESPONSORIUM (fol. 54^r): XPistus resurgens, cum uersu: Dicant nunc, ut infra PROPE. ITEM*

¹The *Visitatio* has been published by Lange, pp. 36-37. A fresh text is presented herewith.

²Rouen MS. 253 (*olim* A. 538), fol. 44^r.

³The *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday immediately precedes this text.

⁴The rubric, *Sabbato Sancto Pasche*, follows immediately.

⁵Rouen MS. 253 (*olim* A. 538), fol. 53^v-55^r.

⁶MS. *pereant*, changed somewhat later to *percantant*.

ymnus: *Consurgit Xpistus tumulo, usque in finem. Interimque portant crucifixum super altare 7 inde leuatur superius per eosdem 7 statim interim pulsantibus duobus paruis signis deteriat abbas orationes 7 postea dicuntur Matutine usque ad laudas. Post¹ tercium responsorium tres fratres in specie mulierum quorum unus in capa rubea portet thuribulum inter duos alios 7 ceteri duo ex utroque latere eius in dalmaticis candidis portent uasa in modum pissidarum stantesque iuxta candelabrum² cantent humiliter³ ita conquerentes:*

O Deus, quis reuoluet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti?

Hinc procedant lente⁴ usque ad ostium iuxta altare 7 unus frater in albis in specie angeli stans iuxta sepulchrum respondeat:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Xpisticole?

Mulieres⁵ ad Angelum:

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicola.

Angelus:

Non (fol. 54^v) est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite nunciate⁶ quia surrexit dicentes.

Mulieres:⁷

Alleluia, resurrexit dominus.

Angelus:

Alleluia, resurrexit dominus.

Mulieres ad Populum:

Alleluia, surrexit dominus.

Angelus ad Mulieres:

Venite 7 uidete locum ubi positus erat dominus, alleluia, alleluia.

Mulieres ad Populum:

¹ Beginning with this word, the rest of this text has been printed by Lange, pp. 36-37.

² Lange, candelabram.

³ Lange, humile.

⁴ Lange, lete.

⁵ Lange, mulier.

⁶ Lange, nuntiate.

⁷ Lange, mulier.

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

INCIPIAT ABBAS 7 CANTOR, DEINDE CHORUS PERCANTENT¹ YMNUM: Te Deum lau (fol. 55^r) damus.

V

Munich MS. lat. 7691,² like the manuscript just considered, contains a *Depositio*, an *Elevatio*, and a *Visitatio*.³ The *Elevatio* shows interesting differences both in content and in ceremonial from the texts given above.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁴

(p. 119) IN sancta nocte pasce surgant fratres, et lotis manibus et accensis candelis cum summa reverencia accedant ad sepulchrum Domini et dicant ibi psalmos: Domine, quid multiplicati, sine Gloria patri, et psalmum: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit. ET POSTEA, Kyrie eleyson, Xpiste eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster. Versus: Exurge, Domine, adiuva nos. Versus: Domine, Deus uirtutum, conuerte nos. Versus: Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos. Versus: Domine, exaudi orationem. Oratio: Da nobis, quesumus, Domine, locum sepulture. THURIFICATA ET ASPERSA YMAGINE CRUCIFIXI, Dominus Prelatus (p. 120) SUMAT IPSAM YMAGINEM UNA CUM DUOBUS SENIORIBUS CUM SUMMA REUERENCIA et PORTENT AD CHORUM ANTE SUMMUM ALTARE CANTANTES HUMILI AC MEDIOCRI UOCE ANTIPHONAM: Xpistus resurgens ex mortuis. Versus: In resurrectione tua, Xpiste, cum oratione: Deus;

¹ Lange, percantet.

² Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 7691, an *Ordo Breviarii* of the 15th century from Indersdorf. A very inadequate description of the MS. will be found in *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*.

³ As the result of a photographer's error, I am not able to give the text of the *Depositio*. The *Visitatio* has been published by Lange, pp. 107-108. I offer a new text herewith.

⁴ Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS. lat. 7691, pp. 119-120.

qui nos resurrectionis dominice, et cetera. QUIBUS FINITIS, Dominus Prelatus prior ACCEDAT AD YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI EAM OSCULANDO, DEINDE DECANUS ET COMMUNITER SECUNDUM ORDINEM. POSTEA STATIM PULSENTUR TRÖRES¹ AD MATUTINUM.

<VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>²

(p. 120) Tercium responsorium³ post Gloria Patri RE-INCIPITUR, ET TUNC FIT VISITATIO SEPULCHRI TALITER.⁴ CONVENTU MANENTE IN CHORO, TRES PERSONE, (p. 121) PRECEDENTIBUS DUABUS ACCENSIS CANDELIS, CANTENT AD SEPULCHRUM SIMUL UERSUM:

Ihesu, nostra redemptio.

ET STATIM SUBIUNGANT CIRCUMEUNDO SEPULCHRUM UERSUM:

Sed eamus.

ET STATIM POST UERSUM:⁵

Quis reuoluet nobis?

TUNC ANGELI SEDENTES CUM⁶ SEPULCHRO CANTENT UERSUM:

Quem queritis?

ISTE TRES PERSONE RESPONDENT UERSUM:

Ihesum nazarenum.

ANGELI:

Non est hic.

ET SIC STATIM SURGENTES DE LOCO OSTENDANT SEPULCHRUM ESSE UACUUM CANTANTES UERSUM:

Venite et uidete,

¹This word, tröres, I prefer to print as it stands in the MS. Although the *reading* admits of no doubt, the *expanding* seems to me perilous. I know of no word that meets the conditions. *Turris*, *trinion*, *trombator*, *tremor*, etc. all combat either the contraction or the context. In any case the word is unusual, the oft-recurring words in this rubric being *campana*, *classicum*, *tintinnabulum*, and *signaculum*.

²Munich Cod. lat. 7691, pp. 120-121. See Lange, pp. 107-108.

³The third respond of Easter Matins.

⁴Omitted by Lange.

⁵Omitted by Lange.

⁶Lange, in,—which gives, obviously, better sense.

OSTENDENTES HUMERALE. POSTEA SUBIUNGANT *circumeundo*¹
SEPULCHRUM² *tres persone uersum*:

Hew, hew!

ET ITERUM *uersum*:

Ad monumentum uenimus.

ET SIC RECEDENT. DEINDE CHORUS CANTET *antiphonam*:

Currebant duo simul.

ET DUO UENIENTES AD SEPULCHRUM CANTENT *uersum*:

Cernitis, o socii,

TENENTES IN MANIBUS SUDARIUM POSITUM IN SEPULCHRO. ET
STATIM SUBIUNGIT CHORUS *antiphonam*:

Surrexit enim sicut dixit.

QUA FINITA INCIPIANT HY DUO:

Crist ist erstanden.

ET OMNIA SIGNA PULSENTUR ECIAM *circa altaria*. ET POSTEA
PRELATUS INCIPIAT CANTICUM:

Te Deum laudamus.³

VI

The *Elevatio* from Munich MS. lat. 5546⁴ is valuable for its completeness and fulness rather than for its novelty.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁵

(fol. 147^r) OFFICIO MISSE⁶ FINITO 7 SEPULCHRO PREPARATO 7 DECENTER ORNATO, SINT INPROMPTO *tria* THURIBULA CUM INCENSO THURE, MIRRA 7 THYMIAMATE 7 QUATUOR CANDELE INCENSE 7 PONTIFEX SIUE *presbyter* CUM ALIIS SACERDOTIBUS 7 MINISTRIS PORTANTES YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI UERSUS SEPULCHRUM LUGUBRI UOCE CANTENT HOC *responsorium*: Ecce

¹ Lange, ineundo.

² Omitted by Lange.

³ The rubric, *Ad Laudes*, follows immediately.

⁴ Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5546, Breviary of the 15th century from Diessen, fol. 150^v-152^r. The *Visitatio* printed herewith has already been inaccurately published by Lange, pp. 99-101. I present a new text herewith.

⁵ Munich Cod. lat. 5546, fol. 147^r.

⁶ The *Missa Praesanctificatorum* of Good Friday.

quomodo moritur iustus. *Versus*: In pace factus est locus eius. QUO FINITO LOCETUR IN SEPULCHRUM 7 LINTHEAMINIBUS 7 SUDARIO COOPERIATUR. DEINDE LAPIS SUPPONATUR. QUO FACTO CANTANT SUBMISSA UOCE *responsoria cum uersibus suis*: Sepulto domino; *responsorium*: Recessit pastor noster. QUIBUS FINITIS DICATUR *uersus*: In pace factus est, QUO UERSU OMNES SEQUENTES HORE CLAUDUNTUR.¹

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>²

(fol. 150^v) IN Sancta Nocte ante MATUTINUM Dominus Episcopus siue prepositus cum SENIORIBUS QUOS ASSUMERE UOLUERIT CLAM SURGUNT 7 CUM MAGNA REUERENCIA ACCEDANT SEPULCHRUM, SINTQUE PARATA tria THURIBULA CUM THURE, MIRRA 7 THYMIAMATE, 7 STANDO CANTANT *Psalmos*: Domine quid multiplicati; *Psalmum*: Domine probasti; *Psalmum*: Miserere; 7 THURIFICANT YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI, SUBLATAMQUE DE SEPUL (fol. 151^r) CHRO SECUM PORTEANT AD CHORUM ANTE ALTARE PER UIAM CANTANDO *responsorium*: Surrexit pastor. *Versus*: Surrexit dominus. Quibus FINITIS STANTES ANTE ALTARE MUTUAQUE CARITATE SE INUICEM OSCULANTES DICANT: Surrexit dominus uere 7 apparuit Symoni Petro. POSTEA DICUNTUR HEC ORACIONES:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui hac sacratissima nocte cum potencia tue maiestatis resurgens portas inferni confregisti 7 omnibus ibi detentis dexteram tue misericordie porrexisti scilicet miserando diutius penis estuantis Gehenne cruciari quos dudum ad ymaginem tuam iussisti creari, Te queso ego indignus 7 ultima pars creature, ut per gratiam tue misericordie ac perfecte resurrectionis tue amorem necnon omnium sanctarum animarum quas hac sacratissima nocte de penis inferni ad celestia regna perduxisti simulque per omne misterium quod in resurrectione tua celebrasti mihi indigno ac fragili peccatori omnium peccatorum meorum indulgentiam largiri

¹ The rubric, Postea dicuntur Vespere submissa uoce, follows immediately.

² Munich, Cod. lat. 5546, fol. 150^v-152^r.

digneris atque iram 7 furorem 7 indignacionem tue uindictae a me repellas, ut auxilium consolacionem proteccionem in omnibus peccatis periculis ac infirmitatibus anime 7 corporis mihi concedas. Et sicut corpus tue humanitatis quod ad tempus pro nostra salute exuisti post triduum tue maiestatis potencia resuscitasti ita corpus 7 cor meum ab omnibus uiciis emundare digneris 7 animam meam in futura resurrectione (fol. 151^v) beatorum spiritibus facias agregari.

In memoriam 7 laudem 7 gloriam resurrectionis tue ympnum dicat tibi omnis creatura tua, Domine, 7 ego quamuis peccator 7 delinquens ympnum dico 7 gratias ago, uenerandamque crucem tuam adoro, sanctamque resurrectionem tuam laudo 7 glorifico quia parte redemptus sum, idemque crucifixum tuum laudo, 7 sepultum propter me magnifico, resurgentemque adoro, 7 peto ut parte in sanctam resurrectionem tuam me a morte anime mee resuscitare digneris, amen.

Celi et terre conditor, quo moriente illuminata sunt tartara, quo resurgente sanctorum multitudo gauisa est, quo ascendente celorum exultauit caterua, precamur uirtutis tue excellenciam ut directi in uia recta in illo teneamur brachio quo honorabiles amici tui tecum gloriantur in excelsis.

Adesto, pie Pater, inuocacionibus nostris, 7 noli spernere plasma tuum propter magnitudinem peccatorum nostrorum, sed salua me indignum nimium peccatorem per gloriam 7 honorem sanctissime resurrectionis tue. Qui ui<uit> 7 reg <nat>.

Domine Deus Pater, propter hoc gaudium quod tu cum sanctissima anima tua et corpore in tua sancta resurrectione uoluisti habere cum omnibus fidelibus tuis iustis 7 peccatoribus uiuentibus 7 mortuis miserere mihi sicut uis 7 scis necessitatem anime 7 corporis, 7 da mihi spacium penitencie 7 ue (fol. 152^r) ram compuncionem 7 ueram emendacionem omnium peccatorum, 7 presta mihi, Ihesu Xpiste, ut precium corporis 7 sanguinis tui in quo me in sancta cruce redemisti percipiam ad salutem anime mee in nouissima hora, 7 quod spirituales unccionem spiritualis olei 7 salutaris cum omni affectu cordis 7 corporis percipiam, amen.

DEINDE COMPULSACIONE SIGNORUM FACTA, CONUENIANT OM-

nes AD MATUTINUM, 7 MORE SOLITO DICAT PONTIFEX UEL SACERDOS: *Domine, labia mea aperies.*¹

<VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>²

(fol. 152^v) POST GLORIA PATRI ITERATUR³ *responsorium*⁴
A PRINCIPIO 7 OMNIS CLERUS PORTANTES⁵ CEREOS ACCENSOS
PROCEDIT AD UISITANDUM SEPULCHRUM. DYACONUS UERO QUI
LEGAT⁶ EUANGELIUM (fol. 153^r) ACTURUS OFFICIUM ANGELI⁷
PRECEDAT SEDETQUE⁸ IN DEXTERA PARTE COOPERTUS STOLA CANDIDA,
AC UBI CHORUS CANTARE INCIPIT:⁹

Maria Magdalena 7 altera Maria ferebant diluculo aromata
dominum querentes in monumento,
TRES PRESBYTERI INDUTI CAPPIS 7 CUM TOTIDEM THURIBULIS
FIGURAM MULIERUM TENENTES 7 INCENSUM¹⁰ PROCEDUNT UERSUS
SEPULCHRUM 7 STANTES CANTANT:

*Quis reuoluet nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum
cernimus sepulchrum.*

ANGELUS RESPONDIT:¹¹

*Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumulo gementes?
MULIERES:*

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum querimus.

ANGELUS:

*Non est hic quem queritis; sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis
eius 7 Petro quia surrexit Ihesus.*

ET CUM CEPERIT CANTARE ANGELUS: *Sed cito euntes,
MULIERES THURIFICENT SEPULCHRUM 7 FESTINANTER REDEANT
UERSUS CHORUM, STANTES CANTANT:*¹²

¹ The formula for the opening of Matins.

² Munich, Cod. lat. 5546, fol. 152^v-153^r. Printed by Lange, pp. 99-101.

³ Lange, cantatur.

⁴ The third respond of Easter Matins.

⁵ Lange, portans.

⁶ Lange legerat.

⁷ MS. angls.

⁸ Lange, sedeatque.

⁹ Lange, inceperit.

¹⁰ Lange, incenso.

¹¹ Lange, respondet.

¹² Lange, cantent.

Ad monumentum uenimus gementes angelum domini
sedentem uidimus 7 dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus.

TUNC CHORUS INPONAT:¹

Currebant duo simul 7 ille alius discipulus precucurrit
cicius Petro 7 uenit prior ad monumentum, alleluia.

ET CANTORES QUASI PETRUS 7 IOHANNES CURRANT, PRECURRAT
IOHANNES PETRO, 7 ITA UENIUNT AD MONUMENTUM 7 AUFERANT
LINTHEAMINA 7 SUDARIUM IN QUIBUS INUOLUTA ERAT YMAGO
DOMINI 7 UERTENTES SE AD CHORUM OSTENDENDO EA CANTENT:

Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina 7 sudarium 7 corpus eius
non est in sepulchro inuentum, alleluia.

CHORUS:

Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus; precedet uos in Galy-
leam, alleluia, ibi eum uidebitis alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

POPULUS:

Christ ist erstanden.

ET ITA CLERUS REDEAT AD CHORUM, 7 TUNC PONTIFEX INCIPIAT:

Te Deum laudamus.

VII

Although the evidence from *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis*
. . . *Coloniae, 1590*² is comparatively modern, it is
valuable, for it elucidates explicitly the origin of the Host that
was placed in the *sepulchrum* on Good Friday. From the ex-
tracts given below it appears that on Maundy Thursday three
Hosts were consecrated: one for the Mass of Thursday itself,
one for the *Missa Praesanctificationum* of Good Friday, and
one for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of Good Friday and Easter
respectively. The *Elevatio* in this case is of especial interest
from the fact that in the antiphon, *Cum rex gloriae*, we find,
in a form suggestive of dialogue, the theme of the Harrow-
ing of Hell.

¹ Lange, imponat.

² Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Litrug. 4°. 13*. The text of the *Visitatio*
from this document has been very inaccurately indicated in a general
critical note by Lange, p. 50.

<CONSECRATIO HOSTIARUM IN COENA DOMINI>¹

. . . (p. 214) Tres quoque hostiae consecrentur hodie, una pro praesenti Missa, altera pro officio crastino, tertia pro Sepulchro Domini. Sanguis autem penitus consumatur. Denique paruae hostiae consecrandae hodie sunt, et reseruandae in sequentem diem, pro communicandis.

<HOSTIA IN MISSA PRAESANCTIFICATORUM>²

. . . (p. 224) Tunc Presbyter intret sacrarium, vel ubi positum fuerit Corpus Domini, quod pridie remansit. Casula indutus illud deferat super altare, et calix preparetur more solito, vino et aqua.

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIAE>³

. . . (p. 225) COMMUNIONE⁴ PERACTA, PROCEDAT SACERDOS AD SEPULCHRUM, CUM CORPORE DOMINI REPOSITO IN CORPORALI, UEL IN CALICE, UEL IN SACRATA PYXIDE. PRAECEDANT ERGO MINISTRI CUM INCENSO: ET DUO PUERI, CUM CANDELIS CUM PROCESSIONE, USQUE AD LOCUM SEPULCRI, UBI DEBET RECONDI CORPUS DOMINI, CANTANDO RESPONSORIUM: Sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est, et dum male tractaretur non aperuit os suum. Traditus est ad mortem, ut vivificaret populum suum. VERSUS: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitatio eius. *Antiphona*: Caro mea requiescat in spe. SACERDOTE NECTENTE FILA, CANTETUR HEC *antiphona*: Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites, qui custo (p. 226) dierunt illud. STATIM LEGANTUR VESPERAE IN EODEM LOCO.

¹ *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* . . . Coloniae, 1590 (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Liturg. 4o. 13*), p. 214.

² *Id.*, p. 224.

³ *Id.*, pp. 225-226.

⁴ Communion of the Mass of the Presanctified of Good Friday.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIAE ET VISITATIO
SEPULCHRI>¹

(p. 251) ORDO VISITANDI SEPULCHRUM IN DIE SANCTO PASCHAE.

SUMMO MANE ANTEQUAM PULSETUR AD MATUTINAS CONVENIAT CLERUS, ET QUI UOLUERINT INTRARE SEPULCHRUM LAUENT MANUS SUAS, ET UENIANT ANTE PRINCIPALE ALTARE UEL PROPE SEPULCHRUM, ET LEGANT SEPTEM PSALMOS POENITENTIALES. (p. 252) QUIBUS FINITIS, DICANT: Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. PRECES: Exurge Domine, adiua nos. Et redime nos propter nomen tuum. Exurge gloria mea. Exurge psalterium et cithara. Exurgam diluculo. Confitebor in populis, Domine. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te ueniat. Dominus uobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus. ORATIO: Exaudi quaesumus, Domine, supplicum preces, et confitentium tibi parce peccatis: ut pariter indulgentiam tribuas benignus et pacem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. DEINDE DICANT: Confiteor Deo Patri, et Misereatur, et Indulgent, etc. FACTA CONFESIONE, UADANT AD SEPULCHRUM DICENDO *psalmum*: Domine quid multiplicati. SEQUETUR *antiphona*, QUAM CANTENT SUB SILENTIO: Ego dormiui et somnum cepi, et exurrexi, quoniam Dominus suscepit me, alleluia, alleluia. EUOUE. ET TOLLENTES INDE CORPUS DOMINI REDEANT IN CHORUM, CANTANDO SUBMISSA UOCE *antiphonam*: Cum rex gloriae Christus infernum debellaturus intraret et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli praeciperet: sanctorum populus, qui tenebatur in morte captiuus, uoce lachrymabili clamauerat: Aduenisti desiderabilis, quem expectabamus in tenebris: ut educeres hac nocte uinculatos de claustris. Te nostra uocabant suspiria: te larga requirebant lamenta. Tu factus es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis, Alleluia. QUAE CONSUETUDO UBI FUERIT, SERVANDA ERIT. ET STATIM CUM REDIERINT IN CHORUM, OSTENSO SACRAMENTO IN

¹*Agenda Eccelsiae Argentinensis . . . Coloniae, 1590, pp. 251-255.*

ALTARI SICUT FIT IN MISSA, DEINDE CANTENTUR MATUTINAE. LECTA AUTEM TERTIA LECTIONE, DUO ELIGUNTUR QUI VADANT AD SEPULCHRUM, INDUTI CAPPIS ALBIS VEL SUPERPELLICIIS, ET SEDEANT UNUS AD CAPUT, ALTER AD PEDES, EXPECTANTES. VISITATORES EIUSDEM SEPULCHRI. FINITO AUTEM TERTIO RESPONSORIO, TRES SACERDOTES, QUIBUS HOC CANTOR INIUNXERIT CAPPIS IN (p. 253) DUTI, SINGULI THURIBULUM CUM INCENSO PLURIMO PORTANTES, AD SEPULCHRUM PROCEDANT. QUOS CAELICOLAE DUO SCILICET STANTES IN SEPULCHRO INTERROGANT. VERS.

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Christicole?

RESPONDENT CHRISTICOLAE, TRES SCILICET SACERDOTES:

Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o Caelicolae.

ITEM CAELICOLAE. VERS.

Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat: ite, nunciate, quia surrexit de sepulchro.

DEINDE CAELICOLAE LEVANTES VELAMEN SEPULCHRO SUPERPOSITUM, DANT EIS SUDARIUM CANTANDO HANC *antiphonam*:

Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia, alleluia.

ACCEPTO SUDARIO REDEANT IN CHORUM. ET TRES IN CHORO CANTENT VOCE SONORA HANC ANTIPHONAM:

Dicant nunc Iudei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positio (p. 254) nem: quare non servant petram iustitiae: aut sepultum reddant, aut resurgentem adorent, nobiscum dicentes alleluia, alleluia.

VENIENTIBUS AUTEM SUPER CHORUM, VULTIBUS VERSIS AD CLERUM, ET STANTES IN SUPREMO GRADU ANTE MAIUS ALTARE, EXPANSO INTER SE SUDARIO CANENTES CHRISTICOLAE ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia.

CHORUS CANTET *Antiphonam*:

Surrexit Christus, et illuxit populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, alleluia.

CHRISTICOLAE CANTENT *Antiphonam*:

Surrexit enim sicut dixit Dominus, et praecedet vos in Galilae (p. 255) am, alleluia: ibi eum videbitis, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

DEINDE CANTOR PROSEQUATUR:

Te Deum laudamus.

HAEC PRAESCRIPTA VISITATIO SEPULCHRI OBSERVETUR SECUNDUM CONSUETUDINEM CUIUSLIBET ECCLESIAE.¹

VIII

Codex Palat. lat. 448, in the Vatican Library,² contains both a *Depositio* and an *Elevatio*, but no *Visitatio*. The *Elevatio* contains not only the antiphon, *Cum rex gloriae*, but also the characteristic Harrowing of Hell antiphon, *Tollite portas*, which points toward the growth of this theme in connection with the *Elevatio*.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>³

(fol. 51^r) *COMPLETA COMMUNIONE*⁴ STATIM DICANTUR VESPERE SUB SILENTIO SICUT HERE. POST VESPERAS SACERDOS CORPUS DOMINI IN MUNDISSIMA THECA DILIGENTER RECONDITUM PORTETUR AD LOCUM AD HOC PREPARATUM ET IN EO QUASI SEPULIENDO PONATUR CUM HOC RESPONSORIO: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde; uiri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis sublatus est iustus, et erit in pace (fol. 51^v) memoriam eius. *Versus*: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Syon habitatio eius. IN RECESSU CANTATUR HOC RESPONSORIUM: Sepulto domino, signatum est monumentum uolentes lapidem ad⁵ hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.

AC ITA USQUE IN DIEM TERCIVM LUMINA III IBI IUGITER ARDENCIA CUM MAGNA CAUTELA SERUETUR.

¹ The rubric, *Ad Aspersionem Aquae*, follows.

² Rome, Vatican, Cod. Palat. lat. 448, *Rituale-Agendum Moguntinum saec. xv*. The MS. is described by H. Ehrensberger, *Libri Liturgici Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae, Friburgi Brisgoviae*, 1897

³ Vatican MS. Palat. lat. 448, fol. 51^r-51^v.

⁴ Communion of the Missa Praesantificatorum.

⁵ MS. ab.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>¹

(fol. 63^r) HIC NOTA quod IN SACRA NOCTE PASCHALI PROPE DIEM MATUTINE PULSENTUR. ET CAMPANARIUS CUM IPSO SACERDOTE AMBO PORTANTES INCENSUM CRUCE ET CANDELA PROCEDENTE EOS VISITANT LOCUM UBI CRUX DOMINI DEPOSITA EST, ET IPSE SACERDOS OSCULAT STIGMATA CRUCIS ET THURIFICET ET ASPERGATUR AQUA (fol. 63^v) BENEDICTA. ET SACERDOS TOLLENS CRUCEM PROCEDENS AD OSTIUM TEMPLI quod APTUM EST AD HOC CANTANS SUBMISSA VOCE *antiphonam*: Tollite portas, principes, uestras et eleuamini porte eternas, ET TRUDENS TER AD OSTIUM ET CANTAT TER ANTIPHONAM SUPRA SCRIPTA <M>. HOC FACTO, SACERDOS CANTAT SUB SILENCIO *antiphonam* HANC: Cum rex glorie. FINITA *antiphona*, SACERDOS DEONAT CRUCEM CLAM IN ARMARIUM UEL AD LOCUM SIBI TUNC DEPUTATUM, ET TUNC PULSANTUR MATUTINE.

IX

Bodleian MS. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv is a *Processionale* of the fourteenth century from the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin.² In the course of the *Temporale* one finds at Eastertide a *Depositio* (fol. 68^v–70^r) and an *Elevatio* (fol. 85^v–86^v), but no *Visitatio*. The somewhat elaborate ceremonial and the presence of both the *Crux* and the *Corpus Domini* lend to these offices an unusual interest. In what appears to be a supplement³ at the end of the *Temporale*, immediately before the *Sanctorale*, are found a second *Elevatio* (fol. 127^v–130^r) and a *Visitatio Sepulchri*.⁴ The second

¹ Vatican MS. Palat. lat. 448, fol. 63^r–63^v.

² The MS. is described by W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, London, 1901, p. 107. Certain readings from this MS. that are defective in my photographs were re-established for me by my friend Charlton Walker, Esq., of Oxford.

³ In my opinion the *Temporale* and the "Supplement" were written by the same hand. In any case, they were both written in the latter half of the 14th century.

⁴ The *Visitatio* from this MS. has been published by Chambers (Vol. II, pp. 315–318), with variants from MS. V. 3, 2, 10 in Archbishop

Elevatio differs conspicuously from the first in containing an extended dialogue concerning the Harrowing of Hell. Although this second *Elevatio* shows a marked advance toward a Harrowing of Hell play, in the absence of impersonation it stops short of true drama.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹

(fol. 68^v) FINITIS *Vesperis*² EXUAT SACERDOS CASULAM 7 ASSUMENS UNUM DE PRELATIS IN SUPERPELLICHIIS DISCALCIARI REPONANT CRUCEM PARITER CUM CORPORE DOMINICO IN SEPULCRO INCIPIENS IPSE SOLUS HOC *responsorium*: Estimatus sum, GENUFLECTENDO CUM SOCIO SUO, QUO INCEPTO STATIM SURGAT. Similiter FIAT IN *responsorio*: Sepulto Domino. CHORUS TOTUM *responsorium* PROSEQUATUR CUM SUO *uersu* GENUFLECTENDO PER TOTUM TEMPUS USQUE AD FINEM SERVICII RESPONSORII: (fol. 69^r) Estimatus sum, CHORUS PROSEQUATUR *responsorium*: Cum descendentibus in lacum, factus sum sicut homo sine adiutorio, inter mortuos liber. *Versus*: Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori in tenebris et in umbra mortis. *Factus*. Dum *predictum* RESPONSORIUM CUM SUO *uersu* CANITUR, PREDICTI DUO SACERDOTES THURIFICENT SEPULCRUM, QUO FACTO 7 CLAUSO OSTIO, INCIPIAT IDEM SACERDOS HOC SEQUENS *responsorium*: Sepulto domino. CHORUS RESPONDEAT: Signatum est monumentum, uolentes lapidem ad ostium mo (fol. 69^v) numenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius 7 furentur eum et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes. SACERDOS *antiphonam*: In pace. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: In idipsum dormiam et requiescam. SACERDOS *antiphonam*:

Marsh's Library, Dublin, another 14th century Processional from the same church. I regret that I have not seen this latter MS. Substantially all of the *Visitatio* from it is given in facsimile by W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, London, 1894 (Henry Bradshaw Society), Plate 26b. From this facsimile Professor J. M. Manly has printed the *Visitatio* in his *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, Vol. I, Boston, 1900, pp. xxii-xxvi.

¹ Bodleian MS. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv., fol. 68^v-70^r.

² Vespers of Good Friday.

In pace factus est. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Locus eius et in Syon habitatio eius. SACERDOS ANTIPHONAM: Caro mea. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Requiescet in spe. AD ISTAS TRES ANTIPHONAS GENUFLECTENTUR PREDICTI DUO SACERDOTES CONTINUE. HIIS FINITIS ORDINE (fol. 70^r) NON SERVATO REINDUAT SACERDOS CASULAM 7 EODEM MODO QUO ACCESSIT IN PRINCIPIO SERVICII CUM DIAcono 7 SUBDIAcono 7 CETERIS MINISTRIS ABSEDAT, DICTIS PRIUS ORATIONIBUS AD PLACITUM SECRETE AB OMNIBUS CUM GENUFLECTIONE, OMNIBUS ALIIS AD LIBITUM RECEDENTIBUS. EXINDE CONTINUE ARDEBIT UNUS CEREUS AD MINUS ANTE SEPULCRUM USQUE AD PROCESSIONEM QUE FIT IN RESURRECCIONE DOMINICA IN DIE PASCHE. ITA TANTUM QUOD DUM PALMUS: Benedictus, CANITUR 7 CETERA QUE SEQUUNTUR IN SEQUENTI NOCTE EXTINGUATUR. SIMILITER 7 EXTINGUATUR IN VIGILIA PASCE DUM BENEDICITUR NOUUS IGNIS USQUE ACCENDATUR CEREUS PASCHALIS.¹

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>²

(fol. 85^v) IN DIE PASCE ANTE MATUTINUM 7 ANTE CAMPANARUM PULSACIONEM CONVENIANT CLERICI AD ECCLESIAM DUO EXCELLENCIORES PRESBITERI IN SUPERPELLICIIS CUM CEROFERARIIS³ 7 THURIBULARIIS 7 CLERO CIRCUMSTANTE AD SEPULCRUM ACCEDANT 7 INCENSATO PRIUS SEPULCRO CUM MAGNA VENERACIONE STATIM POST THURIFICACIONEM VIDELICET GENUFLECTENDO CORPUS DOMINICUM PRIVATIM SUPER ALTARE DEPONANT, INTERIM ACCIPIENTES CRUCEM DE SEPULCRO, INCIPIAT EXCELLENCIOR PRIMAM ANTIPHONAM: XPISTUS RESURGENS, CUM QUAEAT PROCESSIO PER OSTIUM PRESBITERII AUSTRALE 7 PER MEDIUM CHORI REGREDIENS CUM PREDICTA CRUCE DE SEPULCRO ASSUMPTA INTER DUOS SACERDOTES PREDICTOS SUPER EORUM BRACHIA VENERABILITER PAR (fol. 86^r) ATA CUM THURIBULARIIS 7 CEROFERARIIS PRECEDENTIBUS AD UNUM ALTARE EX PARTE BORIALE, CHORO SEQUENTE HABITU NON UNITER EXCELLENCIORIBUS PRECEDENTIBUS; CORPORE VERO DOMINICO SUPER ALTARE IN

¹ The rubric, *Sabbato in Vigilia Pasce*, follows immediately.

² Bodleian MS. Rawlinson Liturg. d. iv., fol. 85^v-86^v.

³ MS., *ceroferarius*.

PIXIDE DIMISSO SUB THESAURARIUM CUSTODIA QUI ILLUD STATIM IN *predicta* PIXIDE IN TABERNACULA DEPENDEAT ET TUNC PULSENTUR OMNES CAMPANE IN CLASSICUM. ANTIPHONA: Xpistus resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur quod enim uiuit, uiuit Deo, alleluya, alleluya. *Versus*: Dicant nunc Iudei quomodo milites custodientes sepulcrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis possessionem, quare non seruabant petram iusticie (fol. 86^v), aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent¹ nobiscum dicentes, *chorus dicat sic*: Alleluya, alleluya. FINITA *antiphona* cum suis *uersibus* A TOTO CHORO DICAT EXCELLENCIOR PERSONA IN IPSA STACIONE ANTE ALTARE *uersiculum*: Surrexit dominus de sepulcro. *Responsio*: Qui pro nobis. Oremus. *Oratio*: Deus qui pro nobis filium tuum crucis patibulum subire uoluisti ut inimici a nobis expelleres potestatem, concede nobis famulis tuis ut in resurrectionis eius gaudiis semper uiuamus. Per eundem Xpistum. Necnon cedat nec subsequatur: Dominus uobiscum. FINITA *oratione* omnes cum *gudio* GENUFLECTANT *ibidem* 7 *ipsam Crucem* ADORENT, *in primis digniores persone* 7 *secrete sine processione* CHORUM INTRENT. *Hiis itaque gestis discooperiantur crucis* PER ECCLESIAM ET omnes *ymagines* 7 *interim pulsentur*² CAMPANE AD *Matutinum* MORE SOLITO.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>³

(fol. 127^v) IN DIE PASCHE ANTE MATUTINAS 7 ANTE CAMPANARUM PULSACIONEM CONUENIANT CLERICI AD ECCLESIAM EXTINGTIS *prius omnibus ecclesie* (fol. 128^r) LUMINARIBUS, EXCEPTIS LUMINARIBUS INFRA SEPULCRUM ET MAGNO CEREOPASCHALE. SINGULI QUOQUE CLERICI 7 ALII CEREOS EXTINGTOS IN MANIBUS DEFERENTES INCIPIAT CANTOR HANC *antiphonam*: Cum rex glorie, 7 *percantetur* A CHORO: Cum rex glorie Xpistus infernum debellaturus intrasset et chorus angelicus portas principum tolli preceperat sanctorum anime que tenebantur in morte captiue uoce lacrimabili clamauerunt:

¹ MS., adorant.

² MS., pulsentur.

³ Bodleian MS. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv., fol. 127^v-132^r.

Aduenisti desiderabilis, quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte uinculatos de claustris; te nostra uocabant (fol. 128^v) suspiria, te larga requirebant lamentatu, factus es spes desolatis, magna consolacio in tormentis. ET INTERIM DUO EXCELLENCIORES SACERDOTES IN SUPERPELLICIIS CUM THURIBULARIIS AD SEPULCRUM ACCEDANT 7 FINITA ANTIPHONA EXCELLENCIOR PERSONA INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM HUMILI UOCE. SIC: Eleuamini porte eternales 7 introibit rex glorie. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR UERSUM: Quis est iste rex glorie? Dominus uirtutum, ipse est rex glorie. ITEM IDEM SACERDOS PARUM ALCIUS INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM: Eleuamini. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR UERSUM: Quis est iste rex glorie? Dominus fortis 7 potens dominus potens in prelio. ITEM IDEM SACERDOS TERCIO ALCIUS INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM: (fol. 129^r) Eleuamini. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR UERSUM: Quis est iste rex glorie? Dominus uirtutum, ipse est rex glorie. TUNC INCENSATO SEPULCRO 7 APERTO OSTIO PREDICTI SACERDOTES CEREOS SUOS DE LUMINE INFRA SEPULCRUM ACCENDANT,¹ EX QUIBUS CETERI CEREI PER ECCLESIAM ILLUMINENTUR. DEINDE PREDICTI SACERDOTES ELEUANTES CRUCEM DE SEPULCRO 7 CORPORE DOMINICO SUPER ALTARE PRIUS DEPOSITO EXCELLENCIOR SACERDOS INCIPIET ANTIPHONAM: Domine abstraxisti ab inferis animam meam. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR PSALMUM: Exaltabo te, domine, qui suscepisti me, nec delectasti inimicos meos super me. ET POST UNUMQUEMQUE UERSUM REPETATUR A CHORO ANTIPHONA: Domine abstraxisti, UT SUPRA, 7 SIC FIAT REPETICIO QUOUSQUE SANCTA CRUX A PREDICTIS SACERDOTIBUS HONORIFICE SUPER ALTARE APPONANT. QUIBUS FACTIS PREDICTI SACERDOTES ALTA UOCE INCIPIANT ANTE ALTARE HUNC UERSUM: Consurgens Xpistus tumulo.² CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Victor redit de baratro tyannum trudens uinculo et reserans (fol. 129^v) paradisum. DEINDE PREDICTI SACERDOTES DICANT UERSUM: Quesumus, auctor omnium. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: In hoc paschali gaudio ab omni mortis impetu tuum defende populum. ITEM PREDICTI SACERDOTES: Gloria tibi, domine. Hic omnes GENUFLECTANT 7 PULSENTUR OMNES CAMPANE ET CHORUS

¹ MS., accedant.

² MS., timulo.

PROSEQUATUR: Qui surrexisti a mortuis cum patre et sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula. HIIS FINITIS INCIPIENT PREDICTI SACERDOTES ANTIPHONAM: Xpistus resurgens. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Ex mortuis. Cum qua antiphona BEAT PROCESSIONE PER MEDIUM CHORI CUM PREDICTA CRUCE DE SEPULCRO ASSUMPTA INTER PREDICTOS DUOS SACERDOTES SUPER EORUM BRACHIA UENERABILITER PERACTA CUM THURIBULARIIS 7 CEROFERARIIS PRECEDE<N>TIBUS AD ALIQUOD ALTARE EXTRA CHORUM, CHORO SEQUENTE HABITU NON UNITER, EXCELLENCIORIBUS PRECEDENTIBUS, CORPORE UERO DOMINICO SUPER ALTARE IN PIXIDE DIMISSO. QUOD QUIDEM INTERIM SACRISTA IN TABERNACULA HONORABILITER REPONANT. FINITA ANTIPHONA CUM SUO UERSU A TOTO CHORO, DICAT PRINCIPALIS SACERDOS IN IPSA STACIONE CONUERSUS AD ALTARE HUNC UERSICULUM: Surrexit dominus de sepulcro. Oratio: Deus qui pro nobis filium. FINITA ORATIONE OMNES GENUFLECTANT IBIDEM 7 IPSAM CRUCEM ADORENT (fol. 130^r) INPRIMIS DIGNIORES PERSONE 7 SECRETE SINE PROCESSIONE IN CHORUM REDEANT. HIIS ITAQUE GESTIS DISCOOPERIANTUR CRUCES 7 YMAGINES PER ECCLESIAM 7 INTERIM PULSENTUR CAMPANE MORE SOLITO AD MATUTINAS. FINITO¹ III RESPONSORIO CUM SUO UERSU 7 GLORIA PATRI UENIENT TRES PERSONE IN SUPERPELLICEIS 7 IN CAPIS SERICIS² CAPITIBUS UELATIS QUASI TRES MARIE QUERENTES IHESUM,³ SINGULE PORTANTES PIXIDEM IN MANIBUS QUASI AROMATIBUS, QUARUM⁴ PRIMA AD INGRESSUM CHORI UERSUS⁵ SEPULCRUM PRECEDAT⁶ PER SE⁷ QUASI LAMENTANDO DICAT:

¹ Chambers' text begins at this point. I offer a new text of this *Officium Sepulchri* both for the sake of convenience to the investigator and for the sake of a considerable number of instances in which my reading of the MS. differs from that of Mr. Chambers. I append to my text all variants from Archbishop Marsh's MS. (facsimile by Frere, plate 26^b) and from Chambers' text, except the variations in the spelling of the root of the word *Christus*. C=Chambers' text; O=Bodleian MS. Rawlinson liturg. d. iv; M=Archbishop Marsh's MS.

² M begins here. M cericis.

³ M Xpm.

⁴ O quasi.

⁵ C M usque.

⁶ C M procedat.

⁷ M supplied in margin, in a later hand.

Heu! pius pastor occiditur,
Quem nulla culpa infecit:
O mors lugenda!

Factoque MODICO INTERVALLO INTRET SECUNDA *MARIA* CONSIMILI¹ MODO 7 DICAT:

Heu! nequam gens Iudaica,
Quam dira frendet uesania,
Plebs execranda!

DEINDE *tertia MARIA* CONSIMILI MODO DICAT:²

Heu! uerus doctor obiit,
Qui uitam functis contulit:
O res plangenda!

ADHUC PAULULUM PROCEDENDO PRIMA *MARIA* DICAT:³

Heu! misere cur contigit
Videre mortem saluatoris?

DEINDE SECUNDA *MARIA* DICAT:⁴

(fol. 130^v) Heu! consolacio nostra
Ut quid mortem sustinuit!

Tunc *tertia Maria*:

Heu! redempcio nostra,
Ut quid taliter agere uoluit!

TUNC SE COMIUNGANT 7 PROCEDANT AD GRADUM CHORI ANTE
ALTARE SIMUL⁵ DICENTES:

Iam iam, ecce,⁶ iam properemus ad tumulum,
Unguentes⁷ Delecti⁸ corpus sanctissimum.

⁹DEINDE PROCEDANT SIMILITER PROPE SEPULCRUM 7 PRIMA
MARIA DICAT PER SE:

Condumentis aromatum
Ungamus corpus sanctissimum
Quo preciosa.⁹

¹ M simili.

² M omitted.

³ M dicat hoc modo.

⁴ M omitted.

⁵ M omitted.

⁶ O M esse.

⁷ M ungentes.

⁸ M dilecti.

⁹⁻⁹ M omitted, but a later hand has written on the upper margin of

TUNC SECUNDA MARIA DICAT PER SE:

Nardi uetet commixtio

Ne putrescat in tumulo¹

Caro beata.

DEINDE TERTIA MARIA² DICAT PER SE:²

Sed nequimus hoc patrare sine adiutorio;

Quisnam saxum hoc reuoluet³ (fol. 131^r) a monumenti ostio?

FACTO INTERVALLO ANGELUS IUXTA⁴ SEPULCRUM APPARUIT⁵ EIS
7 DICAT HOC MODO:

Quem queritis ad sepulcrum, o cristicole?

DEINDE RESPONDEANT TRES MARIE, SIMUL DICANT:⁶

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicola.

TUNC ANGELUS DICET:⁷

Surrexit, non est hic, sicut dixit;

Venite et uidete locum ubi positus fuerat.

DEINDE PREDICTE MARIE SEPULCRUM INTRENT 7⁸ INCLINANTES
SE 7 PROSPICIENTES UNDIQUE INFRA⁹ SEPULCRUM ALTA UOCE
QUASI GAUDENTES 7 ADMIRANTES 7 PARUM A SEPULCRO¹⁰ RE-
CEDENTES SIMUL DICANT:¹⁰

Alleluya! resurrexit dominus!

Alleluya! resurrexit dominus hodie!

Resurrexit potens, fortis, Xpistus, Filius Dei!

DEINDE ANGELUS AD EAS:

Et euntes dicite discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit.

the preceding page: Condimentis aromatum unguentes corpus sanc-
tissimum quo preciosa.

¹ O timulo.

²⁻² M omitted.

³ M reuoluit.

⁴ C nixus.

⁵ M appariat.

⁶ C dicentes; M omitted.

⁷ M dicat sic.

⁸ M omitted.

⁹ C M intra.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ M recedentes dicant simul.

(fol. 131^v) IN QUA¹ REUERTANT AD ANGELUM QUASI MANDATUM SUUM AD² IMPLENDUM PARARE³ SIMUL DICENTES:²

Eya! pergamus propere
Mandatum hoc perficere.

INTERIM UENIANT AD INGRESSUM CHORI DUE PERSONE NUDE PEDES, SUB PERSONIS APOSTOLORUM IOHANNIS 7 PETRI INDUTE ALBIS SINE PARURIS CUM TUNICIS, QUARUM IOHANNES AMICTUS TUNICA ALBA PALMAM IN MANU GESTANS, PETRUS UERO RUBEA TUNICA INDUTUS CLAVES IN MANU FERENS,⁴ ET PREDICTE MULIERES DE SEPULCRO REUERTENTES 7 QUASI DE CHORO SIMUL EXEUNTES DICAT PRIMA MARIA PER SE⁵ SEQUENCIA <M>:⁶

Victime paschali laudes
Immolant Cristiani.
⁷Agnus redemit oues;
Xpistus innocens Patri
Reconsiliauit peccatores.
⁸Mors et uita duello
Confixere mirando:
Dux uite mortuus⁹
Regnat uiuus.

TUNC OBUIANTES EIS IN MEDIO CHORI PREDICTI DISCIPULI INTERROGANTES SIMUL DICANT:

Dic nobis, Maria,
Quid uidisti in uia?

TUNC PRIMA MARIA RESPONDET¹⁰ QUASI MONSTRANDO:

Sepul (fol. 132^r) crum Xpisti uiuentis
Et gloriam uidi resurgentis.

¹ C quo.

²⁻² M implendum parate dicentes simul.

³ CM parate.

⁴ M deferens.

⁵ M omits per se.

⁶ M sequenciam.

⁷ M preceded by the rubric, *secunda* Maria.

⁸ M preceded by the rubric, *Tercia* Maria.

⁹ C O M mortuis. But in M a later hand in the margin seems to have corrected to mortuus.

¹⁰ C M respondeat.

Tunc *secunda* ¹*Maria* respondeat similiter monstrando:¹
 Angelicos testes,
 Sudarium 7 uestes.

Tunc² *tertia* *Maria* respondeat:
 Surrexit *Xpistus*, spes nostra,
 Precedet uos in Galileam.

ET SIC PROCEDANT³ SIMUL AD OSTIUM⁴ CHORI; INTERIM⁴ CUR-
 RANT DUO AD MONUMENTUM; UERUMPTAMEN ILLE DISCIPULUS
 quem DILIGEBAT IHESUC UENIT PRIOR AD MONUMENTUM IUXTA
 EUANGELIUM: CURREBANT AUTEM DUO SIMUL 7 ILLE ALIUS
 DISCIPULUS PRECUCURRIT CICIUS PETRO ET UENIT PRIOR AD
 MONUMENTUM, NON TAMEN INTROIUIT. VIDENTES DISCIPULI
 predicti⁵ SEPULCRUM UACUUM 7 UERBIS *Marie* CREDENTES⁶
 REUERTANT SE AD CHORUM DICENTES⁷:

Credendum est magis soli *Marie* ueraci
 Quam *Iudeorum* turbe fallaci.

TUNC AUDITA *Xpisti* RESURRECCIONE, CHORUS PROSEQUATUR ALTA
 UOCE QUASI GAUDENTES 7 EXULTANTES DICENTES:⁸

Scimus *Xpistum* surrexisse
 A mortuis uere.
 Tu nobis, uictor Rex, miserere.

Qua FINITA, EXECUTOR OFFICII INCIPIAT:

Te Deum laudamus,

⁹7 SIC RECEDANT *sancte Marie*, APOSTOLI 7 ANGELUS.⁹

X

Manuscript 169 in the Library of University College, Ox-
 ford, is described as a "Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of

¹⁻¹ M *Maria* respondeat quasi monstrando.

² M omitted.

³ C procedant.

⁴⁻⁴ M chori 7 interim.

⁵ M omitted.

⁶ O credente.

⁷ M dicentes hoc modo.

⁸ M dicant.

⁹⁻⁹ M omitted.

Barking, of the first decade of the XVth century."¹ Each of the dramatic offices contained in this manuscript—*Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio*,—is of especial interest. The *Depositio* given below approaches more nearly to drama than does any other text of this office that I have seen. Although the rubric *Ibique in specie Joseph et Nichodemi de ligno deponentes Ymaginem vulnera Crucifixi uino abluant et aqua* is by no means a certain indication of impersonation, it does point definitely toward true drama.² In the present manuscript the *Elevatio* has been joined directly to the *Visitatio* to form a more considerable dramatic office, unlike any other Easter office with which I am acquainted.³ The enlarged dramatic office takes the liturgical position usually occupied by the simple *Visitatio*,—between the third respond and the *Te Deum* of Easter Matins,—and contains the following elements: a representation of the Harrowing of Hell; a sufficiently regular *Elevatio*; a ceremony of confession and of vesting; a *Planctus*; a *Visitatio* containing the scene between the Maries and the Angel, and the Christ scene, but no Apostle scene.⁴ The representation of the Harrowing of Hell contains what I take to be genuine impersonation, and is the only example yet published, so far as I know, of a true dramatization of this theme in true liturgical drama. This enlarged office is important, also, in so far as it illustrates that process of amalgamation by which dramatic cycles were formed both in the liturgical language and in the vernacular.⁵ Lastly, the text below will be welcomed as an important addition to the meagre materials illustrating the development of liturgical drama in England. Fortunately it is now no longer true that "the tenth-century version of the *Quem quaeritis* from Winchester and the four-

¹ W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, Vol. I, p. 149, where the MS. is well described.

² It seems to me likely that one may presently find texts of the *Depositio* showing true dramatizations of this office. This particular search seems hardly to have been begun.

³ A remote parallel from a *Sacerdotale Romanum* of the year 1560 is printed by Lange, pp. 40-42.

⁴ See Chambers, Vol. II, p. 32; Lange, p. 17.

⁵ See Chambers, II, 44, 52-56, 69 ff.

teenth-century version from Dublin stand, at least for the present, alone."¹ Fortunately, also, our new text can be dated with considerable definiteness, for Katherine of Sutton, who instituted this observance at Barking Nunnery, was Abbess from 1363 to 1376.²

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>³

. . . (p. 108) CUM⁴ AUTEM SANCTA CRUX FUERIT ADORATA, SACERDOTES DE LOCO PREDICTO CRUCEM ELEUANTES INCIPIANT *antiphonam*: Super omnia ligna, 7 CHORO ILLO SUBSEQUENTE TOTAM CONCINANT. CANTRICE INCIPIENTE, DEFERANT CRUCEM AD MAGNUM ALTARE, IBIQUE IN SPECIE IOSEPH 7 NICHODEMI DE LIGNO DEPONENTES YMAGINEM UULNERA CRUCIFIXI UINO ABLUANT 7 AQUA. Dum AUTEM HEC FIUNT CONCINAT CONUENTUS *responsorium*: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE 7 CANTRICE RESPONDENTE 7 CONUENTU SUCCINENTE. Post UULNERUM ABLUCIONEM CUM CANDELABRIS 7 TURRIBULO DEFERANT ILLAM AD SEPULCRUM HAS CANENTES *antiphonas*: In pace in idipsum. *Antiphona*: Habitabit. *Antiphona*: Caro mea. CUMQUE IN PREDICTUM LOCUM TAPETUM PALLEO AURICULARI quoque 7 LINTHEIS NITIDISSIMIS DECENTER ORNATUM ILLAM CUM REUERENCIA LOCAUERINT, CLAUDAT SACERDOS SEPULCRUM 7 INCIPIAT *responsorium*: Sepulto domino. ET TUNC ABBATISSA OFFERAT CEREUM, QUI IUGITER ARDEAT ANTE SEPULCRUM, NEC EXTINGUATUR DONEC YMAGO IN NOCTE PASCHE post MATUTINAS DE SEPULCRO CUM CEREIS 7 THURE 7 PROCESSIONE RESUMPTA, SUO REPONATUR IN LOCO.

(p. 118) DE FESTIUITATE PASCHALI.⁵

GLORIOSA SOLENNITAS DOMINICE RESU<R>REXIONIS CELEBRETUR PRINCIPALIS. INPRIMIS PULSENTUR DUE CAMPANE

¹ Chambers, II, 107.

² See note on the text below.

³ Oxford, University College MS. 169, p. 108.

⁴ Preceded immediately by the *Adoratio Crucis*.

⁵ Oxford, University College MS. 169, pp. 118-127.

QUE NON QUIESCANT PRIUSQUAM OMNIS CONUENTUS CHORUM INGREDIATUR. DEINDE BIMIS *et* BIMIS INTER QUINDECIM PSALMOS PULSATIS, AD ULTIMUM SONETUR CLASSICUM. QUO CESSANTE SACERDOS SOLENNITER INCIPIAT: Domine, labia mea aperies, *et* Deus, in adiutorium meum intende. Tunc INCIPIATUR A VI INUITATORIUM: Alleluia, Xpistuc hodie surrexit, *et* AB ILLIS ALTERNA (p. 119) TIM CANTETUR Psalmus: Venite, post quem NON DICATUR YMPNUS, sed STATIM INCIPIAT ABBATISSA antiphonam: Ego sum qui sum. Psalmus: Beatus uir. Antiphona: Postulaui: Psalmus: Quare fremuerunt. Antiphona: Ego dormiui. Psalmus: Domine, quid multiplicati. Versus: Surrexit Xpistuc. EUANGELIUM: Maria Magdalena.¹ PRIMAM LECTIONEM LEGAT PRIORISSA; SECUNDAM, QUE FUERIT SENIOR IN ORDINE; TERCIAM, ABBATISSA. Responsorium: Angelus Domini. Responsorium: Angelus Domini. Responsorium: Dum transisset. AD UNUM quodque responsorium DICATUR, Gloria Patri, *et* THURIFICENTUR ALTARIA ATQUE CONUENTUS. POST ULTIMUM Responsorium uero CONCINATUR PROSA: Ortum predestinacio, *et* POST PROSAM REINCIPIATUR Responsorium: Dum transisset.

Nota quod secundum ANTIQUAM CONSUETUDINEM ECCLESIASTICAM RESURREXIO DOMINICA CELEBRATA FUIT ANTE MATUTINAS, *et* ANTE ALIQUAM CAMPANE PULSACIONEM IN DIE PASCHE, *et* QUAM POPULORUM CONCURSUS TEMPORIBUS ILLIS UIDEBATUR DEUOCIONE FRIGESSERE, *et* TORPOR HUMANUS MAXIME ACCRESCENS, UENERABILIS DOMINA² KATERINA DE SUTTONE,³ TUNC PASTORALIS CURE GERENS UICEM, DESIDERANS DICTUM TORPOREM PENITUS EXSTIRPARE *et* FIDELIUM DEUOCIONEM AD TAM CELEBREM CELEBRACIONEM MAGIS EXCITARE, UNANIMI CONSORORUM CONSENSU INSTITUIT UT STATIM POST III. responsorium MATUTINARUM DIE PASCHE FIERET DOMINICE RESURREXIONIS CELEBRATIO, *et* HOC MODO STATUETUR PROCESSIO.

INPRIMIS EAT DOMINA ABBATISSA CUM TOTO CONUENTU *et* QUIBUSDAM SACERDOTIBUS *et* CLERICIS CAPIS INDUTIS, QUOLIBET

¹ MS., magdelane.

² MS. has *ana* twice.

³ Abbess of Barking, 1363-1376. See W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. I, London, 1846, p. 437.

SACERDOTE *et* CLERICO PALMAM *et* CANDELAM EXTINGTAM MANU DEFERENTE¹ INTRENT CAPELLAM Sancte MARIE MAGDALENE, FIGURANTES ANIMAS sanctorum PATRUM ante (p. 120) ADVENTUM Xpisti AD INFEROS DESCENDENTES, *et* CLAUDANT sibi OSTIUM DICTE CAPELLE. DEINDE SUPERUENIENS SACERDOS EBDOMADARIUS AD DIC TAM CAPELLAM APPROPIANS ALBA INDUTUS *et* CAPA CUM DUOBUS DIACONIS, UNO CRUCEM DEFERENTE CUM UEXILLO DOMINICO DESUPER PENDENTE, ALTERO CUM TURRIBULO MANU SUA BAIULANTE, *et* ALIIS SACERDOTIBUS *et* CLERICIS CUM DUOBUS PUERIS CEREOS DEFERENTIBUS AD OSTIUM DICTE CAPELLE INCIPIENS TER HANC *antiphonam*: Tollite portas. QUI QUIDEM SACERDOS REPRESENTABIT PERSONAM Xpisti AD INFEROS DESCENSURAM *et* PORTAS INFERNI DIRUPTURAM, *et* PREDICTA *antiphona* UNAQUAQUE UICE IN ALTIORI UOCE INCIPIATUR, QUAM CLERICI TOCIENS EANDEM REPETANT, *et* AD QUAMQUAM INCEPCIONEM PULSET CUM CRUCE AD PREDICTUM OSTIUM, FIGURANS DIRUPTIONEM PORTARUM INFERNI, *ET* TERCIA PULSACIONE OSTIUM APERIAT. DEINDE INGREDIATUR ILLE CUM MINISTRIS SUIS. INTERIM INCIPIAT QUIDAM SACERDOS IN CAPELLA EXISTENTE *antiphonam*: A porta inferi, quam SUBINFERAT CANTRIX CUM TOTO CONUENTU: Erue, Domine, *et* cetera. DEINDE EXTRAHET SACERDOS EBDOMADARIUS OMNES ESSENTES IN CAPELLA PREDICTA, *et* INTERIM INCIPIAT SACERDOS *antiphonam*: Domine abstraxisti, *et* CANTRIX SUBSEQUATUR: Ab inferis. Tunc OMNES EXEANT DE CAPELLA, ID EST, DE LIMBO PATRUM, *et* CANTENT SACERDOTES *et* CLERICI *antiphonam*: Cum rex glorie, PROCESSIONALITER PER MEDIUM CHORI AD SEPULCRUM PORTANTES SINGULI PALMAM *et* CANDELAM, DESIGNANTES UICTORIAM DE HOSTE RECUPERATAM, SUBSEQUENTIBUS Domina ABBATISSA, PRIORISSA *et* TOTO CONUENTU SICUT SUNT PRIORES.

Et CUM AD SEPULCRUM PERUENERINT, SACERDOS (p. 121) EBDOMADARIUS SEPULCRUM THURIFICET *et* INTRENT SEPULCRUM INCIPIENDO *uersum*: Consurgit. DEINDE SUBSEQUATUR CANTRIX: Xpistuc tumulo.² *Versus*: Omnis auctor. *Versus*: Gloria tibi, Domine, *et* INTERIM ASPORTABIT CORPUS DOMINI-

¹ MS., deferentem.

² MS., timulo.

CUM DE SEPULCRO INCIPIENDO *antiphonam*: Xpistus resurgens, CORAM ALTARI, UERSO UULTU AD POPULUM, TENENDO CORPUS DOMINICUM IN MANIBUS SUIS INCLUSUM CRISTALLO. DEINDE SUBIUNGAT CANTRIX: EX MORTUIS, *et cum dicta antiphona* FACIANT PROCESSIONEM AD ALTARE SANCTE TRINITATIS CUM SOLENNI APPARATU, UIDELICET CUM TURRIBULIS *et* CEREIS. CONUENTUS SEQUATUR CANTANDO *predictam antiphonam cum uersu*: Dicant nunc, *et uersiculo*¹: Dicite in nacionibus. *Oratio*: Deus qui pro nobis Filium tuum. *Et hec processio figuratur per hoc quo Xpistus procedit post resurrectionem in Galileam, sequentibus discipulis.*

QUIBUS PERACTIS, PROCEDANT TRES SORORES A DOMINA ABBATISSA PREELECTE, ET NIGRIS UESTIBUS IN CAPELLA BEATE MARIE MAGDALENE EXUTE, NITIDISSIMIS SUPERPELLICHIIS INDUANTUR NIUEIS UELIS A DOMINA ABBATISSA CAPITIBUS EARUM SUPERPOSITIS. SIC IGITUR PREPARATE *et* IN MANIBUS AMPULLAS TENENTES ARGENTEAS DICANT: Confiteor, AD ABBATISSAM, *et* AB EA ABSOLUTE, IN LOCO STATUTO CUM CANDELABRIS CONSISTANT. TUNC ILLA QUE SPECIEM PRETENDIT MARIE MAGDALENE CANAT HUNC UERSUM: Quondam Dei. QUO FINITO, SECUNDA QUE MARIAM IACOBI PREFIGURAT ALTERUM RESPONDEAT UERSUM: Appropinquans ergo sola. TERCIA MARIA UICEM OPTINENS SALOMEÆ TERCIVM CANAT UERSUM: Licet mihi uobiscum ire. Post hec CHORUM INCEDENTES FLEBILI UOCE *et* SUBMISSA HOS PARITER CANANT UERSUS: Heu nobis internas men (p. 122) tes. HIIS UERSIBUS FINITIS, MAGDALENA SOLA DICAT HUNC UERSUM: Heu misere. IACOBI RESPONDEAT: Heu consolacio nostra. SALOMEÆ: Heu redemptio Israel. QUARTUM UERO UERSUM OMNES SIMUL CONCINANT *sic*: Iam iam ecce. TUNC MARIE EXEUNTES A CIRCULO SIMUL DICANT: Eya, quis reuoluet. CUM AUTEM UENERINT AD SEPULCRUM, CLERICUS ALBA STOLA INDUTUS SEDEAT ANTE SEPULCRUM ILLIUS ANGELI GERENS FIGURAM QUI AB OSTIO MONUMENTI LAPIDEM REUOLUIT *et* SUPER EUM SEDIT, QUI DICAT ILLIS: Quem queritis in sepulcro, o cristicole? RESPONDEANT MULIERES: Ihesum Nazarenum querimus. ANGELUS UERO SUBINFERAT: Non est hic, surrexit. Cumque DIXERIT: Venite *et*

MS., uersiculus.

uidete, *INGREDIANTUR SEPULCRUM et DEOSCULENTUR LOCUM UBI POSITUS ERAT CRUCIFIXUS. MARIA uero MAGDALENE INTERIM ACCIPIAT SUDARIUM QUOD FUERAT SUPER CAPUT EIUS et SECUM DEFERAT. TUNC ALIUS CLERICUS IN SPECIE ALTERIUS ANGELI IN SEPULCRO RESIDENS DICAT AD MAGDALENAM: Mulier, quid ploras? ILLA AUTEM SUBIUNGAT: Quia tulerunt Dominum meum. DEINDE DUO ANGELI SIMUL CONCINENTES DICANT MULIERIBUS: Quid queritis uiuentem cum mortuis, et cetera. TUNC ILLE DE RESUR<R>EXCIONE Domini ADHUC DUBITANTES PLANGENDO dicant AD INVICEM: Heu dolor, et cetera. Postea MARIA MAGDALENE SUSPIRANDO CONCINAT¹: Te suspiro, et cetera.*

TUNC IN SINISTRA PARTE ALTARIS APPAREAT PERSONA, DICENS ILLI: Mulier, quid ploras? Quem queris? ILLA uero PUTANS EUM ESSE ORTOLANUM RESPONDEAT: Domine, si tu sustulisti eum, et cetera. PERSONA SUBIUNGAT: Maria! TUNC ILLA AGNOSCENS EUM PEDIBUS EIUS PROSTERNATUR DICENS: Raboni! PERSONA (p. 123) AUTEM SE SUBTRAHENS DICAT: Noli me tangere, et cetera. Cum PERSONA DISPARUERIT, MARIA GAUDIUM SUUM CONSOCIABUS COMMUNICET UOCE .LETABUNDA HOS CONCINENDO uersus: Gratulari et letari, et cetera. QUIBUS FINITIS, PERSONA IN DEXTERA PARTE ALTARIS TRIBUS SIMUL OCCURRAT MULIERIBUS DICENS: Auete, nolite timere, et cetera. TUNC ILLE HUMI PROSTRATE TENEANT PEDES EIUS et DEOSCULENTUR. QUO FACTO, ALTERNIS MODULATIONIBUS HOS uersus DECANTENT, MARIA MAGDALENE INCIPIENTE: Ihesuc ille Nazarenus, et cetera. FINITIS HIIS uersibus, TUNC MARIE STANTES SUPER GRADUS ANTE ALTARE uertentes SE AD POPULUM CANANT HOC responsorium: Alleluia, surrexit Dominus de sepulcro, CHORO EIS RESPONDENTE. FINITIS HIIS, SACERDOTES et CLERICI IN FIGURAM DISCIPULORUM Xpisti PROCEDANT DICENTES: O gens dira. TUNC UNUS ILLORUM ACCEDAT et dicat MARIE MAGDALENE: Dic² nobis, Maria, et cetera. ILLA AUTEM RESPONDEAT: Sepulcrum Xpisti. Angelicos testes. DIGITO INDICET LOCUM UBI ANGELUS SEDEBAT, et SUDARIUM PREBEAT ILLIS AD DEOSCUAUDUM,

¹ MS., concinant.

² MS., dixit.

HUNC ADICIENTES UERSUM: Surrexit /Xpistuc, spes nostra. TUNC SUBIUNGA <N>TUR A DISCIPULIS ET A CHORO HII ULTIMI UERSUS: Credendum est, et Scimus Xpistum. POSTEA INCIPIAT MAGDALENA: Xpistus resurgens, CLERO ET CHORO PARTER SUCCINENTE. HIIS ITAQUE PERACTIS, SOLENNITER DECANTETUR A SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE YMNUS: Te Deum laudamus. ET INTERIM PREDICTE SACERDOTES IN CAPELLAM PROPRIIS UESTIBUS REINDUENTES CUM CANDELABRIS PER CHORUM TRANSEUNTES ORANDI GRATIA SEPULCRUM ADEANT, ET IBI BREUEM ORATIONEM FACIANT. TUNC REDEANT IN STACIONEM SUAM USQUE ABBATISSA (p. 124) EAS IUBEAT EXIRE AD QUIESCENDUM.

IN LAUDIBUS QUINQUE ANTIPHONE CANANTUR SIC: Angelus enim Domini, et cetera. CAPITULUM: Fratres, expurgate uetus. QUO FINITO, NON DICITUR, UT MOS EST, RESPONSORIUM NEQUE YMPNUS, SED STATIM POST PRONUNCIACIONEM CAPITULI DICANT SCOLARES PARUUM UERSICULUM SIC: Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro. Ad Benedictus, Antiphona: Et ualde mane. HIC THURIFICENT SACERDOTES DUO CONUENTUM. Oratio: Deus qui hodierna die. BENEDICAMUS DICITUR CUM ALLELUIA A PASCHA USQUE AD FESTIUITATEM SANCTE TRINITATIS, IN PRINCIPALI ET IN DUPLICI SOLENNITATE, ET IN FESTIUITATIBUS QUE CUM SEQUENCIA TENENTUR. CUM AUTEM CERUITRICES BENEDICIONEM ACCIPERINT, FIAT COMMEMORACIO DE BEATA MARIA CUM ANTIPHONA: Paradisi porta, et cum GLORIA PATRI. Versus: Aue Maria. Oratio: Prosit nobis semper, omnipotens Pater. ET SI FESTIUITAS ALICUIUS SANCTI EUENERIT, NULLA FIAT DE EO COMMEMORACIO. PER TOTAM EBDOMADAM DICITUR HIC YMNUS: Te lucis auctor personent. Antiphona: Angelus enim Domini. Psalmus: Beati immaculati, usque Psalmum: Legem pone. CAPITULUM: Regi seculorum. Versus: Exurge Domine. Dicitur IN DEXTRO CHORO Oratio: Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui dedisti.

MISSA DE BEATA MARIA IN DIE PASCHA CANETUR INTER PRIMAM AD ALTARE SANCTI PAULI.

MISSA CAPITALIS, RESUR<T>EXI, DICATUR IN CAPELLA BEATE MARIE, QUO DICITUR SALUE, ET AD HANC MISSAM COMMUNI-

CENTUR OBEDIENCIARIE, SCOLARES IUUENCULE, DEBILES quoque et INFIRME.

AD *Tertiam* OMNES CONUENIANT. *Ymnus*: Chorus noue. *Antiphona*: EXTRA autem. *Psalmus*: Legem pone, USQUE, Porcio. CAPITULA et ORATIONES SICUT IN CAPITULARI DENOTANTUR. *Versus*: Surrexit Dominus.

Post BENEDICCIÓNEM AQUE CANATUR, *Antiphona*: Vidi aquam. *Versus*: Confitemini Domino, ET CUM GLORIA PATRI. Et INTERIM PREPARETUR PROCESSIONE MODO et ORDINE QUO IN (p. 125) DIE NATALIS DOMINI, AD quam OMNES EANT PALLIATE. Post ORDINATAM uero PROCESSIONEM, SEX SORORES A PRESENTRICE PRIMO IN MEDIO CHORO CONSISTENTES SOLENNITER DECANTENT: Salue festa dies, TOTUM sic: uersum ABBATISSA INCIPIAT et CHORUS EUNDEM post ILLAM¹ RECANTET. CUM CANTRICES DIXERINT uersum: Ecce renascentis, EAT PROCESSIONE CIRCA ECCLESIAM et CANTRICES IN MEDIO. Cumque IN REUERTENDO UENERINT IN CAPELLAM BEATE MARIE, ubi AUDIANT sermonem; et post sermonem, ABBATISSA INCIPIAT responsorium: Xpistus resurgens, AD INTROITUM.

QUA FINITA, MAGNA MISSA INCIPIATUR A SEX. OFFICIUM: Resur<r>exi, et ad Kyrie fons bonitatis per TOTAM EBDOMADAM dicitur Kyrie, per uersus. Gloria in excelsis per QUATUOR DIES. Graduale: Hec dies, CANATUR A TRIBUS. Alleluia. *Versus*: Pascha nostrum, CANATUR AB ABBATISSA, PRIORISSA, PRESENTRICE et SUCCENTRICE, atque EX SENIORIBUS SEQUENTIA: Fulgens preclara. Post EUANGELIUM dicitur: Credo in unum, ET INTERIM THURIFICET DIACONUS CONUENTUM, et SUBDIACONUS DEFERAT TEXTUM UTRIQUE CHORO AD DEOSCULANDUM. AD HANC MISSAM COMMUNICENTUR OMNES QUI AD ALIAM MISSAM NON FUERANT COMMUNICATI. Offertorium: Terra tremuit. Communio: Pascha nostrum. MISSA AUTEM SOLENNITER CELEBRATA, SONETUR CLASSICUM. Nota quod quatuor diebus PASCHE, PENTECOSTES, DEDICACIONIS ECCLESIE, ASSUMPCIONIS BEATE MARIE, et FESTIUITATIS BEATE ETHELBURGE, et quinque diebus NATALIS DOMINI, et omni principali festiuitate PULSETUR CLASSICUM post MISSE CELEBRACIONEM.

¹ MS., illas.

AD *Sextam* YMNUS: Quam DEORARAT IMPROBUS. *Antiphona*: Pre timore autem (p. 126) Psalmus: Porcio mea, usque AD Defecit. *Versus*: Surrexit Dominus uere.

FINITA *Sexta*, EANT IN DORMITORIUM, et INDE IN REFECTORIUM. LECTRIX uero LEGAT EXPOSITIONEM EUANGELII, Maria Magdalene. Post REFECTIONEM AUTEM et GRATIARUM ACCIONEM IN EXEUNDO DE REFECTORIO SOLENNITER CONCINENT uersum: Hec est dies, PRESENTRICE INCIPIENTE MODO QUO PREDICTUM EST DIE NATALIS DOMINI. Post HEC EANT AD MERIDIANAM.

CUMQUE PULSAUERINT CAMPANE, dicitur NONA. Ymnus: Ipsum canendo. *Antiphona*: Cito euntes. Psalmus: Defecit. *Versus*: Grauisi sunt. PERACTA NONA, EANT IN NAUEM ECCLESIE, et AUDIANT SERMONEM USQUE AD SONITUM Vesperarum.

AD *Vespera*:, *Antiphona*: Alleluia. Psalmus: Laudate pueri. Psalmus: Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes. Psalmus: Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus. Psalmus: Lauda, Ierusalem. CAPITULUM: Xpistus resurgens. *Responsorium*: Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro, CONCINATUR A QUATUOR. YMPNUS NON dicitur AD *Vesperas* HIIS QUATUOR DIEBUS, sed SEQUENCIA: Victimæ paschali. *Versus*: Pascha nostrum. *Antiphona*! Et respicientes. Psalmus: Magnificat. *Ora*tio: Deus qui hodierna die. NULLA FIAT COMMÉMORATIO HIIS QUATUOR DIEBUS post *Vesperas*, sed STATIM post BENEDICAMUS EAT PROCESSIO CIRCA FONTEM IN NAUI CUM CANDELABRIS et CRUCE ATQUE TURRIBULO, ABBATISSA INCIPIENTE *responsorium*: Sedit angelus, et PRESENTRICE. Psalmus: Laudate pueri. *Quatuor* CANANT uersum IN MEDIO NAUI, ¹sic: Crucifixum. SEQUATUR uersiculus: Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro. *Ora*tio: Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum.¹ IN EXEUNDO DE NAUI, ABBATISSA INCIPIAT *responsorium*: Xpistus resurgens, et PRESENTRIX. Psalmus: In exitu Israel. ²AD INTROITUM dicitur uersus: Dicite in nacionibus. *Ora*tio: Deus qui pro nobis filium tuum.² *Versus*: Dicant nunc, NON dicitur HIIS QUATUOR DIEBUS, sed FERIA

¹ written in the lower margin, by the same hand.

² written in lower margin, by same hand.

quinta et sexta et SABBATO responsorium: Xpistus resurgens dicitur cum uersu: Dicant nunc, AD PROCESSIONEM AD ALTARE RESUR<R>EXIONIS Domini. NOTA quod OMNI SABBATO USQUE PENTECOSTEN EAT PROCESSIO (p. 127) AD PREDICTUM ALTARE cum responsorio: Xpistus resurgens, sed uersus: Dicant nunc, NON dicitur IN SABBATIS USQUE AD PENTECOSTEN.

FINITIS Vesperis, EANT IN REFECTORIO CENARE. AB HOC AUTEM DIE USQUE AD FESTIUITATEM SANCTE TRINITATIS LEGATUR AUGUSTINUS DE RESUR<R>EXIONE Domini AD COLLACIONES. NOTA quod per TOTAM EBDOMADAM PASCHE IN LAUDIBUS DICATUR uersus DE RESUR<R>EXIONE INTER PRECES ANTE Psalmum: Domine exaudi; et SIMILITER AD Sextam et AD Nonam; sed CAUEATUR NE uersus QUI DICITUR post CAPITULUM DICATUR AD PRECES EANDEM HORAM. Et NOTANDUM quod uersus SACERDOT<AL>ES NON dicuntur per TOTAM EBDOMADAM NISI AD PRIMAM et AD COMPLETORIUM, et ITA FIAT IN EBDOMADA PENTECOSTIS.¹

XI

Codex latinus 23037 in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich contains as its chief article a *Breviarium Monasticum* of the twelfth century of the use of the monastery of Prüfening.² In the text below we have one of the few examples hitherto made known of a *Visitatio Sepulchri* attached to the monastic type of Easter Matins.³ I publish this text in the present series, however, not primarily for the sake of the *Visitatio*, but

¹ The rubric, *Feria secunda*, follows immediately.

² For information as to the provenience of this MS. I am indebted to my friend, The Reverend Father Dom G. M. Beyssoc, O. S. B., and to The Reverend Father Clemens Blume, S. J. The official description of the MS. in *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Monacensis*, Tomus II, Pars IV, Monachii, 1881, p. 52, is almost worthless. For example, the document is described as a "Missale." My attention was first called to this MS. by Dom Beyssac, whose kindness to me in this matter, as in innumerable others, has been immeasurable.

³ See my brief note on this detail in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXIV (1909), p. 310.

more especially because the first eight lections of Matins are taken from a *Sermo Eusebii Episcopi* on the Harrowing of Hell.¹

In the present article I am not prepared to discuss the possible relations of Sermons on the Harrowing of Hell to plays on the same subject either in the vernacular or in liturgical Latin. In our present meagre information concerning the Harrowing of Hell theme in liturgical drama there is no evidence of the influence of sermons. The present text with its juxtaposition of Harrowing of Hell sermon and *Quem quaeritis* dramatic office may, perhaps, be an advance toward such evidence. The possible influence of sermons in the development of vernacular plays on the Harrowing of Hell has not yet been definitely studied. A most adequate stimulus for such a study was provided several years ago by Professor Rand in his well-known and indispensable article, *Sermo de Confusione Diaboli*.² When this study shall finally be undertaken, the modest text presented below may be of some service.³

¹ On the identity of this Eusebius, and on the relation of his sermon or sermons to the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, see Rand, in *Modern Philology*, Vol. II (1904), pp. 262-3. For further references see Hulme, p. lxiii. The text given below should be compared with *Sermo clx, De Pascha*, "consarcinatus ex Gregorii et Eusebii sententiis" (printed by Migne, *Pat. lat.*, xxxix, 2059-2061), with which it agrees in part literally. The version represented by Munich Cod. lat. 23037 is evidently the "homilia . . . Eusebii . . . longe prolixior" mentioned by Migne, *loc. cit.*, col. 2060, note 2. I have no knowledge as to the relation of my text to the two sermons of Eusebius printed by Migne, *Pat. Graeca*, lxxxvi, col. 383 *et seq.* and lxii, col. 721 *et seq.*, which are represented by the Latin translation published by Rand, *loc. cit.*, pp. 270-278. On the relation of the sermons of Eusebius to the *Evangelium Nicodemi* see also Migne, *Pat. Graeca*, lxxxvi, col. 411-414.

² *Modern Philology*, Vol. II (1904), pp. 261-278.

³ The study of the relation of sermons to drama was begun brilliantly and fruitfully by Sepet in his *Les Prophetes du Christ (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, Vols. xxviii, xxix, and xxxviii)*. The relation of sermons to plays on the Passion has been studied by Keppler (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, iii, 285-315, and iv, 161-188). The

<CURSUS IN DIE PASCHAE>¹

<IN I VESPERIS>

(fol. 175^v, col. 1) *Super PSALMOS FERIALES*: Aeuia, aeuia, aeuia. *Psalmus*: Confiteantur, cum reliquis. *Versus*: In resurrectione tua, Xpiste. Celum <et terra letentur>. <ANTIPHONA AD MAGNIFICAT>: Vespere autem sabbati, que lucescit in prima sabbati, uenit Maria Magdalena et altera Maria uidere sepulchrum, aeuia. *Post Benedicamus, DE Sancto GEO<RGIO> antiphona*: Qui manet in, uel *antiphona*: Iste sanctus. <DE> MICHAHELE <ANTIPHONA>: Michahel archangelus, cum Alleluia. <DE> IOHANNE BAPTISTA *antiphona*: Iustum deduxit. PETRI ET PAULI <ANTIPHONA>: Si manseritis. DE APOSTOLIS <ANTIPHONA>: Alleluia, ego sum. <DE> STEPHANO *antiphona*: Iustus autem. DE MARTYRIBUS <ANTIPHONA>: Fulgebunt. i. <DE> MARTINO <ANTIPHONA>: Amauit. <DE> BENEDICTO <ANTIPHONA>: Beatus uir qui in uia. DE CONFESSORIBUS *antiphona*: Sancti et iusti. DE VIRGINIBUS <ANTIPHONA>: Prudentes, cum Alleluia.

<AD MATUTINUM.>

INUITATORIUM: Aeuia, aeuia, aeuia.

IN PRIMO NOCTURNO. Antiphona: Ego sum qui sum, et consilium meum non est cum impiis, sed in lege Domini uoluntas mea est, aeuia. *Psalmus*: Beatus uir. *Psalmus*: Quare frem<uerunt>. *Psalmus*: Cum inuoc<arem>.

relations of sermons to vernacular drama in Italy is discussed by V. Bartholomaeis, *Ricerche Abruzzesi*, in *Bulletino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, no. 8, 1889, pp. 137-159. See also pp. 82, 101. Cook's two articles (*Journal of Germanic Philology*, iv, 421-451, and v, 62-64) on the dramatic element in patristic literature seem to have proved nothing definitely concerning the immediate sources of mediaeval drama. References for further investigation are furnished by Rand, p. 268, and by Huhne, *loc. cit.*, p. Lxiii.

¹ Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 23037, fol. 175^v-178^r. To aid investigators I present the entire *cursus* of Easter.

Psalmus: Domine, Dominus noster. *Psalmus*: Conserua me. *Psalmus*: Deus, Deus meus, respice. *Versus*: Quem queris mulier? Viuen<tem cum mortuis>.

SERMO EUSEBII EPISCOPI.

<LECTIO i.>

Exulta celum, et in leticia esto terra. Iste dies uobis amplius ex sepulchro radiauit quam de sole refulsit. Ouet infernus, quia uita ad se descendente a sua impietate resolutus est; gaudeat, quia in sedibus suis descendente domino uisitatus est. Exultet homo Adam, quia ignotam lucem post secula longa uidit, et inter profunde noctis caligines suffocatus tenebris respirauit. O pulchra lux, que de can (fol. 175^v, col. 2) dido celi fastigio promiscuisti, et prefluenta purpurea sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis subita claritate uestisti.

Responsorium: Maria Magdalena et altera Maria ibant diluculo ad monumentum. Iesum quem queritis, non est hic, surrexit sicut locutus est: Precedet uos in Galilea<m>; ibi eum uidebitis, aeuia, aeuia. *Versus*: Cito euntes, dicite discipulis eius et Petro, quia surrexit dominus. Precedet.

<LECTIO ii.>

Confestim igitur eterna nox inferorum Xpisto descendente resplenduit, siluit stridor ille lugentium, dirupta cecidere uincula damnatorum, attonite obstipuere mentes tortorum; omnis simul officina impia contremuit cum Xpistum repente in suis sedibus uidit. Mox igitur ferruginei ianitores descendente Xpisto talia inter se ceci umbrosa silentia metu incubante submurmurant. Quisnam est, inquiunt, iste terribilis et niueo splendore coruscus? O numquam talem noster excepit tartarus, nunquam in nostram cauernam talem euomuit mundus.

Responsorium: Surgens Iesus, dominus noster stans in medio discipulorum suorum dixit, Pax uobis, aeuia. Gausi sunt discipuli uiso domino, aeuia. *Versus*: Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Ae<uia>.

<LECTIO iii.>

Inuasor est iste, non debitor; effractor est, non preceptor; iudicem uidemus, non supplicem. Pugnare uenit, non succumbere; eripere, non manere. Ubinam putatis socii (fol. 176^r, col. 1) nostri ac ianitores dormierunt, cum iste debellator nostra claustra uexabat? Iste si reus esset, audax non esset. Si eum aliqua delicta fuscarent numquam fulgore suo nostras dissiparet tenebras. Sed si Deus est, cur huc uenit? Si homo est, quid presumit? Si Deus est, quid in sepulchro facit? Si homo, quare captiuos soluit? Num quidnam iste cum auctore nostro pactum composuit? An forte et ipsum aggressus uicit, et sic ad nostra regna transiuit? Certe mortuus erat, certe uictus erat. Illusus est preliator noster in mundo, nescit quam hic stragem procurauerit in inferno.

Responsorium: Congratulamini michi omnes qui diligitis dominium, quia quem querebam apparuit michi, et dum flerem ad monumentum, uidi dominum meum, aeuia. *Versus:* Tulerunt dominum meum, et nescio ubi posuerunt eum. Si tu sustulisti eum, dicito michi. Et dum f<lerem>.

<LECTIO iv.>

O crux illa fallens gaudia nostra et parturiens damna nostra! Per lignum ditati sumus, per lignum euertimur. Perit potestas illa cunctis semper populis formidata. Nullus sub cede nostra captiuus palpitauit, en quod gemendum est et insultat. Nusquam antiqui fletus, nulli iam resonant eiulatus turpidum specus obmutuit. Putasne iste sine nostro exitio redit? Nemo unquam ad nos uiuus intrauit, nemo sic audax fuit, nemo sic carnifices terruit. Nunquam in hoc hiatu nigra semper fuligine ceco iocundum lumen apparuit. An forte sol e mundo migrauit? Sed nec celum nobis astraque apparent, et tamen infernus lucet. Quid agimus? Quo conuertimur? Defendere contra istum cruentas domos et obtinere nostre (fol. 176^r, col. 2) cauerne custodias iam non ualemus.

Responsorium: Virtute magna reddebant apostoli testimonium resurrectionis Iesu Xpisti Domini nostri, aeuia, aeuia.

Versus: In omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terre uerba eorum, aeuia. <Testimonium>.

IN *Secundo Nocturno*.

Antiphona: Postulaui patrem meum, aeuia, dedit michi gentes, aeuia, in hereditatem, aeuia. *Psalmus*: Domini est terra. *Psalmus*: Dominus illuminatio. *Psalmus*: Exaltabo te. *Psalmus*: Beatus qui intelligit. *Psalmus*: Notus in Iudea. *Psalmus*: Domine, Deus s<alutis>. *Versus*: Tulerunt dominum meum.

<LECTIO v.>

Male lustrati sumus, tantam lucem obtenebrare nequimus, opprimere tanta uirtute *preditum non ualemus*. *Nostra quoque colla urgueri* conspicimus, et de *nostro insuper nunc interitu* formidamus. *Quid nobis et celo?* Plagis nos recentioribus iusta ultione ferimur. Nocte *nostra contenti sumus*, *antris nostris* occulimur. Quare radiis *prodimur?* Quare uiolentia disturbamur? Quare in *nostris sedibus* captiuamur?

Responsorium: Tulerunt dominum meum, et nescio ubi posuerunt eum. Ait illi angelus, nobi flere, Maria, surrexit sicut dixit, *precedet uos in Galileam*, ibi eum uidebitis, aeuia, aeuia. *Versus*: Cito euntes, dicite discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit dominus. *Precedet*.

<LECTIO vi.>

Mox *igitur Xpistuc* in ipsos crudeles penarum ministros aciem dirigit, *atque implacabiles turmas* framea diuina concidit. Framunt diri sub tartaro carnifices, et rabidiores adactis stridoribus contabescunt. Ipsa *quoque antra ferrei cubilis* mirantur, et fortes a fortiore eternis nexibus conligantur. Hoc *dominus ipse promiserat* dicens: Nemo intrat domum fortis et uasa eius diripiet, nisi prius alligauerit *fortem* et sic uasa eius diripiet. *Tristes igitur* mox lugentesque (fol. 176^v, col. 1) diurno squalore turbe *populique uexati* concurrunt, et redemptoris *nostri uestigiis* prouoluuntur. Ecce

apostolica dicta probantur, ut in nomine Ihesu omne genu flectatur celestium, terrestrium, et infernorum.

Responsorium: Expurgate uetus fermentum, ut sitis noua conspersio, etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Xpistus, itaque epulemur in domino, aeuia. *Versus:* Non in fermento malicie et nequitie, sed in azimis sinceritatis et ueritatis. Itaque.

<LECTIO vii.>

Mox *igitur* captiue anime de custodiis relaxate tartareis prouunt regi seculorum, mestaque supplicatione deplorant. Venisti tandem, clementissime Ihesu, succurre iam et parce fessis. Nunc Xpistuc suas extingue minas, iamque miserandos resoluere gemitus. Redemisti uiuos cruce tua, eripe mortuos morte tua. Pari nobiscum labe ipse mundus interierat, ad aduentum tuum omnis creatura pendebat. Tibi nostra tormenta suspirabant, te semper infernus iste psallebat. Dum hic es, absolue reos, dum ascenderis, defende tuos. Tu solus caput draconis comminuere potuisti, tu portas creas et uectos ferreos ualuisti conterere. Pateat quesumus precantibus ianua, lux non desit pia; et si redis ad corpus, maiestate tua non priuetur infernus.

Responsorium: Ecce uicit leo de tribu Iuda, radix Dauid aperire librum et soluere septem signacula eius, aeuia, aeuia, aeuia. *Versus:* Et unus de seniõribus dixit mihi, ne fleueris, dignus est agnus qui occisus est accipere potestatem et fortitudinem. Ae<uia>.

<LECTIO viii.>

Post auditas itaque preces, post compositas leges, post terrores dimer (fol. 176^v, col. 2) sos in fossa alte uoraginis, rex *noster* hodie de inferis laureatus triumphator exiuit. Nec candidatum officium defuit, *sed* leta cum principe suo omnis beatorum toga processit, sicut in euangelio scriptum est, quia resurgente domino multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt, et exeuntes de monumentis post resurrectionem eius uenerunt in sanctam ciuitatem, et apparuerunt multis. Repedat *igitur* ad stadium suum triumphator iterum uiuus, ut nouerit

omnis mundus, quia rediit ab inferis Xpistuc. Glorientur ergo credentes, plaudant manibus omnes gentes, quia rex noster in seculo triumphauit, et in inferis uicit.

Responsorium: Isti sunt agni nouelli qui annuntiauerunt, aeuia, modo uenerunt ad fontem repleti sunt claritate, aeuia, aeuia. *Versus*: In omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terre uerba eorum. Modo.

<IN TERTIO NOCTURNO>.

AD CANTICUM Antiphona: Ego dormiui et somnum cepi et exsurrexi, quoniam dominus suscepit me, aeuia, aeuia.

CANTICUM: Quis est iste.

Versus: Noii flere, Maria. <RESPONSIO>: Resurre <XI>.

<LECTIO ix.>

<EUANGELIUM SECUNDUM> Sanctum MARCUM.

In illo tempore, Maria Magdalene et Maria Iacobi et Salome emerunt aromata, ut uenientes unguerent Ihesum. Et ualde mane una sabbatorum ueniunt ad monumentum, orto iam sole; et dicebant ad inuicem, Quis reuoluet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti? Et respicientes uiderunt reuolutum lapidem, erat quippe magnus ualde. Et introeuntes in monumentum uiderunt iuuenem sedentem in dextris coopertum stola candida, et obstupuerunt. Qui dicit illis, Nolite expauescere, Ihesum queritis Nazarenum crucifixum; surrexit, non est hic; ecce locus (fol. 177^r, col. 1) ubi posuerunt eum. Sed ite, dicite discipulis eius et Petro, quia precedet uos in Galileam, ibi eum uidebitis sicut dixit uobis.

OMELIA Beati GREGORII.

Audistis, fratres karissimi, quod sancte mulieres que dominum secute fuerant cum aromatibus ad monumentum uenerunt, et ei quem uiuentem dilexerant, et iam mortuo studio humanitatis obsecuntur. Sed res gesta aliquid in sancta ecclesia signat gerendum. Sic quippe necesse est ut audiamus que facta sunt, quatinus cogitemus etiam que nobis sunt ex eorum

imitatione facienda. Et nos *ergo*, in eo qui *est* mortuus credentes, si odore uirtutum referti cum opinione bonorum operum *dominum* querimus, ad monumentum profecto illius cum aromatibus uenimus.

Responsorium: Surrexit pastor bonus, qui posuit animam suam pro ouibus suis et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, aeuia, aeuia, aeuia. *Versus*: Surrexit dominus de sepulcro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Aeuia.

<LECTIO x.>

Ille autem mulieres angelos uident que cum aromatibus uenerunt, quia uidelicet ille mentes supernos ciues aspiciunt, que cum uirtutum odoribus ad *dominum per sancta desideria proficiscuntur*. Notandum uero nobis est quidnam sit quod in dextris sedere angelus cernitur. Quidnamque per sinistram nisi uita presens, quid uero per dexteram nisi perpetua uita signatur. Unde scriptum est, *Leua eius sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me*. Quia igitur redemptor noster iam presentis uite corruptionem transierat, recte angelus qui nuntiare perennem eius uitam uenerat in dextera sedebat. Qui stola candida coopertus apparuit, (fol. 177^r, col. 2) quia festiuitatis nostre gaudia nunciauit.

Responsorium: Angelus domini descendit de celo, et accedens reuoluit lapidem et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus, Nolite timere, scio enim quia crucifixum queritis, iam surrexit, uenite et uidete locum ubi positus erat dominus, aeuia. *Versus*: Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus dicens, Quem queritis, an Iesum queritis? Iam surr<exit>.

<LECTIO xi.>

Candor etenim uestis splendorem nostre denuntiat sollemnitate. Nostre dicamus, an sue? Sed ut fateamur uerius, et sue dicamus et nostre. Illa quippe redemptoris nostri resurrectio et nostra festiuitas fuit quia nos ad immortalitatem reduxit, et angelorum festiuitas extitit, quia nos reuocando ad celestia eorum numerum impleuit. In sua *ergo* ac nostra festiuitate angelus albis uestitus apparuit, quia, dum nos per

resurrectionem dominicam ad superna reducimur, celestis patrie damna reparantur.

Responsorium: Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus dicens, Quem queritis, an Iesum queritis? Iam surrexit, uenite et uidete, aeuia, aeuia. *Versus*: Ecce precedet uos in Galileam, ibi eum uidebitis sicut dixit uobis. Ve<nite>.

<LECTIO xii.>

Sed quid uenientes feminas affatur audiamus? Nolite expauescere, ac si aperte dicat. Paueant illi qui non amant aduentum supernorum ciuium, pertimescant, qui carnalibus desideriis pressi, ad eorum se societatem pertingere posse desperant. Vos autem cur pertimescitis que uestros conciuues uidetis? Unde et Matheus, angelum apparuisse describens ait, Erat aspectus eius sicut fulgur, et uestimenta eius candida sicut nix. In ful (fol. 177^v, col. 1) gure etenim terror timoris est, in niue autem blandimentum candoris. Quia uero omnipotens Deus et terribilis est peccatoribus et blandus iustis recte testis resurrectionis eius, angelus, et in fulgure uultus et in candore habitus demonstratur.

Responsorium: Dum transisset sabbatum, Maria Magdalena et Maria Iacobi et Salome emerunt aromata, ut uenientes ungerent Iesum, aeuia, aeuia. *Versus*. Et ualde mane una sabbatorum ueniunt ad monumentum, orto iam sole. Ut uenientes.

ORDO AD VISITANDUM SEPULCHRUM.

DUODECIMO RESPONSORIO FINITO UISITATUR SEPULCHRUM. VISITATUR HOC MODO. TRES PRESBYTERI SIVE DIACONI ALBIS CAPPISQUE INDUTI, CAPITA HUMERALIBUS UELATA HABENTES, SINGULIQUE SINGULA CUM INCENSO THURIBULA IN MANIBUS PORTANTES PEDETEMPTIM PROCEDUNT AD SEPULCHRU<M> DOMINI, CANTANTES SUBMISSA UOCE *antiphonam*: Quis reuoluet nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum? QUAE FINITA, DUO DIACONI INDUTI DALMATICIS, UELATIS SIMILITER CAPITIBUS, SEDENT INFRA SEPULCHRUM, QUIQUE STATIM QUASI UICE ANGELORUM ILLOS TRES AD IMITATIONEM MULIERUM UENIENTES ITA COMPELLANT *antiphonam*:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Xpicticole? *ECONTRA* ISTI: Iesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole. *ECONTRA* ILLI: Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro. TUNC ISTI INTRANT SEPULCHRUM,¹ ILLIS CANTANTIBUS: Venite et uidete locum ubi positus erat dominus, aeua, aeua. THURIFICANT LOCUM UBI CRUX POSITA ERAT, SICQUE TOLLENTES PANNUM INTRA SE EXPANSUM SIMUL ETIAM GESTANTES THURIBULA ET CANTANTES MEDIOCRI UOCE: Di (fol. 177^v, col. 2) cant nunc Iudei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem, quare non seruabant petram iusticie; ²aut sepultum reddant² aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes aeua, aeua. *REGREDIUNTUR* per *ALIAM* UIAM, ET FINITA *antiphona* ANTE INTROITUM CHORI, INTRANT TACENTES ET SUPER GRADUM SANCTUARIi ASSISTENTES, UERSA FACIE IN CHORUM ET ELEUATO LINTHEO *PRECELSA* UOCE INTONANT *antiphonam*: Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus, precedet uos in Galileam, aeua, ibi eum uidebitis, aeua, aeua, aeua.

AD LAUDES.

Antiphona: Angelus autem domini descendit de celo et accedens reuoluit lapidem et sedebat super eum, aeua, aeua. *Antiphona*: Et ecce terre motus factus est magnus, angelus autem domini descendit de celo, aeua. *Antiphona*: Erat autem aspectus eius sicut fulgur, uestimenta eius candida sicut nix, aeua. *Antiphona*: Pre timore autem eius exterriti sunt custodes et facti sunt uelut mortui, aeua. *Antiphona*: Respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus, Nolite timere,³ scio enim quod Ihesum queritis, aeua.⁴ IN *EUangelio* *Anti-*

¹ MS., sepulchrum.

²⁻² Supplied from left hand margin.

³ MS., timore.

⁴ Although there is no mark of omission or of reference, the following may be supplied here from the left margin:

<Responsio brevis>: <s>urrexit Xpistuc et illuxit populo suo, aeua, aeua.

<Versus>: Quem redemit sanguine suo. s.

<Versus>: Resurrexit dominus.

phona: Et ualde mane una sabbatorum ueniunt ad monumentum, orto iam sole, aeua.

AD PRIMAM.

Antiphona: Surgens Ihesus mane prima sabbati apparuit primo Marie Magdalene, de qua eiecerat septem daemonia, aeua.

AD iii.

Antiphona: Et dicebant ad inuicem, Quis reuoluet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti, aeua, aeua. *Versus*: In resurrectione tua, Xpiste. <RESPONSIO>: C<elum>.

AD vi.

Antiphona: Et respicientes uiderunt reuolutum lapidem, erat quippe magnus ualde, aeua.

Versus: Surrexit dominus uere. <RESPONSIO>: Et appar<uit Symoni>.

AD viiii.

Antiphona: Nolite expauescere, Ihesum nazarenum queritis crucifixum; non est hic, surrexit, aeua.

Versus: Surrexit dominus de sepulchro. <RESPONSIO>: Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno>.

IN ii VESPERIS.

Antiphona SUPER PSALMOS¹ *antiphona*: Aeua, aeua, aeua, aeua, aeua, aeua, aeua, aeua. *Psalmus*: Dixit dominus, ET IDEM PER TOTAM EPDOMADAM. *Responsio*: Mane nobiscum, domine, aeua, aeua. *Versus*: Quoniam aduesperascit et inclinata est iam dies. *Versus*: Gauisi sunt discipuli.

¹ In the MS. at this point occurs the following antiphon: *Antiphona*: Ihesum quem queritis. This antiphon is perhaps given here to remind the cantor of the melody for the antiphon that follows immediately.

(fol. 178^r, col. 1) *IN EUANGELIO Antiphona*: Surrexit enim, UT SUPRA. *AD PROCESSIONEM*: Xpistus resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur quod enim uiuit, uiuit Deo, aeuia, aeuia. *UNDE SUPRA, antiphona*: Aeuia, lapis reuolutus est ab ostio monumenti, quia surrexit dominus, aeuia, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Post passionem domini factus est conuentus, quia non est inuentum corpus in monumento; lapis sustinuit perpetuam uitam, monumentum reddidit celestem margaritam, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Venite et uidete locum ubi positus erat dominus, aeuia, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Ihesum qui crucifixus est queritis, aeuia; non est hic, surrexit enim sicut dixit uobis, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Ihesum quem queritis, non est hic sed surrexit; recordamini qualiter locutus est uobis dum adhuc in Galilea esset, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Scio quod Ihesum queritis crucifixum, surrexit, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Cito euntes dicite discipulis quia surrexit dominus, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Et recordate sunt uerborum eius, et regresse sunt a monumento, nuntiauerunt hec omnia illis undecim et ceteris omnibus, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, aeuia, aeuia, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Surrexit Xpistus et illuxit populo suo quem redemit sanguine suo, aeuia, <Antiphona>: Ite, nuntiate fratribus meis, aeuia, ut eant in Galileam, ibi me uidebunt, aeuia, aeuia, aeuia. *Antiphona*: In Galilea Ihesum uidebitis sicut dixit uobis, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Aeuia, quem queris mulier, aeuia, uiuentem cum mortuis, aeuia, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Aeuia, noli flere Maria, aeuia, resurrexit dominus, aeuia, aeuia. *Antiphona*: Ego sum Alpha et Ω , primus et nouissimus, et stella matutina; ego clauis Dauid, aeuia.¹

In connection with a series of texts so grouped as to illustrate, however imperfectly, the development of the Harrowing of Hell, or Descent, theme in liturgical drama one would

¹The cursus for Easter Monday follows immediately, under the rubric, *Feria. ii.*

gladly summarize this chapter of dramatic origins in some definite fashion. At present, however, such a summary is, I think, impossible, for it would presume something like a complete collection of the dramatic liturgical texts bearing upon this subject,—a collection that has as yet scarcely been begun. From the meagre materials now accessible one would infer that the Descent theme developed into true liturgical drama at a comparatively late date. The earliest true liturgical play on this subject as yet published (printed above from University College MS. 169), arising from the period 1363–1376, is antedated by a very considerable development of the theme in vernacular drama, and one is tempted to conclude that in this instance liturgical drama may be an adaptation from vernacular drama. But at the present moment such a conclusion would be hazardous, for it is more than likely that when a really thorough-going search shall be made, earlier liturgical plays on this subject will be discovered, and that the vernacular plays concerning the Descent, like the vernacular plays of Christmas, of Epiphany, and of Easter will be found to rest upon a firm basis of liturgical drama.

JOHN OF SALISBURY'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLASSICS.

A. C. KREY.

INTRODUCTION.

By most students of Medieval History, John of Salisbury is remembered—if at all—by the legend that he lost his arm in trying to ward off the fatal blow which fell on Thomas à Becket. Very few, indeed, know him for any other distinction. He has, however, a more certain claim to our attention as the greatest classicist of the Middle Ages. Nor is this all. Were he merely a sedentary classicist—a scholar of the cloister or the school—he might arouse only a limited interest. But John is more than that. A man interested primarily in the world politics of his time, he stands forth as the great partisan of the classics against the rising tendencies toward a more “practical” and speedy system of education.

This may sound unusually familiar. It is not so long since the classics were routed from their dictatorial position in modern educational systems by the more “practical” courses and the teachers of Latin and Greek are far from accepting their defeat. Every person who goes on in higher education, to-day, is forced to settle for himself the problem of whether a liberal or a “practical” education is the best preparation for the rather fatuous struggle of life. It is therefore decidedly interesting to find John of Salisbury battling with almost the same problem eight centuries ago. It is still more surprising to discover that almost every argument urged in favor of a

liberal education to-day was employed by him then. Not only does he fight with the weapons of a modern humanist but, what is more astonishing, he bases his fight upon a knowledge of the ancient writers such as is possessed by comparatively few men to-day, as will be demonstrated in the present paper.

The only safe basis for determining what classical authors he really knew, lies in the quotations, direct and indirect, which he makes from those authors. To credit him, however, with a personal knowledge of every writer whom he quotes would be even more erroneous than such a test could be to-day, for the man of the Middle Ages did not have our system of teaching grammar but had to rely for his training in this subject upon Donatus, Priscian, Nonius Marcellus and Servius. These grammarians treated the subject by quoting passages from classical authors in illustration of each point. When it is remembered that all instruction was in Latin and that for want of extensive libraries, grammar was very much emphasized, it will at once be apparent that very many of the quotations made by medieval writers found their origin in these grammars. Priscian alone quotes over ten thousand lines from ancient authors. Though these quotations were usually of single lines, yet a skillful teacher might be able to combine them and supply the missing words. That John had studied these works like every other medieval student, cannot, of course, be doubted.

Furthermore, John had also a thorough knowledge of the works of St. Augustine, Jerome, Isidore, Lactantius, Martianus Capella, Macrobius and Boëthius. These works, too, were an integral part of the education of every scholar of those times, and John's frequent references to them show clearly that he was no exception. These writers had used the ancient authors very extensively and a student could obtain an almost endless fund of quotations from them alone without consulting any of the authors themselves.

Mere quotation, therefore, cannot be considered as conclusive evidence that John had certain authors. If, however, he makes frequent and long quotations from such authors; if his quotations adhere more closely to the original texts than do

those of intermediate sources; and if he not only quotes but shows great familiarity with the works of an ancient writer, it is usually safe to conclude that he had read that author. Furthermore, if the works in question were current in John's day; if they were used as text-books in the schools, this conclusion would be materially strengthened. Lastly, if he makes such statements as "in . . . legisse memini" or "noster auctor" or if the work of an author is mentioned in John's will as a gift to some library, he can reasonably be credited with having had the work.

Whether or not John gets his quotations from one of these common intermediate sources must be determined by a comparison of the passages in which such quotations occur. The accuracy of the comparisons made for this essay is unfortunately but unavoidably marred by the circumstance that the only accessible edition of John's works is contained in Migne's colossal work which was so hurriedly put together that in questions of close textual criticism it is sometimes impossible to decide whether a variation is due to John or to the editor. In determining his familiarity with an author there are to be considered the freeness of quotation, the general similarity in the treatment of subject matter and his comments, or his criticisms of the author.

The problem in the case of John, however, is further complicated by the great number of his quotations from the classics—one thousand would be a very conservative estimate—very few of which can be found in the grammars and other standard books of that time. It is necessary, therefore, to ascertain his attitude toward the study of the classics, i. e. whether or not he was the kind of man who would go to the original for quotations. Then arises the question of whether or not it was possible at that time for him to have had access to so many classical works and lastly, on the basis of his quotations, what works he seems to have read. The first chapter accordingly will consider his attitude toward the study of the classics.

CHAPTER I.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CLASSICS.

John of Salisbury, the great exponent of the classics in an age which was turning to practical studies, lived at a time when the Church was still the great, if not the sole educator of western Europe. The first Crusade had taken place, bringing with it greater prosperity and power to the Church than it had ever before enjoyed. The settlement of the investiture struggle at Worms had proclaimed the practical supremacy of the Popes, while the more peaceful conditions in the West were reflected in an increasing devotion to learning. It is not surprising then, that the studious activities of the age have won for it the fame of a great renaissance, the so-called Renaissance of the twelfth century. Peace, prosperity and leisure were widespread. Latin was the universal language of scholars, and the Church, in practically unquestioned supremacy, was in a position not only to tolerate learning but even to encourage it so long as it was not absolutely antagonistic to its teachings. The revival of the liberal, the classical studies, came therefore as a not unnatural result of existing conditions and it was amidst these conditions that John was born and educated.

Born in the village of Salisbury in England between the years 1115–1120, he seems from the very beginning to have been gifted with an unusual amount of hard, English common-sense. The oft-told story of how he refused to be a party to the magic exhibitions of his teacher well illustrates this trait of John's character, and his later education was not of a kind to diminish it. At a comparatively early age he went to the continent to carry on his studies and Paris was his first stopping place. There at the feet of the great Abelard he spent one year, learning his Aristotle in a way that was new and bold, and it was a source of great regret to John that he could be with

Abelard only a year. Notwithstanding this regret, however, John did not permit it to stand in the way of his learning the other side of the great philosophic controversy of the age. He studied with Robert of Melun and Alberic, the leaders of the Nominalist school and from William of Conches he gained what so many brilliant men of his time had failed to acquire—a knowledge of Plato, from the *Timaeus* which William had had for the first time translated. Then he went to Chartres which was at that time the center of the classical studies, and there for three years he reviewed his grammar, not only learning but also teaching the subject under the standards of this great school. Here, too, he had the advantage of studying rhetoric from its recognized master, Bernard, the head of the school, and his praise of the subject and its teacher have been often repeated. But John was not content even with this comprehensive knowledge. His keen mind felt the need of further study and accordingly, he went back to Paris. Here, he studied logic and spent two years in the pursuit of theology, the *sine qua non* of the medieval scholar. Law and medicine he also cultivated and the statement that he was the best read scholar of his age seems hardly an exaggeration.¹

Yet his education was not confined to schools and teachers. He numbered among his personal friends not only the great scholars of his time but also the great statesmen. It was upon the recommendation of Bernard of Clairvaux that he became secretary to Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this post which he retained under Thomas à Becket, he was thrown into contact with the greatest political movements of his time. Twelve times, he relates in his *Polycraticus*, he journeyed across the Alps on business for Thomas, for Henry II, and for his personal friends. He also made journeys through France on his own account. So well was he liked by Pope Adrian that that worthy made him dine at the papal table and treated him as a guest whenever he came to Rome. On one occasion, it is related, Adrian kept him two months and only with the greatest reluctance finally consented to let him depart.² With Adrian's

¹ Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis*, pp. 1-81.

² Migne, pp. 622-626. Schaarschmidt, pp. 31-32.

successor, Alexander III, an almost equal intimacy was enjoyed by John. Thus, acquainted with all classes of men from the highest in the Church and politics to the humble Monks and clerks, he was peculiarly well qualified to criticize the world about him. A scholar by nature, to whom leisure without letters was death in life,¹ he was fortunately in a position to gratify his desires to the full. The activities of the world passed, as it were, before his eyes, and that cool common-sense which had enabled him to delight in the teachings of Abelard, and yet not be carried away by them; which made him pleasing alike to Bernard and to Abelard, and which had in his boyhood repelled the magical leanings of his teacher, now served him as a guide in contemplating those activities. He saw their vanities and their weaknesses, and to trace these down to their origins, to find the arguments for and against them, and to show what their results had been, with a view toward determining what they would be, had long been his desire. A period of enforced idleness, due to a temporary estrangement with Henry II, gave him his opportunity and by the year 1159 while Thomas was still with the King before the walls of Toulouse, John published the *Polycraticus*, a compendium of his reflections and researches "*De Nugis Curialibus et Vestigiis Philosophorum.*" This he dedicated to his friend and patron, the Archbishop to whom he owed so much.

The chief importance of this work is that it is a calm, critical picture of the great activities of the time, made by one who was in the midst of it all, yet sufficiently aloof to have a clear view. It depicts the great struggle in philosophy and criticizes those who pursue Aristotle to the exclusion of all else. It gives quotations from the whole *Organon* of Aristotle and represents a wider knowledge of the great Peripatetic than was general at that time, yet, it ranks Plato as the first philosopher. John repeatedly enrolls himself with the Academicians "as Augustine was and as Cicero had been in his later years." He views pathetically the progress of those who were year in, year out, engaged in inextricably winding themselves up in the labyrinth

¹ Migne, 199, 388, "quia otium sine litteris mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura."

of fine-spun logic without beginning or end, without a purpose in life, and he notes with pity the fact that men who were spending their whole lives in this fruitless occupation were nevertheless consoled with the conceit of their fine distinctions and biting personalities. John himself had studied logic, and his *Metalogicus* is as effective a polemic as the writings of men who were giving their lives to dialectics. He was however too level headed to make that the object of his life. These dialecticians were opposing the study of the classics as a waste of time and it is against them that John pointed his keenest criticism.¹

During his life scholasticism was becoming more and more in vogue. Born and educated in a time when the classics were largely studied John had made them an integral part of himself. He had studied theology at the end of his early education and in his opinion excellence in theology required a thorough knowledge of the classics. To him the early Christian writing and doctrines of the Church were not the sole authority; but the great danger which he feared was that the authority of the classics might prejudice the pure reason as embodied in theology and Christian ethics. This attitude, his training, especially at Chartres, had taught him as the most natural one and, therefore, when these scholastics, these misguided dialecticians, assailed the classics as a waste of time, he looked upon their attacks as the height of folly, and he fought them with all the powers of his wide learning.²

¹ This is treated more fully on pp. 955-963.

² Migne, pp. 658-62. John's statement that the classics should not be detrimental to the authority of pure reason has been treated by Poole: pp. 219-220.

"He is speaking now of the study of the Classics, and warns us so to read them that authority do not prejudice to reason. Authority here is that of the masters of antiquity, and reason is the mental faculty considered as educated and enlightened by Christianity. The typical opposites have for the moment changed places; and the change is highly indicative of the regard in which the classics could now be held even by men the correctness of whose religious character was no less assured than was that, let us say, of the arch-enemy of learning, the champion of a 'rustic' faith, Saint Peter Damiani, a century earlier.

"The classical and anti-Cornifician atmosphere of the School of Chartres is described by Clerval in his 'Les Écoles de Chartres au

Nor was John alone or the first in this struggle. When he was still acquiring his education this movement had already begun. The towns were growing rich, France and England were thriving and wealth was becoming a commodity. The money fever had begun to affect the schools, and students were in a hurry to get an education and go out to gather in the golden harvest. A good classical education occupied too much time. They must find a quicker method and dialectics offered itself to them as a royal road to power. With this knowledge of dialectics they could solve every problem, and make the most difficult subject clear in the briefest space of time. Such were the inducements held out to prospective students by the teachers. They assailed the classics as a waste of time not justified by results and the students, lured on by these sirens of dialectics, heeded not the safe haven of the classical schools. These, then, had to struggle for their very existence and they were not slow to meet the enemy. Theodoric, one of the masters of Chartres, was already, in the middle of the century, engaged in writing polemical essays against these enemies of the classics—these Cornificians as he called them—and John after a practical experience of eleven years together with the advantage of broad training, took up the fight where his great teacher had left it.¹

In a long but extremely significant passage John describes these "get-learning-quick" promoters. He describes not only their methods but also the character of the struggle and his own

Moyen—Age,' pp. 223-4. "Telle était aussi la pensée de Thierry, dans son prologue de l'Eptateuchon. Dans cette assemblée des sept arts, réunie pour la culture de l'humanité, la Grammaire s'avance la première, comme une matrone au visage et à l'attitude sévère. Elle convoque les enfants et leur inculque l'art de bien écrire et de bien parler"; elle traduit convenablement les langues et réclame comme son bien propre l'explication de tous les auteurs: tout ce qui se dit relève de son autorité. Sa blancheur vénérable lui tient près de ses disciples d'argumentation. Jean de Salisbury a fait son metalogique pour venger l'importance des belleslettres. En un mot, comme l'a remarqué justement R. L. Poole, c'est la marque particulière de l'école de Chartres: elle cultive spécialement les humanités, et dans ce but, cherche ses modèles jusque dans l'antiquité païenne."

¹ Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres*, pp. 164-224.

attitude toward them. "They err and they err shamefully who think that philosophy consists of mere words. They err as much, who think virtue words, as those who think that chips of wood make a grove; for the commendation of virtue lies in deeds and virtue is the inseparable companion of wisdom. Wherefore it is clear that those who cling to words alone, prefer to appear, rather than be, wise men. They wander around the highways, they wear away the thresholds of more learned men, propound questions and purposely confuse their words so as to convey almost any meaning, more ready to err than to examine any difficulty that may arise. Yet they fear, these debasers, not lovers of wisdom, to show their own ignorance and that which they do not know, they prefer not to know through a perverted sense of shame, especially if there are others present to whom those things are known.

"Their arrogance is unendurable. They speak on the spur of the moment on any subject; they judge everybody; others they find fault with, themselves they extol, boasting that they have discovered for the first time matter which was trite among the ancients and by the witness of books has been brought through many ages to our own time. Words are heaped on words so that they are often less known for weight and more for multitude than for any difficulty of subject matter. When one of them has so concealed his meaning that no one understands him he thinks that he deserves a place at the head of all philosophers and often he who knows the least propounds the most questions—questions which Pythagoras himself could not have answered. The same material he revolves over and over again, never changing, but ever winding about in the same circle. As you listen at a distance you wonder whether a third Cato has fallen from the Heavens, for whoever the man he conveys the same impression. If you inquire after his profession or his art, it is 'Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes, augur, schaenobates, medicus, magus, omnia novit.' And more famous by far than the hungry Greek, he would upon request go into the very Heavens, and more wise than Daedalus he would transport you unharmed through the void whithersoever you wished.

"But should you go to find out what authors mean in their

writings; should you inquire about and discuss literature, he will assail you for your rashness and will tell you that you are more stupid than the ass of Arcadia. You are duller than lead if you ask him to explain a passage, and if you insist, you are advised to flee, for literature is pernicious and it is deadly in its effects. Beware lest ye be the serpent that eats up the world all the days of his life. You must be making sport or telling stories, or perhaps you are deceived.

“He who is the more verbose appears the more learned. He cares not whence or why or about what he is delivering opinions nor does he care about what anyone else propounds, so long as he is speaking. Nor does any one of these folk state for what reason he is debating, provided he can give not the true force but the mere shadow of the subject. What is true or what is false, what is probable or what is not probable, is looked for in vain, for the image of probability is prefixed to everything. State what you wish, something like it is taken up instead, for what holds in one thing, whether you will or not, they maintain holds in another that is like it. Yet it is clear that what is like the truth, is not necessarily true and what seems to be false is not always false; but if you attempt to disclose the real difference between two propositions that seem alike, they tell you that you are speaking nonsense. They will either prevent you with their shouting or will laugh at you for doing needless work since, they say, there must be some differences between all like things but that these things ought rightly to be called not like but the same things. To teach why this is not the case is considered by them not only frivolous but truly most laughable. They tell you that they have come to hear the Peripatetic and not to listen to Hermagoras; yet they are like the Peripatetics only in their circumambulations and circumlocutions and not in any careful investigation of their subject matter.

“However, if this deception is practiced for the purpose of gaining a supply of eloquence and if in likeness unlikenesses are looked for, it is a praiseworthy practice and one for which I could not easily mention a substitute that would be more profitable for youth, provided they did not allow their faculties to be clouded by the endlessness of fallacies. Nothing is more

useful, nothing is more suitable for a youth in acquiring glory and wealth than the eloquence best to be gained, where there is an abundance of material for the mind and a ready supply of words for the tongue.

“To pour forth words, on the other hand, when the matter is not understood, is pardonable in a fool, but not in a teacher or a scholar. Yet you will see many of this kind, who spend the whole live-long day in one long harangue, saying nothing at all or very little. You are tired out from listening and they, unless they are too verbose, from talking; yet whither they are tending or what they are trying to say, you cannot ascertain. You think they are ending but they have just begun. If you stay to see where they are going to come out; if you try to recollect what they have woven together there will occur to you the lines—

‘Velut aegri somnia, vanas
Fingentis species, ut nec pes, nec caput uni
Reddatur formae’—

You think that their brains are affected and that they cannot hold their tongues for want of the power of reason: you imagine that they have suffered continuous sleepless nights and their reason has therefore become dulled, giving rise to melancholy. If, however, you should on this account, be moved by a sense of pity for them and should urge them to moderation, they would be incensed and all the opprobiums which one man can heap upon another they would pile upon you. They rail alike at those who pity them as at those who deride them, and no one, be he friend or foe, can escape from their vituperation. Once you have begun with them you must of necessity bear with them to the end or you will sustain the evils of their insolent tongues. Stop therefore unless you wish to be defiled by a sordid mouth: the more foul matter is disturbed the greater the stench that arises therefrom, and as you sit there and ponder, the saying of that far-sighted man inevitably occurs to your mind—

‘Vesanum tetigisse timent, fugiuntque poetam
Qui sapiunt, agitant pueri, incautique sequuntur.’

“Though among those who live by themselves or lead a serious life, a man of this kind would most truly seem useless, yet amidst a crowd which delights in anything that affords material for hilarity and joyful jokes, he is very fit, for he is the best instrument for raising laughter, being more efficacious in this than a pantomime. To escape his poison you must lend patience to your ears and remain with the crazy man who spares no one and if perchance, you wish him to desist, beseech him most kindly to put more thought into his teaching and disputation, and to make up for this increase of thought by a decrease in the number of words.

“He who tempers words with knowledge and who suits his discussions to opportune occasions possesses the most temperate law of all eloquence and abundance of words gain praise from him alone in whom truth joins with virtue and kind words with all duties. To make many statements and make them falsely is a characteristic of a dealer in feminine fineries and of a man who has no regards for his reputation, for he gains thereby only the hatred and contempt of all serious-minded men. The spirit of wisdom is authority for the statement that he who speaks sophistically is odious; nevertheless a man must understand how to pierce these importuning sophisms, for without a knowledge of them he would proceed to the examination of truth and knowledge like an untried soldier who marches, unarmed, against an able and experienced enemy. It may be permissible, occasionally, for him who is acquiring training in disputation to make false statements, just as it is for a recruit to practice sportive battle among civilians. Where on the other hand, it is the intention of the disputants to enter upon a sober philosophical discussion, they lay aside all sophisms and if by chance, any do occur on either side, they are assailed by wise men just as in a state malignant treachery or trickery is coerced when it is shown in a fight between different parties.

“But the ability to temper words with knowledge, discussion with the opportunity of time, and to argue prudently any fallacies that may arise, is not to be acquired in a few days nor is it an easy task. Wherefore very many that strive after it go away again and, preferring the smallest fragment of philosophy’s

garb, they glory among the untaught as if everything lay within their jurisdiction, for as someone has said (his name has disappeared from the fragment which remains of him).

‘Gartio quisque duas postquam scit jungere partes
Sic stat, sic loquitur velut omnes noverit artes.’

“On genera and species these men bring forth a new theory which had escaped the notice of Boethius, which the learned Plato did not know, and one which they claim by some happy lot to have, just recently, discovered in the secrets of Aristotle. They are prepared to solve the old question in the labors of which the world has already grown old; in which more time has been consumed than the house of the Caesars spent in acquiring and ruling the empire of the world, and in which more money has been squandered than Croesus had with all his riches. This has occupied the attention of many men for so long a time that they have spent their whole lives in seeking this one thing, and have discovered neither it nor anything else. Perhaps this is due to the fact that what alone can be discovered does not satisfy their curiosity, for just as in the shadow of any body the substance of solidarity is sought for in vain, so in those matters of theory which, though universally conceived of, can not be universal, the substance of existing solidarity is never found. To waste a life-time in these pursuits is an occupation for a man who has nothing to do or for one who does not mind laboring in vain. These things are, indeed, like mists of fleeting clouds; the more eagerly they are sought after the more quickly they disappear. Over this question they labor in many ways and with a variety of expression; and though they use words with entire indifference as to their meaning yet somehow they manage to find various opinions and to leave abundant material for disputations to contentious men.

“Thence it is that, having selected the sensible and other singulars since these things alone are said to exist, they arrange them in a graduated order by which they fix the most general and the most special into singulars themselves. There are some who in the manner of mathematicians abstract the forms and apply to them what is said about the universals.

Others discuss the perceptions (*intellectus*) and maintain that these are to be considered with the names of universals. There were also some who said that words themselves were genera and species but their theory has already been exploded and it has disappeared with its author. There are still, however, those who follow in his footsteps and who though ashamed to acknowledge the author of his opinion, still cling to names alone and ascribe to speech what they have substracted from facts and theories—

Magno se iudice quisque tuetur—

and from the words of the founders who indifferently placed names for things and things for names, each constructed his own opinion or error. Thence sprang up germs for many wordy battles and everyone collected, wherever he could, matter to prove his heresies. From genera and species they never depart but apply them wherever speech is possible. You suddenly wonder whether you have found that poetic painter who knew how to compare a cypress to everything that necessity demanded. Thus does Rufus trifle in *Naevia* from which, as '*Coquus*' testified, necessity averted him—

*Quidquid agit Rufus, nihil est nisi Naevia Rufo
Si gaudet, si flet, si tacet, hanc loquitur.
Coenat, popinat, poscit, negat, immitit, una est
Naevia, si non sit Naevia, mutus erit.*

“That subject matter appears more suitable for philosophic discussion in which there is a freer license for manufacturing what you wish, and there is less certitude on account of the difficulty of the subject or ignorance of those who judge. Often as the cautious soldier more easily guards the rough and narrow crossways to check the enemy, so any difficult questions which they may stir up from the Scripture or from reason or anything else that is proposed they treat with such industry that they seem mere incidents. If you cannot satisfy them that there is no one who can explain all the questions that are asked by the uneducated, they straightway wink their eyes, distort their faces, beat their breasts, shout, leap and transfigure themselves with gestures which would seem foolish in a pan-

tomime. You cannot make yourself understood to them unless you answer them in their own words and say the things which they are accustomed to hear. Though they may be too scrupulous to speak upon the questions which you propound yet they are entirely ignorant of the solutions. In one thing, however, they look out for their own interests more cautiously, for they put everything into their purses so these may be filled thereby; yet every one of them is satisfied with one little word of wisdom even though that word be hidden in a multitude of fallacies.

"I do not consider those more fitted for a philosophical discussion, however, who hang a long oration onto every little word as if a speech has to be delivered to the people upon every question that was asked of them. It is a rule if any problem is brought forth that he who answers more or less than what is asked, is ignorant of the true line of disputation. So also when any one is to be taught, only those things ought to be mentioned which offer assistance to the solution. Wherefore it is clear that those who read everything in a single incident and when only one thing is sought try to explain everything, do not possess the formula for correct teaching. Either they do not know what the correct mode of teaching is or perchance they are trying to earn more money by misrepresenting their obligation and as Cicero says, they show not what the subject calls for but everything that they can.

"Therefore, those who fill the Porphyry with all the parts of philosophy, befog the minds of those who are being introduced to the study and spoil their memory, and the pupil who ought to be given an introduction they load down with so great a weight that he considers the burden which he has undertaken unbearable. I should perhaps grant that the books of the Scriptures, everyone of whose smallest particles is full of Divine sacrament ought to be read with great weight because the treasure of the Holy Spirit, by whose indication they were written can never be exhausted. Though the externals of the letters may be suited to one sense entirely yet within it are concealed numberless mysteries. By the same reason allegory builds up faith, while tropology builds up character in various

ways. Anagogy tends, again and again, to endow literature not only with words but also with substance. In the liberal arts, however, where the meaning consists of the signification of the words he, who is not content with the sense of the words as they stand, seems to me to be either woefully mistaken or else to wish to lead his hearers from an understanding of the truth. Surely, I would consider Porphyriolus a fool if he had written so that his meaning could not be understood unless Aristotle, Plato and Plotinus were first read through. Anyone that was preparing me for any subject could introduce me with such a compendium, but I, indeed, would follow him who explained the literature as is patent on the surface and taught me, so to speak, the historical sense.”¹

Such is John’s description of an important phase of the scholastic movement, and the fact that modern criticism has arrived at the same conclusion—less graphically expressed perhaps, yet the same—speaks well for John’s surpassing insight. Not content with preaching their own narrow doctrines, these dialecticians assailed the classical education and, as it seems, attacked John himself. He answered them not only in their personal charges but also in behalf of the classics. This answer is embodied in the four books of the *Metalogicus*, as perfect an example of a controversial essay as the best which his opponents could produce and one that illustrates well John’s doctrine that logic and dialectics should be a means to an end, not an end in themselves.

In the *Metalogicus*, after a liberal supply of personal abuse for his opponents, John takes up a serious defense of the classics. At the end of the first book he gives a brief account of the movement which has assailed the old system of the grammar and rhetoric schools and states his position in the matter. “It is not of the same man to serve alike letters and carnal vices! To the form of this maxim my instructors in grammar, William of Conches and Richard, surnamed the Bishop, now archdeacon in Constance, a man famed for his temperate life and teaching, ever instructed their students. Later, however, instead of this opinion some men used this to bear prejudice to truth and men

¹ Migne, pp. 662-666.

preferred to seem rather than to be philosophers and the professors of the arts began to promise that they would transmit to their hearers the whole of philosophy in a shorter time than two or three years. Overcome by the rush of the untrained multitude they gave way and as a result less time and care were devoted to the study of grammar. Thus it happens that those who profess all arts, liberal as well as mechanical, do not even know the first art, without which a person proceeds in vain to the rest. However, though the other studies make for learning, this one by a singular privilege is said to make a person liberally educated. Romulus, indeed, called this 'literataram' but Varro called it 'literationem' and its professor or asserter 'literator.' The ancient man, however, was called a 'literator' as that saying of Catullus shows—

'Munus dat tibi Sylla litterator.'

Whence it is probable that the despiser of grammar is not only not a grammarian (literator) but ought not even to be spoken of as a liberally educated man (literatus)."¹

Thus the struggle with the classics was a very natural result of existing conditions. The arguments used against the old education in grammar and rhetoric were that these subjects taught as they were, from pagan sources, were detrimental to Christianity; that these subjects as taught were a waste of time; that eloquence, the object of these studies, could not be acquired, but was allotted to each individual by nature; and that wisdom, the aim of every learned man, was lessened proportionately as he studied grammar.²

The first objection was the eternal question of the Middle Ages in regard to the study of the classics and if it were accepted it would condemn this study without appeal. But John does not accept it. That he is only too conscious of the question is plainly apparent from the constant contrast of the terms "Gentilis auctor" and "Christianus auctor" in all of his works. It was evidently a question to which he had devoted not a little thought and throughout his *Polycraticus* and *Metalogicus*, he aims to reconcile the study of the pagan authors with Christianity. The ingenuity with which he carries out this

¹ Migne, pp. 856.

² Migne, pp. 825-856.

aim is remarkable. In the *Polycraticus* in a chapter entitled "Omnes Scripturas esse legendas" he argues "Omnes tamen, Scripturas legendas esse probabile est, nisi sint reprobatae lectionis, cum omnia non modo quae scripta, sed etiam quae facta sunt ad utilitatem, licet eis abutatur interdum, institute credantur."¹ This he proves by an interpretation of the Divine command "Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram" and then under cover of this entirely acceptable doctrine he cleverly introduces a defense of the study of the classics with the words: "Vix autem inveniatur scriptum, in quo si non in sensu vel in verbis, non reperiatur aliquid, quod prudens lector emittit. Caeterum libri catholici tutius leguntur et cautius; et gentiles simplicioribus periculoribus patent; sed in utrisque exerceri fidelioribus ingenii utilissimum est."²

There is objectionable matter in all writings, even the Scriptures, but that is no reason for condemning them entirely. The prudent reader can gather much that is useful from them. If you find anything at variance with the Christian faith lay it to the customs of age in which the writer lived and do not cast him aside on that account. Such in brief is the attitude of John and he carries out this attitude in practice. He reads the authors himself but in quoting them he strives to use only those passages wherein very little pagan theology is contained. If, however, he must use such a passage, he does so with expurgatorial freedom,³ or uses some Christian writer on the subject.⁴

¹ Migne, p. 658.

² Migne, p. 659.

³ This is well illustrated in his use of Plutarch: "Nam, deducta superstitione, gentilium fidelis est in sententiis, in verbis luculentus et in sacrario morum tantus arbiter, ut facile praeceptorem Trajani possis agnoscere. Si quid autem apud eum a fide dissentit, aut moribus temporis potius, quam vire ascribatur," p. 539. Another example is:—"Eam usquequaque nititur evacuare Plutarchus et ex praemissis quatuor locis, naturae, officii, morum, conditionis, totius reverentiae manare credit originem. Superstitionis tamen hoc infidelium more exsequitur. Unde nonnullas sententias ejus, sensu et sermone catholice curavi inserere.

⁴ It is for this reason John says that he takes his quotations on the Roman Emperors from Orosius instead of from the great pagan accounts, though they give fuller descriptions, p. 738.

This is John's own private opinion in favor of this study. In his *Metalogicus*, under stress of battle, he does not even conceive the possibility of grammar coming into conflict with Christianity. It is the Cornificians who are contravening the true teaching, for they are opposing eloquence by which alone man is able to make use of that power of reason which God has given to man in distinction from beasts. By doing away with eloquence they are ever widening the gulf between man and God, for man is then as low as the beasts.¹

Firmly entrenched behind this bold assertion of right he proceeds to overthrow the other objections. He refutes the fatalistic doctrine that eloquence is a gift of nature, not to be acquired by cultivation by citing two classic examples, Socrates and Rufus Scaurus who overcame the obstacles of nature by earnest endeavor.² Though nature may endow one person with more ability than another, yet without training that gift is naught and this training can only be truly obtained in the old-style grammar schools. Their practical value lies in the fact that they alone can give the student a complete mastery of the art of writing and reading both poetry and prose. The ability to use figures of speech, to understand the structure of a sentence and to master the mechanics of composition are to be acquired nowhere else, and yet, these are not the only benefits to be derived from a study of the classics.³ Men must study to become poets and it is still a celebrated fact that poetry is the cradle of philosophy. This training, however, does more than make poets: "*Disciplinas liberales tantae utilitatis esse tradit antiquitas, ut quicumque eas plene norint libros omnes, et quaecunque Scripta sunt, possunt intelligere etiam sine doctore*"—⁴ it places a man in a position to understand whatever has been written, without the need of a teacher. The contention that a "grammaticus" confines himself to his books, stories or poems, is far from the truth, the real aim of the classics is to seek and transmit "*informationem virtutis quae facit virum bonum*"⁵ and that this is

¹ Migne, p. 824-7.

² Migne, p. 836.

³ Migne, p. 836-838.

⁴ Migne, p. 852.

⁵ *Ibid.*

John's aim is constantly impressed on his readers by the way in which he uses his quotations, especially in history. He chooses those passages which offer an example or lesson that will be of moral service to his own time.

After all, however, results afford the best criterion by which to judge any question. What these opponents of the classics have accomplished by their new method of instruction is expressed in the words: "Alii . . . monachorum aut clericorum claustrum ingressi sunt. Alii, autem, suum in philosophia intuentes defectum, Salernum vel ad Montepesulam profecti, facti sunt clientuli medicorum et repente quales philosophi, tales in momento medici eruperunt,"¹ and "Nihil stultum, nisi paupertatis angustias et solas opes ducunt esse fructum sapientiae."² Moved by sordid motives these men led equally sordid lives, for their education gave them no higher aim in life than the accumulation of money. In a passage whose effect would be greatly lost by translation, John contrasts with this the man trained in the classics. This man has been taught to seek out and spread the knowledge of virtue, for—*Caeterum operationem cultumque virtutis, scientia naturaliter praecedat; neque enim virtus currit in incertum aut in pugna, quam exercet cum vitiis aerem verberat,*

'Sed videt quo tendit, et in quod dirigit arcum:

Nec passim corvos sequitur testaque lutoque.'

At lectio, doctrina, et meditatio scientiam pariunt. Unde constat quod grammatica, quae istorum fundamentum est et radix, quodammodo sementem jacet quasi in sulcis naturae, gratia tamen praeunte; quae, si ei cooperatrix quoque gratia adfuerit, in solidae virtutis robur coalescit et crescit multipliciter, ut boni operis fructum faciat, unde boni viri et nominatur, et sunt. Sola tamen gratia, quae et velle bonum et perficere operatur, virum bonum facit et prae caeteris omnibus recte scribendi et recte loquendi, quibus datum est, facultatem impertitur, artesque ministrat varias et cum se indigentibus benique offert, contemni non debet. Si enim contemnitur, juste

¹ Ibid, p. 830.

² Ibid, p. 831.

recedit, nec contemptori relinquatur conquestionis locus."¹ In this passage John has summed up his arguments for the study of the classics. He has shown how this study works hand in hand with the Divine Grace in making a man good, and thereby has left his opponents no ground on which to base any contention. Continuing in this strain he repeats his motto: "Non est enim ejusdem hominis, litteris et carnalibus vitiis inservire" a motto which would do honor to any humanist of later ages. He ends his defense of the subject with a quotation from Quintilian on the praise of grammar. "Haec est igitur liberalium artium prima, necessaria pueris, jucunda senibus, dulcis secretorum comes; et quae sola, in omni studiorum genere, plus habet operis, quam ostentationis."²

Such is the attitude of John of Salisbury toward the study of the classics. They should not be an end in themselves but "ad haec non modo pedum aut temporum ibi ratio habenda est, sed *aetatum, locorum, temporum, aliorumque, quae sigillatim referre ad praesentem attinet; cum omnia a naturae officina proveniant.*" To study the past for the purpose of understanding and guiding the present became that cool, critical, contemplative mind, and the lines at the opening of the Polycraticus "Me curialibus nugiis paulisper ademi, illud volvens in animo, quia otium sine litteris mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura," show that John loved his letters as well, and probably quite as sincerely, as the humanists of the later Renaissance. It will be the aim of the remainder of this paper to show that he had not only an opportunity to satisfy his desire and love for the classics but that he also took advantage of this opportunity.

¹ Migne, p. 853.

² Migne, p. 856.

CHAPTER II.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLASSICAL AUTHORS AS SHOWN BY HIS
QUOTATIONS.

That there was a classical revival in the twelfth century has become a generally recognized fact, but to what extent the scholars of that time were acquainted with the originals is not so well known. Sandys has traced the survival of certain authors in special localities and in his enumeration of extant manuscripts the significant fact appears that an unusual number of them were copied in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹ The general use of classical writers at this time is shown by several contemporary documents which describe the curricula of the schools. The most noteworthy is the so-called *Dictionarius* of John de Garland which is a work of the later twelfth and not of the thirteenth century.² The manuscript gives an exposition of the subjects and authors which are studied in the schools, prescribing the parts of a work which ought or ought not to be read.³ The great list of classical authors is certainly surprising but the work shows in addition that whole and not merely parts of them were used. The *heptateuchon* of Theodore⁴ of Chartres is a similar document which treats particularly of the curriculum of Chartres and it serves materially to confirm the general prevalence of classical studies. The will of John⁵ of Salisbury likewise enumerates a partial list of the books which he left to the library at Chartres and it contains

¹ *A History of Classical Scholarship from the Sixth Century, B. C.* See also Teuffel and Schwabe, and Norden: *Die Antike Kunstprosa*.

² Through the kindness of Dr. L. J. Paetow of Wisconsin, who has possession of a copy of this manuscript, the writer is enabled to present these facts.

³ Among the classical authors mentioned are Statius, Virgil, Juvenal, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, Martial, Petronius, Symmachus, Suetonius, Livy and Seneca.

⁴ Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres au Moyen Age*, pp. 220-248.

⁵ Migne, Intro. p. xii.

a number of ancient works. In view of this general survival of the classics; in view of John's character, his travels, his friends, and his humanistic leanings, one would naturally expect to find in him an extensive knowledge of the classics.

Of the authors whom he quotes, Virgil is, of course, the foremost, as he was with preceding writers.* To John, Virgil is the world philosopher—"procedat tibi poeta Mantuanus, qui, sub imagine fabularum, totius philosophiae exprimit veritatem"¹ and the Aeneid the book of life—"Virgilius in libro quo totius philosophiae rimatur arcana."² The conception of the Aeneid as held by the school of Chartres, John enlarges with great detail. The first book with its story of the ship wreck³ symbolizes the trials of sturdy child-hood; the second book illustrates the development and frank curiosity of boy-hood; the third, the errors of youth; the fourth pictures illicit love; the fifth shows manhood, fully developed, beginning to verge toward old age, while in the sixth old age with failing powers is awaiting impending death. This does not mean, however, that John knew only the first six books of the Aeneid. On the contrary some of his longest quotations are taken from the later books.

The Georgics and Eclogues are equally well known to him. In the first, especially, he finds many lessons for his own generation, and a very notable instance of this is the passage wherein he quotes sixty-seven lines from the fourth Georgic, introducing the quotation with the words "Poetarum doctissimus Maro ut civilem vitam ab apibus mutuatur"⁴ and concluding with the comment "Republicae omnes auctores percurrere, rerum publicarum revolve historias, vita civilis tibi rectius et elegantius quam occuret. Essentque procul dubio beatae civitates, si hanc sibi vivendi praescriberent formam."⁵ Such lessons he

* The detailed consideration of John's use of each author has been omitted from this paper. This material may be had by reference to the original thesis in the library of the University of Wisconsin.

¹ Migne, p. 621.

² Migne, p. 430.

³ Ibid, pp. 620-2.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 619-20.

⁵ Migne, p. 620.

draws too from the Eclogues, and he ranks the wisdom of the rural shepherd as far superior to that of the men of his own time—"Unde apud Virgilium compos sui pastor, et sapientibus et viris nostri temporis doctior, ait" adding a quotation from the Eclogues. These are but instances of the constant use which he makes of these works. The whole Polycraticeus fairly teems with Virgilian allusions and expressions.

Next to Virgil, Lucan occupies the second place in the affections of John for the ancient epics. This writer, whose *Pharsalia* Otto of Freising is said to have carried as a diversion on his journey to Rome, was a general favorite with the scholars of the twelfth century. The *Pharsalia*, John relates, was used along with the *Aeneid* as a text book full of ethical teachings, but he does not rank Lucan with Virgil.¹ On the contrary, he accepts Quintilian's estimate of him "Immit enim poeta doctissimus; si tamen poeta dicendus est, qui vera narratione rerum ad historicos magis accedit * * *" and calls him "poeta gravissimus" and "Mathematicus"² but his many and long quotations from this work show that he appreciated it none the less.

Statius, the other popular epic poet of the time is not so great a favorite with John, for he quotes him only ten times. These quotations, however, are taken from all the books of the *Thebais* and as but few of them can be found in the mediaeval text-books it would seem that the *Thebes*, at least, was not entirely unknown to John. His familiar use of titles like "apud Statium," "Papinius" and "Photinus," in introducing quotations from this source indicates that he knew Statius quite well.³

That other much discussed poet, Ovid, who so greatly shocked some of the more orthodox and aged scholars of the Middle Ages, was treated by John as an ethical teacher. With the ultra-fastidious condemnation of this writer, John is not all

¹ Migne, p. 854.

² *Ibid*, p. 441.

³ Ennius and Accius, however, who are also quoted, were probably not known to John for the quotations from both of these can be traced back directly to other sources.

in sympathy. There is undoubtedly much in Ovid that is to be condemned, he says, but there is also much that is good and for that reason Ovid ought to be read by the educated.¹ His quotations from Ovid are taken from all of the better known works of the poet. Though those from *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* are longer and more numerous, the *Ars Amatoria*, *Remedia Amoris*, *Tristia*, *Heroides*, *Amores* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* are by no means neglected. The line from the *Amores* "Nitimur in vetitum semper"—is an especial favorite. Although John made use of Ovid as a moralist, he was not blind to his immorality. He condemns Ovid as the poet who filled not only the City but the whole world with his lascivious amours and taught the bashful and troubled suitor how to approach his maiden.² He also characterizes Ovid as the poet who excelled³ all others in "levitatem versificandi." John's criticism of Ovid was very modern.

There are poets, however, who are thought of essentially as moralists. Of these, that great favorite, Horace, deserves first attention. For him John has great respect: "Consonat ei, si Lyricum conticenti lyra dignaris audire, Flaccus, aut si mavis, Horatius."⁴ He speaks of Horace as the poet who excelled in the varieties of metres but his usual title is "Ethicus."⁵ The *Epistles*, especially the *Ars Poetica*, are most frequently quoted though John's familiarity with the *Satires* is equally extensive. In several places he has adapted whole satires, as for instance in his description of the feast of "Nasidienus."⁶ John's description of Horace as the lyrical poet has led Manitius to credit him with a knowledge of the *Odes* also. True, in one or two places he seems to echo them as in his use of "atavis editus" and "dulce est desipere in loco." Furthermore, the *Odes* were known in John's day in northern France; but it would seem that John probably would have quoted them more often had he really known them at first hand. These expres-

¹ Migne, pp. 714-5.

² Migne, p. 498.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 656.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 736-8.

sions, as Schaarschmidt has pointed out, had probably become familiar quotations and they are entirely insufficient to serve as a basis for a definite assertion of his familiarity with the Odes.

Under the title "Ethici" Juvenal and Persius are also quoted. They were special favorites with John. He takes more than eighty direct quotations from them. He confesses his weakness for them in several places but it is significant that he does not distinguish between the two.¹ Nowhere does he mention Persius by name, nor does he designate him by any distinctive title though his possession of both of them is quite certain. This peculiarity may be explained by the theory that the two satirists were published, then as now, in the same edition, and that the name of the second may have been lost.² From the frequency and accuracy of his quotations, however, it seems certain that he not only read the works of these writers but had them before him as he wrote.

Another satirist of the Roman world, whom John uses extensively is Petronius. The satires, like those of the writers just mentioned, are freely culled from and in one place he has copied word for word the whole story of the woman of Ephesus which covers two of the large pages in Migne's text. The accuracy of this quotation, coupled with the fact that the text was in general use can scarcely leave doubt as to his possession of the work. With respect to the "Cena Trimalchionis," which he also cites, there is not so much certainty. This work was very rare, the only manuscript of that time now extant having been discovered in Dalmatia. Still, the relative accuracy of his citations is such that there can be no doubt as to their source. He had probably read the work on one of his journeys and remembered it vividly enough to cite from it, for he could not have obtained his material in such shape from any intermediate source.

Martial's Epigrammata must be considered with the works of the Satirists as one of the sources upon which John drew in his criticism of existing vanities. This writer whom for

¹ Migne, p. 596, *et passim*.

² Migne, p. 596, *et passim*.

some reason he has nick-named "Coquus" frequently thinks as John thinks "Sic Martialis, sic et ego; malens sic nugari quam ad formam Ganymedis leporis agitare"¹ and though the quotations are comparatively few, they are exceedingly precious, since in only one of the nineteen lines quoted is there any distinct variation from the text.

On the other hand, Terence is the only play-writer of antiquity with whom John exhibits any marked familiarity. In the "Eunuch" he delights especially because of its commentary on life—"Comici forte contemnis Eunuchum sed in Eunuchofere omnium vitam expressit."² Its happy touches on the follies of mankind meet with his heartfelt approval: "Jucundus est enim comicus, et aptus qui se nugis nostris frequenter immisceat." The *Andria*, too, is drawn upon for its lessons: "Quae vero ad gratiam sine invidia via expeditissima sit, senex docet in *Andria*, dum filium omnibus obsequi, neminem laedere refert."³ The "*Adelphi*" is quoted only once, and as no other allusion is made to it and as this quotation can be traced to other sources, it is probable that John had not read the work. His mention of "miles gloriosus" cannot be construed as a mention of the play of Plautus by that name.

There are several renowned writers of ancient times not generally known in his day whom John quotes. These are Cato, Plautus, Varro and Catullus. The quotations from Cato and Varro can all be traced to other mediaeval sources. With Plautus it is the same, for although the characters "Mandrogerus," "Querolus" and "Sycophans" are used constantly in the *Polycratieus*, this does not prove that he had read the plays. These characters were used as types by Christian writers from the days of Augustine. Furthermore there are no direct quotations from the plays. It is, then, safe to say that he had not read them. There is only one quotation from Catullus and that is evidently taken from Martianus Capella. With none of these writers does he exhibit any direct familiarity.

¹ Migne, p. 825.

² *Ibid.*, p. 482.

Of the prose writers, Cicero, Quintilian and Seneca are used most frequently. That oft-quoted passage from the *Entheticus* "Orbis nil habuit maius Cicerone Latinus" shows in what great esteem John held this writer. Cicero is constantly quoted in almost every one of John's works and is ranked with the great fathers of the Church as the soundest authority on any subject he touches. To be "as Augustine was and as Cicero had been in his later years—an Academician"¹ was his boast, and his similarity to this great writer is not confined to philosophy alone. So pure is his style and so much nearer to Cicero's than that of any of his contemporaries that the German scholars have justly considered it as modelled upon Cicero. A close inspection of John's writings reveals his wide knowledge of this author, who excels all others in "*copiam dicendi*." The so-called Ciceronian work "*Ad Herrenium*," the "*de Partitione Oratoria*" and the "*de Inventione Rhetorica*" were, of course, text-books at Chartres and had been known to John as such. He owned copies of the "*De Officiis*" and the "*De Oratore*," and bequeathed them to the library at Chartres. It is therefore perfectly natural that he should quote from these very frequently. In his letters especially, but in all his works he cites the "*ad Familiares*," and the frequency and accuracy of his quotations show that he probably obtained them directly from the original, which was well known at the time. The *Tusculan Disputations* and the *New Academy* are, of course, the works upon which he bases his statement that Cicero was an Academician in his latter years.² These works are constantly cited upon philosophical questions, and the extent of the familiarity seems to demonstrate the use of the originals. The same charm which the "*De Amicitia*" has for modern readers attracted John. He uses Laelius and Scipio for their views on friendship as devoutly as the most enthusiastic freshman. With the "*Orator*" and the "*de Natura Deorum*" also he appears quite familiar. Both works were well known in the Middle Ages, especially the latter, which was used by St. Augustine in the interpretation of the Scriptures. John's quotations

¹ Migne, p. 388, *et passim*.

² Migne, p. 388, *et passim*.

from them are, however, very few. The "De Senectute" is alluded to once or twice but in a way that suggests that the quotations from this work were obtained from other sources. The "De Fato," the "Paradoxa Stoicorum" and the "de Divinatione" were quite well known in John's day, but he uses them in such a vague way that it is impossible to give him credit for them through want of evidence. Schaarschmidt has ascribed a knowledge of all of these works to him but as John only mentions them a single time and then only in an indirect manner such a statement cannot be justified. Of course it may well be that John does not quote everything which he has read, just as he may not know at first hand every work from which he quotes. Still his allusions to these works could have been made from any number of other sources, and his references to them do not enable the writer to credit him with a knowledge of the works themselves.

His familiarity with Quintilian is more certain than with some of Cicero's works. At the end of a letter to an obscure monk named Azo he expressly says, "Mihi autem nihil precor nisi ut Quintilianum quem petii scriptum et emendatum mitas"¹ and that he here refers to the "Institutiones Oratoriae" his numerous long quotations bear ample witness. John's educational system, as described in the *Metalogicus*, is based almost entirely upon Quintilian. He supports almost every point which he makes with a quotation from this writer. As against the Cornificians' use of Seneca as an authority against the liberal arts John cites Quintilian's description of Seneca. His final statement of the value of grammar is made in the words of Quintilian. These are but instances of his vital intimacy with the Institutions. The "Declamationes" are cited but not so conclusively. Still, since they were well known at Chartres and through France and England, it is probable that he had read them, though the quotations themselves would not establish this.

With the works of Seneca he seems to have been thoroughly conversant. He knew that there were two great Senecas and he makes it clear that it is the Younger from whom he quotes:

¹ Migne, p. 313.

"Unde illud apud Senecam (alienum tandem)."¹ Aristotle was explained to the beginner at that time by the interpretation of Seneca's "de Clementia" and "de Beneficiis," and that John was once such a beginner is shown by his quotations from these works. The "de Ira" and the Dialogues are also frequently drawn upon while the "Quaestiones Naturales" and the Letters are thoroughly ransacked. There is no allusion to the Tragedies. In the list of the works of Seneca which John says ought to be read, all those mentioned occur, with the strange exception of the Tragedies. He owned a copy of the "Quaestiones Naturales" and constantly quotes from it, especially in the *Metalogicus*. He was so familiar with Seneca that when the Cornificians cited him in support of the futility of the liberal education he was not only able to show that Seneca was not opposed to the study of grammar but that he was a writer who ought to be studied as well as for his style as for his great moral teachings. John found his own language inadequate to express his appreciation of Seneca and drew upon Quintilian. He regarded Seneca as almost Christian in sentiment:² "Rationi Hebraeorum consentit Senecae definitio, esti ille aliud senserit."

The great historians of antiquity do not occupy so high a place in his regard. The passage in which he quotes Orosius in preference to the greater writers because they are too pagan, has already been cited³ and in this he was quite consistent with himself and his age. In his eyes the great value of antiquity lay in the moral examples and teachings which it afforded. He did not quote passages merely for the sake of quoting them. They must be brief and pointed and long descriptions of men and events filled with pagan thought were of little use for his purposes. To be sure, he read some of them. For an educated man there was much of value in these histories but it would not be proper to quote long passages from them in a work that was to be extensively read. Accordingly only short, significant sentences are used in direct quotation,

¹ Migne, p. 875.

² Migne, p. 925.

³ See above, p. 965.

though several stories are gleaned from them. These are related in John's own words, as a rule, though statements of the source frequently appear.

There are very many passages from Suetonius, especially from his poetry and there are four from Sallust. Two of the latter can be traced to other sources but one from the Jugurtha and one from the Catiline cannot be accounted for except on the assumption of John's knowledge of the texts. As these were current at the time and as John seems to be quite familiar with Sallust,¹ it is probable that he knew both of these works. The third Decade of Livy which was often used in this time, seems also to have been known by John and though he quotes Julius Florus directly on the Punic wars yet his familiarity with the subject, his reference to Livy, as "scriptor belli Punico Titus Livius refert,"² and his use of material which could only have been obtained from the original, make it altogether probable that he had read at least a part of Livy.

John speaks also of Tacitus and Quintus Curtius as historians who give full descriptions of certain events, but his own works give no hint that he knew more than the names of these two. Naturally, he is more familiar with the epitomists and anecdotic historians. His use of these writers is aptly described by Schaarschmidt: "diese Autoren werden förmlich geplündert."³ It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that if the fourth book of the *Strategemata* of Frontinus or the fourth book of the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* were lost they could be restored from the *Policraticus*. His quotations from them are not confined to these two books. The *De Re Militari* of Vegetius and the *Epitoma* of Justin are used almost as extensively. Julius Florus is quoted only twice but both passages are fairly long and quite accurate, so that he probably had the work.

He apparently read the natural histories of the Elder Pliny which were so commonly used at that time in Northern France as an encyclopedia. He says: "memor hominum, quos in libro *Naturalis Historiae* apud Plinium didici"⁴ and the

¹ Migne, p. 500. "Crispo historicorum inter Latinos Postissimo."

² Migne, p. 495.

³ Schaarschmidt, p. 90.

⁴ Migne, p. 576.

quotation which follows this could hardly have been taken except from the original.

Aulus Gellius is the source of many quotations and the "Atticæ Noctes" is often mentioned. John had evidently read the work since he states "In Atticis Noctibus legisse memini"² and the length and accuracy of his quotations quite corroborate this statement.

Three writers whom John quotes in but a single passage are Publilius Syrus, Serenus Sammonicus, and Solinus. His quotations, however, are so long and accurate that he could hardly have obtained them from mediaeval sources and it is reasonable to conclude that he had used the works in whole or in part. It is true that they were not very generally known and that he mentions Publilius Syrus calling him Publilius Clodius. On the other hand, the appreciative description seems to show that he was acquainted with this author. Five lines are quoted from the medical verses of Serenus Sammonicus and as this writer was coming into use about this time John probably obtained the quotation from the original. The same holds true of Solinus.

Of the later Latin writers Appollinaris Sidonius, Dionysius Cato, Apuleius, Avienus, Macrobius and Claudianus can be credited to John without hesitation.¹ Eutropius is not so certain. Of the four quotations from this writer in the Polycraticus, two can be traced directly to other sources while the others are too short to afford convincing evidence that John had the work. Schaarschmidt has attempted to prove that John was familiar with this writer by saying that he quotes him once without mentioning his name, but the passage in question is a word for word quotation from Orosius. On the other hand, John possessed this work before his death since he bequeathed it to Chartres.² Schaarschmidt may, therefore, be correct, even though the evidence he adduces is bad.*

² Migne, p. 525.

¹ Schaarschmidt, p. —

² Migne, Introduction, p. xii.

* Besides these writers who furnished John with most of his quotations, he introduces material which cannot be traced to any known Latin sources. Scholars, for the last fifty years, have been trying to

CONCLUSION.

Was John of Salisbury a humanist? Can he be considered a precursor of the later Renaissance? Schaarschmidt holds that he can be so considered. Voigt, on the other hand, claims that John did not have that "feeling for the Greek," "that desire to live over again the ancient days"—and therefore was not truly imbued with the humanistic spirit. Before passing a final judgment, however, the circumstances under which he wrote ought to be noted.

His three great works, the *Polycraticus*, *Entheticus* and *Metalogicus* were all finished about the same time—1159. He was not master of a school, nor a librarian. His school days had ended eleven years before and, ever since, he had been engaged in looking after the confidential affairs of his superiors. The composition of these works, therefore, was entirely the occupation of his leisure moments. His temporary estrangement with Henry gave him an unusual amount of time so that he was able not only to finish his *Polycraticus* and *Entheticus*, upon which he had been working for some time, but also to write the *Metalogicus* in answer to the opponents of the classics.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate that John did not sing his own praises, that he did not proclaim himself as the only and original exponent of the true appreciation of the classics. In his early training at Chartres there had been impressed upon him the maxim that indulgence in vices could not exist where the love for letters held sway. He states, himself, that this love for letters meant more especially love for the classical works. Therefore when he took up his pen against the Cornificians, it

solve this vexatious problem on the basis that he knew no Greek. But while these quotations cannot be traced to Latin sources, they can almost all of them be traced to later Greek writers. However the question need not be discussed here. Wolfflin, Reifferscheid, Schaarschmidt and Manitius have worried over the "lost Latin authors" quite sufficiently. See *Philologie*, 1861, pp. 12-26. Schaarschmidt, pp. 103-108, and *Philologus*, vol. 47, pp. 566-7. Whether or not John knew any Greek is discussed by Schaarschmidt, pp. 108-124; Poole, pp. 124-130; Clerval, p. 232.

was not to preach a new doctrine, but to defend a principle which had become thoroughly ingrained in his very being.

That "feeling for the Greek" is a rather vague term. John appreciated the fact that Greek philosophers were the source of all philosophy. It was on this account that he had John the Saracen translating Greek philosophy for him. He loved Virgil and considered the *Aeneid* the book of life but he did not forget to state that the ideas of this work were but an adaptation of a greater poet, Homer. If the feeling for Greek means an abandonment to pure aesthetic interests, then John was not a humanist.

John was an Englishman and a practical man. In him the purely aesthetic was distinctly subordinated to the ethical. The classics were primarily of use for the "*informationem veritatis et virtutis.*" They must serve some useful end for his own time, but in using them he proceeded far ahead of his own time. He saw that even the Scriptures could be clarified by an appeal to antecedent philosophy and life, and he used them for this purpose as much as he did the writings of the Fathers. The truth must be found at the source of things, and it was to the sources that he was going when he had a Greek philosopher translated for him.

There was another side to his love for the classics. His "*otium sine litteris mors est*" is indeed a revelation. How much appreciation—true appreciation—does this imply? That he appreciated style in a writer, his comment on the writing of Bernard of Chartres and his own pure style bear witness. But did he find enjoyment in the study of the classics? This question can only be answered by another—why did he so strenuously advocate them as an occupation for leisure? Why "*non ejusdem hominis est carnalibus vitiis et litteris inservire*" and why does he urge the people to a study of the classic letters?

Petrarch, "the great and first humanist," was content, according to tradition, to die with a copy of Homer, of which he understood hardly a word, at his head. If John had had a copy of Homer, he might have had it well translated and let the beautiful teachings of this work become general. His interests were primarily philosophical and his most busy moments

were none too busy for him to devote a little time to searching into the truths of philosophy. What an interesting picture that letter of his to John the Saracen presents. It is the fourth year of his exile, the third of his banishment from England, yet amid all the harrowing negotiations with Thomas a Becket, with the Pope and the Lords of Europe, he finds time to look over and correct the translation of Dionysius which the Saracen had sent to him and he asks him to finish it so that he can enjoy the full teachings of the work. Such was John's appreciation.

He lived in a time which was none too favorable to the classics; when the narrow religious bigotry was not yet dispelled as it is today, nor as it was a century and a half later in Italy. He was trying to reconcile the study of the classics with the teachings of religion—to make them serve a useful purpose in furthering those teachings just as today there is a movement to reconcile the discoveries of science with religion—to bring them to the support of Christianity.

John was indeed a humanist when humanism was not in vogue—when to uphold the classics meant to invite not mere silent indifference but the cutting sneers and jeers of a hostile public. Yet he did so willingly. Not even the charge which is brought so often against the advocates of Latin and Greek to-day—that they uphold the classics because it is their occupation—can be preferred against him. His occupation was political and diplomatic—his leisure, alone, could he give to this subject. Unaffected, therefore, by hope of any material gain, actuated only by the sincere motive of "*informationem veritatis et virtutis*," he went out of his way to champion the cause of the liberal arts. If he had come two or three centuries later he might have been considered one of the greatest leaders in the history of scholarship. Coming when he did, he has suffered the fate of other great men who have had vociferous successors.

A tabular statement of John's classical knowledge will serve to summarize these conclusions:

I. The classical writings which, according to the evidence presented, can be credited to John's knowledge.

AULUS GELLIUS—*Noctes Atticae*.

CICERO—*Ad Herennium, De Partitione Oratoria, De Inventione Rhetorica, De Oratore, De Officiis, Tusculani Disputationes, Nova Academica, Ad Familiares, De Amicitia*.

FRONTINUS—*Strategemata*.

HORATIUS—*Sermones et Epistulae*.

JUVENAL—*Satyrae*.

LUCANUS—*Pharsalia*.

MARTIAL—*Epigrammata*.

OVIDIUS—*Metamorphoses, Fasti, Amores, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris, Epistulae ex-Ponto*.

PERSIUS—*Satyrae*.

PETRONIUS—*Satyrae, Cena Trimalchionis*.

PLINIUS—*Historiae Naturales*.

QUINTILIANUS—*Institutiones Oratoriae*.

SALLUSTIUS—*Catilina, Jugurtha*.

SENECA—*De Clementia, De Beneficiis, Quaestiones Naturales, Epistulae et Dialogi*.

STATIUS—*Thebais*.

SUETONIUS—*Caesares*.

PUBLILIUS SYRUS.

TERENTIUS—*Eunuchus et Andria*.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS—*Memorabilia*.

VIRGIL—*Aeneid, Georgica, Eclogues*.

II. Classical writings which John quotes and which cannot be credited to his knowledge for want of sufficient evidence.

ACCIUS.

CATO.

CATULLUS.

CICERO—*De Fato, De Divinatione, De Senectute, De Natura Deorum, Orator, Orationes, Paradoxa Stoicorum*.

CURTIUS.

ENNIUS.

HORATIUS—Carmina.

OVIDIUS—Tristia, Heroides.

CAECILIUS PLINIUS—Epistulae et Panegyricus.

SALLUSTIUS—Historiae.

TACITUS.

TERENTIUS—Adelphi.

VARRO.

LIVIUS.

III. Later Latin writers who can be ascribed to John's knowledge.

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS

APULEIUS

CLAUDIANUS

DONATUS

DIONYSIUS CATO

EUTROPIUS

JUSTINUS

JULIUS FLORUS

MACROLIUS

MARTIANUS CAPELLA

NONIUS MARCELLUS

PRISCIAN

SERENUS SAMMONICUS

SERVIUS

SOLINUS

VEGETIUS

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