

Stephen A. Herlbut.



THE PICTURE
OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM

Reverendo Canonico Georgio Freeland Peter

a Richardo W. Barnes

"Expectans expectari Dominum."

XXII Jan.
Anno Gratiae 1944



Paradise, part of a Last Judgment, by an imitator of Hieronymus Bosch, early 16th cent.

The Apocalypse of S. John the Divine

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE



AND I SAW A NEW HEAVEN AND A NEW earth; for the first heaven, and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea. 2 And I John saw the holy City, new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. 3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold the Tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. 4 And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

9 And there came unto me one of the seven Angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me saying, Come hither, I will show thee the Bride, the Lamb's wife. 10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great City, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, 11 having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal: 12 And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve Angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. 13 On the East three gates, on the North three gates, on the South three gates, and on the West three gates. 14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb.

18 And the building of the wall of it was of jasper, and the city was of pure gold, like unto clear glass. 19 And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all

THE APOCALYPSE OF S. JOHN THE DIVINE

manner of precious stones. The first foundation was Jasper, the second Sapphire, the third a Chalcedony, the fourth an Emerald, 26 The fifth Sardonyx, the sixth Sardius, the seventh Chrysolyte, the eighth Beryl, the ninth a Topaz, the tenth a Chrysoprasus, the eleventh a Jacinth, the twelfth an Amethyst. 21 And the twelve gates were twelve pearls, every several gate was of one pearl, and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

22 And I saw no Temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple of it. 23 And the city had no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. 24 And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. 25 And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there. 26 And they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it. 27 And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

XXII, 1 And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as Crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb. 2 In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. 3 And there shall be no more curse, but the throne of God, and of the Lamb, shall be in it, and his servants shall serve him. 4 And they shall see his face, and his name shall be in their foreheads. 5 And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever.

The Picture Of The Heavenly Jerusalem

IN THE WRITINGS OF JOHANNES OF FECAMP

De Contemplativa Vita

AND IN THE

Elizabethan Hymns



Edited from the Sources by
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AD LECTOREM



THE compilation of this book has busied the Editor over a number of years; likewise the printing thereof has been spread over more than a decade, a fact which may account for certain variations and irregularities in paper, inking, etc. Much of the material was gathered in the libraries of Europe, in happier days of peace between the wars. Perhaps it is not unfitting that a book whose central theme is the "Vision of Peace" should appear amid the noise and tumult of war.

As is very evident from my footnotes, I am greatly indebted to Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., not only for his generous courtesy in placing at my disposal his own collections of manuscript material, but also for his encouragement and counsel. His death last year at Rome has removed a scholar of wide and accurate learning, and a friend to whom no one ever appealed in vain. May this little offering in a field which greatly interested him be a small tribute to his memory.

This book may be regarded as the third in a loosely related triad: first, in hymnology, *'Hortus Conclusus,'* (1930-1936); second, in liturgics, *The Liturgy of the Church of England, etc.* (1941); and now, in the devotional literature of the Middle Ages, *The Picture of the Heavenly Jerusalem.*

S. A. H.

At St. Albans School, on *Alcuin's Day*, in May of 1943.



THE ORDER OF THE PARTS IN THIS BOOK

I

THE PICTURE OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM:

Biblical, Pagan, and Early Christian.

II

ELIZABETHAN HYMNS AND BALLADS:

Jerusalem, my happy home, by "F.B.P." c. 1580.

III

Jerusalem, thy joys divine, c. 1590.

IV

O Mother dear Jerusalem,

from W. Prid's *The Glasse of vaine-glorie*, 1585.

V

JOHANNES FISCAMNENSIS, second abbot of Fécamp in Normandy (c. 995-1078):

Libelli de Contemplativa Vita.

VI

LATER RECENSIONS of the writings of Johannes:

Liber Supputationum, with some early versions in
German, Dutch, and Italian.

Confessio Theologica, and some early editions.

VII

FINAL FORM of Johannes' writings:

Meditationes S. Augustini, editions and translations:

Thomas Becon, *The Pomander of Prayer*, 1558;

Thomas Rogers, *S. Augustine's Prayers*, 1581.

VIII

PETER DAMIANI (1007-1072):

Rhythmus de Gloria Paradisi.

PART ONE

The Picture of the Heavenly Jerusalem

THE PICTURE OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM is a fusion of two divergent and apparently antagonistic elements: an earthly and a heavenly, a material and a mystical, a sensuous and a spiritual. The Christian concept of future blessedness, especially as we find it expressed in the naive hymns and ballads of the sixteenth century, on which much present thinking is more or less consciously based, shows a curious intermingling of these two elements; it combines the imagery of the terrestrial Paradise with the apocalyptic vision of the heavenly City. These ideas, however, did not originate in the sixteenth century but run far back into Christian antiquity, and it is the purpose of this book to trace some portion of the literary development of this picture which culminated in the ascetical Latin of the Middle Ages, and was thence reflected in the English hymns of the Elizabethan period. Before coming to the detailed presentation of the medieval material, it will be well to pass in summary review the earlier treatment of the theme, and seek to learn something of the varying strands, Christian and pagan, which combined to form the later picture.

I. The Biblical Foundation

The Christian Scriptures begin and end with a picture of human felicity, but there is an important difference between the earthly and the heavenly Paradise. In Genesis we read of a Garden, parklike, well-watered, and filled with all kinds of pleasant trees; the seer of the Apocalypse beholds a City, the holy Jerusalem, the dwelling-place of God; through this city also flows a pure river of the water of life, and on either bank are trees planted. Between these two extremes lie many other details which enriched the picture. From the Song of Songs come vivid scenes of oriental luxury, which easily lent themselves to an allegorical interpretation: an orchard of pomegranates, camphor with nard, saffron and cinnamon,

frankincense, myrrh, and aloes, and a fountain of living waters. The vague prophecies of Ezekiel concerning the glories of the earthly Jerusalem were also applied to the heavenly, and certain elements of the Apocalypse already appear in the Old Testament prophets; the stream which issues from beneath the temple in Ezekiel's vision and the trees which grow on either bank (*Ezech.* 47, 1-2; 12) are the same as in the later vision. Two passages in Ezekiel (28, 11-16, and 34, 14) seem to be responsible for the tradition which placed the garden high on a lofty hill far to the East, a tradition which the early Christian poets followed, and after them Dante and Milton, for in Dante the terrestrial paradise is situated on the top of the Mount of Purgatory (*Purg. Canto 27*), and in Milton it lies high on a steep and inaccessible mountain (*Par. Lost*, Bk. vi). Other details came from the apocryphal book of Tobit, where old Tobias foretells the splendor of the holy city restored: *Praise thou the Lord, O my soul, for the Lord our God hath delivered his city Jerusalem from all her troubles. The gates of Jerusalem shall be builded with sapphyres and emeralds, and all the compass of her walls with precious stones. All her streets shall be paved with white marble stone, and in all her streets shall Alleluia be sung (Tobit 13).*

The prophecies of the Messianic reign strike a different and higher note: universal peace is promised in Isaiah 2, 4 and 9, 5, and supernatural fertility of the soil in 4, 2. Isaiah 11, 6-9, in touch with the same folklore which underlies the Genesis story, dreams of a Golden Age, when men lived with the gods in happiness, free from the fear of wild animals, enjoying peace and plenty. "The greatness of Isaiah is not only that he can clothe these thoughts with the most wonderful poetical imagery, but that he can combine this vision of Paradise Restored with that of a transformed Jerusalem. He speaks no longer of a Garden but of a City. The gifts of civilization are all to be brought into the Messianic Reign of God. He is not indulging in phantasies, but envisaging the redemption of the city life which he knows. The combination of these two sides makes this the first glimpse of *Urbs beata Jerusalem.*" (A. G. Hebert, *The Throne of David.*)

II. The Pagan Contribution

The contribution of the pagan world was also two-fold: poetical and philosophical. As in the Christian Bible, so here also we may trace two divergent views of the soul's felicity, both of which had their influence on Christian writers. On the one hand, there was the popular view, found in Greek poetry from Homer onward. According to this view, the soul still retained after death, to all intents and purposes, a body, and its happiness was expressed in terms of bodily pleasure. The accustomed pleasures and activities of the earthly life are continued or even heightened. So Pindar speaks of the happiness of the souls who have attained Elysium in language which not only reflects their earthly delights but also bears a strong resemblance to corresponding images in Christian poets.

For them the night all through
 In that broad realm below,
 The splendor of the sun spreads endless light;
 'Mid rosy meadows bright,
 Their city of the tombs with incense-trees,
 And golden chalices
 Of flowers, and fruitage fair,
 Scenting the breezy air,
 Is laden. There with horses and with play,
 With games and lyres, they while the hours away.
 On every side around
 Pure happiness is found,
 With all the blooming beauty of the world;
 There fragrant smoke upcurled
 From altars where the blazing fire is dense
 With perfumed frankincense,
 Burned unto gods in heaven,
 Through all the land is driven,
 Making its pleasant places odorous
 With scented gales and sweet airs amorous.

The other view is that of the mystics, the 'initiated,' of Plato and the Neo-platonists, in which the pure-soul is opposed to the body-soul. Even here, as in the chorus of the initiated in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, the joys of the mystics are set forth in much the same poetical images as in Pindar:

Let us hasten—let us fly—
Where the lovely meadows lie;
Where the living waters flow;
Where the roses bloom and blow.
Heirs of immortality,
Segregated, safe and pure,

Easy, sorrowless, secure;
Since our earthly course is run,
We behold a brighter sun.
Holy lives—a holy vow—
Such rewards await us now.

The philosophical attitude reaches its height in Plato, and later on is systematized in Plotinus, according to whom the pure-soul is derived from God, descends into the body, becomes contaminated with grosser elements because of that union, and after being released from its prison-house and purified, it returns to the place of its heavenly origin, and there enjoys the purely spiritual delights of union with the godhead. It is this Platonic and Neo-platonic view of the pure-soul which had such a powerful influence upon S. Augustine and the Church Fathers, as we shall see later when we come to speak of them. We shall now return to the influence of pagan poetry on the early Christian writers.

III. The Influence of Pagan Poetry

THE PARADISE OF THE MARTYRS

We know with what deep feelings of awe and veneration the Christians followed the passion and death of their martyrs, especially during the period of the persecutions, when this devotion was developing into a cult; it is therefore with a feeling of surprize and almost revulsion that we find the language of poetry adorning the most serious prose with which the writers describe the joys and rewards of martyrdom. One such work, coming probably from the third century, is the Pseudo-Cyprian, *De laude martyrii*. Although the details are Biblical, such as we have already mentioned, yet the paradise into which the martyrs are admitted is described with the same wealth of sensuous images and earthly delights as might be used by some pagan poet, and not until the very last sentence are we reminded of those more purely spiritual rewards which eye hath not seen nor heart conceived:

THE PRAISE OF THE MARTYRS

XXI. Where amid green fields the all-producing earth is clothed with luxuriant grass and carpeted with fragrant flowers; where lofty groves rise high, and the rich foliage of the trees o'erspreads whatever on the sloping ground the bending branches cast their shadows on. There neither glowing heat nor freezing cold prevails, neither do the fields rest in autumn, or again in early spring does the rich soil bring forth: all things are of one season and the fruits are borne in one unbroken summer. For the moon does not rule the changing months, nor the sun run through the cycle of its hours, or the slow receding light vanish into darkness. The dwellers there have joyful rest and placid hours, where a springing fountain of water gushes forth from the bed of an overflowing stream, and with sounding course glides on between the banks with winding curves, soon to be divided into heads of self-supplying rivers. This then is the great praise of the martyrs, this their noble crown, to whom even greater things than this are promised, to whom more ample rewards are given.

THE CHRISTIAN EPICS

The influence of pagan poetry on the description of Paradise (whether the earthly or the heavenly does not seem to matter) is most clearly seen in the style of the early Christian epics. When these Christian poets sought to adorn and amplify the all too meager Biblical narratives, they felt it necessary, as Sedulius tells us, to compose in heroic, i. e., dactylic hexameter verse with the aim of attracting to the love of divine things the cultivated classes of their day, whose taste for poetry found its sole satisfaction in the verses of pagan poets. (Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, p. 108.) Although the images employed may claim some Scriptural warrant, yet, as in Milton, the style in which they are written, with words and phrases borrowed or imitated from classical models, makes for great artificiality, which too frequently descends into turgid and tiresome repetitions of well-worn commonplaces.

One early example of this tendency is the hexameter poem (too long to quote here in full) *De resurrectione mortuorum*, addressed to Flavius Felix, and attributed very doubtfully to Cyprian, from whom we have just quoted in prose. Although the Paradise described in this poem is that of the redeemed, the language employed fits better the Garden of Eden.

Another, somewhat later, working over of similar material is the description of the earthly Paradise by Alcimius Ecdicius

Avitus, a bishop of the ancient metropolitan see of Vienne in southern France (495-525). In this picture of the original Garden we find the same stock images and almost the same turn of words and phrases as in the poem just mentioned on the future Paradise of the redeemed. It will be sufficient to give here a free poetical rendering of a part of Avitus's work.

THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD, BK. I

- 193 There is a place, far on the eastern side of the world,
by nature's secrets guarded well, where from the rising sun
the dawn first strikes the neighboring Indies.
- 218 Never here doth winter follow with alternating season,
nor do summer suns return after cold;
- 220 whenas the heavenly zone restores the warmth of summer,
or the wintry fields grow hoary with congealing frost.
Here the mildness of the clime maintains an everlasting spring;
stormy gales are absent, and ever 'neath a cloudless sky
the clouds take flight, yielding to the constant blue.
- 225 Nor doth nature here demand the never falling rains;
all livings things luxuriate, content with their own dew.
All the ground is green forever, and the moist earth
gleams with smiling face; hills are with verdure clad,
the trees with leaves; and plants which spread aloft
230 their crowded flowers are fed with swiftly moving sap.
For all that now with us is grown within the year,
a month produces there with ripened fruit.
Pure white the lilies gleam which no sun withers,
no touch doth harm the violets, and the red of roses
235 guarding there a hue unchanged suffuses grace.
Thus is winter ever absent nor doth torrid summer burn;
autumn fills the year with fruits, the spring with flowers.
Here are riches rumor falsely places in Sabæa;
here is grown the cinnamon, which that immortal bird collects,
240 when in rebirth she dies, and in her burning nest,
successor to herself, from death desired she rises;
and not content with one birth only in due order,
renews the long existence of her aged body,
and with fire restores old age with many new beginnings.
- 245 Distilling there the branch of fragrant balsam
doth richly yield a never-failing stream.
Then if some breeze doth lightly stir its breathings,
set in motion by the touch of gentle zephyrs,
the forest trembles rich with leaves and healing flowers,
250 which scattered o'er the ground give forth sweet odors.
Here a fountain's gleaming water rises crystal clear;
such beauty flashes not from silver, nor such light
reflects from crystal ice, smooth shining with the cold.

- 255 Upon the banks on either side the emeralds sparkle green,
and precious gems the boasting world would marvel at
lie there as common stones. The fields with diverse hues
are rich, the plains resplendent with a varied diadem.
A stream, emerging from a gently flowing source,
is soon divided into four abundant floods,
- 260 Euphrates called and Tigris, which with definite course
mark off the distant borders of the arrow-bearing Parthi.
The third is Geon, called by Latin name the Nile,
a river of unknown source, renowned beyond all others;
the fourth is Physon, which India holds, the Ganges.

THE GOLDEN AGE

Isaiah and the Hebrew prophets looked forward to a Messianic reign of peace and plenty, of righteousness and holiness, of great fertility and freedom from want and fear: the pagan writers looked backward to a Golden Age, when men lived in primitive simplicity, subsisting without toil on the fruits of the earth, when all things were common, and wars and litigation were unknown. This was the *aetas aurea* of Ovid, Tibullus, and the poets. Especially the lines in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue were early seized upon by Christian apologists, who claimed that Virgil had learned from the Sibyl prophecies of the coming of Christ. Lactantius (c. 250-325), quoting the lines from Virgil and many Sibylline verses, argues that this Roman belief was a prophetic anticipation of the expected Christian millennium of peace and joy, which the poets in their ignorance of the true religion had mistakenly placed in the distant past instead of the distant future.

OF THE RENEWED WORLD (*The Divine Institutes, Bk. vii*)

XXIV. After his coming the righteous shall be collected from all the earth, and the judgment being completed, the holy city shall be planted in the middle of the earth; in which God himself the builder shall dwell together with the righteous, bearing rule in it. And the Sibyl marks out this city when she says: *And the city which God made, this he made more brilliant than the stars, and sun, and moon.* Then that darkness will be taken away from the world with which the heavens will be overspread and darkened, and the moon will receive the brightness of the sun; but the sun will become seven times brighter than it now is; and the earth will open its fruitfulness, and bring forth most abundant fruit of its own accord; the stony mountains shall drop with honey; streams of wine shall run down, and rivers flow with milk: in short the world itself shall rejoice, and all nature exult, being ransomed and set free from the do-

minion of evil and impiety, and guilt and error. Throughout this time beasts shall not be nourished by blood, nor birds by prey; but all things shall be peaceful and tranquil. Lions and calves shall stand together at the manger, the wolf shall not carry off the sheep, the hound shall not hunt for prey; hawks and eagles shall not injure; the infant shall play with serpents.

In short, those things shall then come to pass which the poets spoke of as being done in the reign of Saturn. Whose error arose from this source: that the prophets bring forth and speak of many future events as already accomplished. For visions were brought before their eyes by the divine Spirit, and they saw these things, as it were, done and completed in their sight. And when fame had gradually spread abroad their predictions, since those who were uninstructed in the mysteries of religion did not know why they were spoken, they thought that all these things were already fulfilled in the ancient ages, which evidently could not be accomplished and fulfilled under the reign of a man.

But when, after the destruction of impious religions and the suppression of guilt, the earth shall be subject to God,—*The sailor himself also shall renounce the seas nor shall the naval pine barter merchandise; all lands shall produce all things. The ground shall not endure the harrow, nor the vineyard the pruning hook; the sturdy ploughman shall release the bulls from the yoke. The plain shall by degrees grow yellow with soft ears of grain, the blushing grape shall hang on the uncultivated brambles, and hard oaks shall distill the dewey honey. Nor shall the wool learn to counterfeit various colors; but the ram himself in the meadows shall change his fleece, now for a softly blushing purple, now for saffron dye; scarlet of its own accord shall cover the lambs as they feed. The goats of themselves shall bring back home their udders distended with milk, nor shall the herds dread the mighty lions.**

Therefore men will live a most tranquil life, abounding with resources, and will reign together with God; and the kings of the nations shall come from the ends of the earth with gifts and offerings, to adore and honor the great King, whose name shall be renowned and venerated by all the nations which shall be under heaven, and by the kings who shall rule on earth.

* Virgil, Ecl. IV, 21-45; the order of the lines being changed:

- 38 Cedet et ipse mari vector, nec nautica pinus
mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.
Non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem;
robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator.
- 28 Molli paulatim flavescet campus arista,
incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva,
et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.
- 42 Nec varios discet mentiri lana colores,
ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti
murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto;
sponte sua sandyx pascentes vestiet agnos.
- 21 Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones.

ABDIAS OF BABYLON

One of the most curious of these early and more or less poetical descriptions is that found in the apocryphal Passion of S. Matthew, which forms a part of the *Historia Certaminis Apostolici* of Abdias.¹ This Abdias is supposed to have been the first bishop of Babylon,² appointed by the Apostles themselves, and his account of their sufferings and martyrdoms was, according to tradition, first written in Babylonian, then translated into Greek (by the 3rd century chronologist, Julius Africanus?), and finally into Latin. Actually, the work in its Latin form dates from the seventh century, but it incorporates older, presumably Greek sources. According to the form of the legend found in this work, S. Bartholomew and S. Matthew parted, the former going to Persia, the latter to Ethiopia. In Ethiopia S. Matthew met at first with good success, preaching and converting the people, until, finally, being accused, he was driven out of the country, whereupon he rejoined S. Bartholomew in Persia, and both suffered martyrdom there.

The close connection in the tradition concerning the two apostles points to some earlier Eastern source, and the highly poetical passage, which is put into the mouth of S. Matthew, is evidently derived from some earlier picture of the Garden of Eden, adding many picturesque details to the simple account in Genesis. Moreover, the sudden shift to the present tense in the midst of the apostle's sermon, and the awkward references to the serpent, make it plain that it is an insertion, a borrowed passage, as the style would indicate. It is possible that the ultimate source of the Greek material was Persian, called Babylonian, in which case we may have here a literary treatment, or folklore reminiscence, of some well-watered Eastern Park, or pleasure Garden, such as we know the Persians and their predecessors delighted to build, even as the Greek word "*paradeisos*" is itself of Persian origin. If we are

¹ Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, (Hamburg 1703), p. 645; Lipsius et Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1898.

² Could there exist here a confusion with the Babylon in Old Cairo, Egypt? See A. J. Butler, *Coptic Churches of Egypt, & Babylon of Egypt*.

justified in thus tracing the origin of the exuberant descriptions of richness and fruitfulness to some such Eastern source, it will help to account for much that was added to the meager Biblical picture, and explain perhaps why the legends so often locate the earthly Paradise far to the East.

ABDIAS, PASSIO S. MATTHAEI, LIBER VII

5. This done, the Apostle addressed the people as follows:

Listen, brothers and sons and all of you who wish to free your souls from the true dragon, the devil. For your salvation God has sent me unto you, that, putting aside the foolishness of idols, you should turn to him who has created you. Now when God had made the first man he placed him in a paradise of pleasure, together with the wife that he had made from his rib.

Moreover, this paradise of pleasure lies high above all mountains and close to the heavens; neither is there aught there which might be inimical to the health of man. The birds are not frightened at the sound or sight of man; no thorns grow there or thistles, there the roses fade not or the lilies, nor do any flowers wither. The years bring not old age in their train, nor does toil cause fatigue, or any form of weakness take the place of health. Sorrow and weeping and death have there no place at all. There the breezes may be said to caress rather than to blow, and they waft into the nostrils everlastingness. For as the smoke of incense drives out evil odors, so do the nostrils there breathe out eternal life, which does not permit a man to suffer weariness or sorrow, but to remain ever the same in age, ever young, ever youthful, ever changeless. There the organs of the angels sound, and sweetest words are carried to the ears. There is no serpent there, nor scorpion, nor spider, nor any insect harmful to the health of man. There the beasts are the servants of man, the lions, and the tigers, and the leopards, and whatsoever command he gives to the birds or the beasts, at once do they obey him, as the well-beloved of God, with reverence for his order. Four rivers also issue thence: one is called Geon, the second Phison, the third Tigris, and the fourth Euphrates. These abound in all manner of fish. No barking of dogs is there, nor any roaring of lions; all is peaceful, all is quiet there. Never is the face of heaven darkened by a veil of clouds, never do lightnings flash, or thunders peal; but rejoicing is there for evermore, and festivity which hath no end.

But the reason why I said that there was no serpent there, is because it was through him that the angel exercised his jealousy, etc.

IV. Philosophical and Mystical Influences

PLOTINUS AND NEO-PLATONISM

We turn now from the earthly and poetical to the philosophical and mystical treatment of the theme. Plotinus, the greatest of the mystical philosophers, was an Egyptian Greek, who taught at Rome in the middle of the third century after Christ. He revived and expanded the teachings of Plato, and is the leading Western exponent of the Neo-platonic school, which, through its influence on S. Augustine, affected Christianity greatly. Of him Dean Inge says: "Plotinus, read in the Latin translation of Marius Victorinus, was the schoolmaster who brought Augustine to Christ." He systematized the vaguer spiritual philosophy of Plato, encumbered it with an elaborate terminology, and inculcated a practical method of religious meditation and contemplation by the practice of which his followers sought to obtain the perfect life of union with God.

The central theme of this teaching had to do with the descent and ascent of the soul. The soul as pure spirit is derived from God, and comes "trailing clouds of glory" from its home in the heaven of heavens where God has his being. This pure spirit, which is Virgil's *aurai simplicis ignem* (Aen. vi, 747), descends through various grades of being, is united with a mortal body, and as a result of that contaminating contact it is attracted downward, a tendency which however it may overcome by ascetic practices which mortify the earthly passions and enable the purified soul to remount the scale and even to achieve by contemplation an immediate union with the pure being of God once more. The body is regarded as a tomb or prison in which the soul is buried and from which, when liberated, it rises. During its earthly life this lifting up of the soul toward God is ever incomplete and its union with the divine is fleeting and imperfect, so soon does the weight of the body drag it down again. All the mystics testify to those rare moments of insight when the soul, transcending all created things and rising even above consciousness itself, reaches for a brief time the very presence of the infinite, and "feels through all

this mortal dress Bright shoots of everlastingness."

Plotinus thus describes this state of ecstasy (*Ennead* iv, 8, 1):

"Many times it has happened: Lifted out of the body into myself, becoming external to all other things; beholding a marvellous beauty; then, more than ever, assured of community with the loftiest order; living the noblest life, acquiring identity with the Divine; poised above whatever is less than the Supreme; yet there comes a moment of descent, and after that sojourn in the Divine I ask myself how it happens that I can now be descending, and how did the soul ever enter my body, the soul which, even within the body, is the high thing it has shown itself to be."¹

And he thus describes the ascent of the soul (*Enn.* i, 6, 7):

"We must ascend again toward the good, the desired of every soul. To attain it is for those who will take the upward path, who will divest themselves of all that we have put on in our descent, until, passing on the upward way all that is other than God, each in the solitude of himself shall behold that solitary-dwelling Existence, the Apart, the Unmingled, the Pure, that from which all things depend, toward which all look, the source of Life, of Intellection, and of Being. Beholding this Being, the Dispenser of all things, resting rapt in the vision and participation of so lofty a Nature, growing to its likeness, what beauty can the soul yet lack?"²

And of contemplation as the means or spiritual exercise by which the soul reaches God, Plotinus says (*Ennead* v, 1, 2):

"So let the soul that is not unworthy of the vision contemplate the Great Soul; freed from deceit and every witchery and collected into calm. Calmed be the body for it in that hour and the tumult of the flesh, ay, all that is about it calm; calm be the earth, the sea, the air, and let heaven itself be still. Then let it feel how into that silent heaven the Great Soul floweth in."³

This immediate vision of God, in whose being all beautiful forms subsist and all perfect joys abound is for the mystic the true Paradise of the soul; by contemplation he enjoys here and now some foretaste of the infinite glory of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the City and Home of God, eternal in the heavens.

¹ The Essence of Plotinus, transl. Stephen Mackenna, ed. by Grace H. Turnbull, page 146; ² p. 46; ³ p. 155. Cf. Aug. Conf. IX, 23-25.

S. AUGUSTINE AND NEO-PLATONISM

The Neo-platonic doctrine of the ascent of the soul is outlined by Augustine in his treatise *De Quantitate Animae*, in which he distinguishes seven steps by which the soul mounts to union with the Divine, the last being *contemplatio*, a state of ecstatic insight during which the soul attains God and remains, even if only for an instant, in the perfect enjoyment of the supreme good (*summum bonum*). In his *Confessions* (Bk. vii, 23) he traces in his own experience this ascent of the soul, through the bodily senses and the rational faculty, until, withdrawing his thoughts from the power of habit, it reaches the unchangeable Light, which is God himself:

And thus with the flash of one trembling glance it arrived at THAT WHICH IS. And then I saw thy invisible things understood by the things which are created. But I could not fix my gaze thereon, and my infirmity being struck back, I was thrown again on my wonted habits, carrying along with me only a loving memory thereof, and a longing for what I had, as it were, perceived the odor of, but was not yet able to feed on.

Very famous is his account of the mystical experience during a conversation with his mother, Monnica, shortly before her death at Ostia (*Conf.* ix, 23-24). In this account he follows again the Neo-platonic path from nature in general, inward to the mind, and then, transcending even mind itself, to contact with the One in a region of pure spiritual insight.

There we talked together, she and I alone, in deep joy. We were discussing what the eternal life of the saints could be like, and our conversation had brought us to this point, that any pleasure whatsoever of the bodily senses, in any brightness whatsoever of corporeal light, seemed to us not worthy of comparison with the pleasure of that eternal light, not even of mention. Rising as our love flamed upward towards that Selfsame, we passed in review the various levels of bodily things, up to the heavens themselves, whence sun and moon and stars shine upon this earth. And higher still we soared, thinking in our minds and speaking and marvelling at Thy works: and so we came to our own souls, and went beyond them to come at last to that region of richness unending, from which Thou feedest Israel forever with the food of truth; and there life is that Wisdom by which all things are made, both the things that have been; and the things that are yet to be. . . And while we were thus talking of that Wisdom and panting for it, with all the effort of our heart we did for one instant attain to touch it; then sighing, and leaving the first fruits of our spirit bound to it, we returned to the sound of our own voices, in which a word has both beginning and ending.

In many other passages, especially in Books xii and xiii of the *Confessions* and in his greatest work, *De Civitate Dei*, Augustine is fond of dwelling on the heavenly Jerusalem as the object of his contemplation and the goal of his desires. In xii, 19-20 he identifies this "house of God, not of earthly mould, nor of any celestial bulk corporeal, but spiritual, and partaker of God's eternity," with "that Wisdom which was created before all things, the rational and intellectual mind of that holy City of thine, our mother which is above, and is free and eternal in the heavens." Soon thereafter, in Bk. xii, 21, he exclaims: "O home of light and beauty! I have loved thy beauty, and the place of the habitation of the glory of my Lord, thy builder and possessor. Let my wandering sigh after thee, and I say to him that made thee, let him take possession of me also in thee, seeing that he hath made me likewise."

And in xii, 23 he describes again the lifting up of the earth toward Jerusalem:

And I myself will enter my chamber, and sing there a song of love unto Thee, groaning with groanings unutterable, in my wandering; and remembering Jerusalem, with heart lifted up toward it, Jerusalem my country, Jerusalem my mother, and Thyself that rulest over it, Enlightener, Father, Guardian. Husband, pure and strong delight, and unmixed joy, and all good things unspeakable, all at one time, because the one highest and true good. Nor will I be turned away, until Thou gather all that I am, from this dispersed and disordered state, into the peace of that our most dear mother, where the first fruits of my spirit already are, and Thou confirm and conform it for ever.

In *The City of God* (*De Civitate Dei*, Bk. xiii, 23), Augustine interprets the earthly Paradise spiritually as the life of the blessed (*paradisus corporalis potest etiam spiritualis intellegi*), the tree of life itself being Wisdom, the mother of all good. Or, looked at in another way, these things are a prophetic foreshadowing of the future, that is to say, Paradise is the Church itself, and the tree of life is Christ in her midst. Thus the past, the earthly Paradise, and the present, the Catholic Church, and the future, the Paradise of the redeemed, are united and appear as one in the eternal simultaneity of heaven, which, also according to S. Augustine, knows neither past nor future but only one eternal present.

GREGORY AND THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

Another 'founder of the Middle Ages' was Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), who uncompromisingly supported the Christian tradition against the claims of pagan learning. The Paradise which he outlines is spiritual only; its pleasures flow from the immediate presence and vision of God; its inhabitants are men and women who have returned from the sad labor of their earthly pilgrimage, a victorious army of saints who have overcome the weaknesses of the flesh and resisted the snares of a corrupt and voluptuous age. These blessed choruses enjoy the ineffable light forever, no longer subject to the fear of death but rejoicing in the incorruptibility of perpetual glory. (*Hom. in Evang.* 14 & 37, P.L. 76, 1130 & 1275):

Quae autem sunt istarum ovium pascua, nisi aeterna gaudia semper virentis paradisi? Pascua namque electorum sunt vultus praesens Dei, qui dum sine defectu conspicitur, sine fine mens vitae cibo satiatur. In istis pascuis de aeternitatis satietate laetati sunt, qui iam laqueos voluptuosae temporalitatis evaserunt. Ibi hymnidici angelorum chori, ibi societas supernorum civium, ibi dulcis solemnitas a peregrinationis huius tristi labore redeuntium, ibi providi Prophetarum chori, ibi iudex Apostolorum numerus, ibi innumerabilem Martyrum victor exercitus, tanto illic laetior quanto hic durius afflicti, simulque Confessorum constantia praemii sui perceptione consolata, ibi fideles viri, quos a virilitatis suae robore voluptas huius saeculi emollire non potuit, et sanctae pariter mulieres, quae cum saeculo et sexum vicerunt, ibi pueri, qui hic annos suos moribus transcendunt, atque senes, quos hic et aetas debiles reddidit et virtus operis non reliquit. [See PART IV, 11; PART VI, 19; PART VII, 28.]

Si consideremus quae et quanta sunt quae nobis promittuntur in caelis vilescunt animo omnia quae habentur in terris. Temporalis vita aeternae vitae comparata mors est potius dicendum quam vita. Ipse enim quotidianus defectus corruptionis quid est aliud quam quaedam prolixitas mortis? Quae autem lingua dicere, vel quis intellectus capere sufficit illa supernae civitatis quanta sint gaudia, angelorum choris interesse, cum beatissimis spiritibus gloriae conditoris assistere, praesentem Dei vultum cernere, incircumscriptum lumen videre, nullo mortis metu affici, incorruptionis perpetuae munere laetari? [See PART VII, 18, 19.]

Gregory, like Augustine, to whom he is largely indebted for his theology, is a mystic and acquainted with the life of con-

temptation. In magnificent Latin prose he speaks of the great struggle of the soul when it rises to contemplate celestial things, and with what effort it passes through all that is corporeally visible; how at times it succeeds in overcoming the opposing darkness and is able to attain to something of that uncircumscribed light, only too soon to be beaten back upon itself and forced to return sighing to the darkness of its own blindness. For, as he warns us in another passage, the grace of contemplation cannot in this life be long lasting, because the weight of the corruptible flesh soon draws down the soul which, by virtue of contemplation, has gained some insight into the inmost security of the heavenly vision. (*Homil. in Ezech. II, 2, P.L. 76, 955; and Moralia V, 4, P.L. 75, 711*):

Est autem in contemplativa vita magna mentis contentio, cum sese ad caelestia erigit, cum in rebus spiritualibus animum tendit, cum transgredi nititur omne quod corporaliter videtur. Et aliquando quidem vincit, et reluctantes tenebras suae caecitatis exsuperat, ut de incircumscripso lumine quiddam furtim et tenuiter attingat; sed tamen ad semet ipsum protinus reverberata revertitur, atque ab ea luce ad quam respirando transiit, ad suae caecitatis tenebras suspirando rediit.

Sed cum mens in contemplatione suspenditur, cum carnis angustias superans per speculationis vim de libertate aliquid intimae securitatis rimatur, stare diu super semet ipsam non potest: quia etsi hanc spiritus ad summa evehit, caro tamen ipso adhuc corruptionis suae pondere deorsum premit.

Gregory also like Augustine identifies the Church with the heavenly Jerusalem, the 'vision of peace,' a city set upon a lofty mountain, a congregation of saints, now in the land of its exile exposed to the blows of tribulation, by which its living stones are being daily fashioned, but which hereafter is to reign in heaven. (*Homil. in Ezech. II, 1, P.L. 76, 938*).

Super quem montem erat quasi aedificium civitatis vergentis ad Austrum. . . Quia etenim illa internae pacis visio ex sanctorum civium congregatione construitur, Jerusalem caelestis ut civitas aedificatur. Quae tamen in hac peregrinationis terra dum flagellis percutitur, tribulationibus tunditur, eius lapides quotidie quadrantur. Et ipsa est civitas, scilicet sancta Ecclesia, quae regnatura in caelo adhuc laborat in terra.

URBS BEATA IERUSALEM

Incerti Auctoris, c. 600-700 A.D.

URBS beata Ierusalem dicta pacis visio,
quae construitur in caelis vivis ex lapidibus,
et angelis coornata ut sponsata comite:

Nova veniens e caelo, nuptiali thalamo
praeparata, ut sponsata copuletur Domino:
plateae et muri eius ex auro purissimo.

Portae nitent margaritis adytis patentibus,
et virtute meritorum illuc introducitur
omnis qui pro Christi nomin' hic in mundo premitur.

Tusionibus, pressuris expoliti lapides,
suis coaptantur locis per manum artificis,
disponuntur permansuri sacris aedificiis.

Angularis fundamentum lapis Christus missus est,
qui compage parietis in utroque nequitur,
quem Syón sanctá suscepit, in quo credens permanet,

Omnis illa Deo sacra et dilecta civitas,
plena modulis in laude et canore iubilo,
trinum Deum unicumque cum favore praedicat.

Gloria et honor Deo usque quo altissimo,
una Patri Filioque inclito Paráclito,
cui laus est et potestas in aeterna saecula. Amen.

[This rugged but fine old hymn is the oldest of many hymns concerning the Heavenly Jerusalem. It probably dates from the 7th or 8th century, but the earliest copy is found in the so-called 'Pontifical of Poitiers,' a manuscript of the end of the 9th century (Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS Lat. 227), where it forms a part of the baptismal ritual for the Saturday before Easter. Later, with two additional stanzas, it was widely in use as a Church Dedication hymn. Dr. John Mason Neale's well-known translation, *Blessed City, heavenly Salem*, and *Christ is made the sure foundation*, may be found in most hymnals.

HEC VRBS E VIVIS CONSTAT CONSTRUCTA LAPILLIS

This city is built of living stones

S. MATTH.

S. JOH.

CELICOLAS TRINVM DOMINVM DELECTAT ET VNVM -
AD FACIEM FACIE CONTEMPLARI SINE FINE

It delights the heaven-dwellers to behold the One and Triune God face to face forever

SANCTVS (*Pater*)

SANCTVS (*Filius*)

SANCTVS (*Spiritus*)

AD MVNVS VITE LINQVENTES VANA VENITE

Forsaking vain things come to the gift of life

SAPIENTIA

Wisdom

IACOBVS

Jacob (Gen. 32, 30)

EGO IN ALTISSIMIS HABITO

VIDEO DOMINVM FACIE AD FACIEM

I dwell in the highest

I see the Lord face to face

S. MARC.

S. LVC.

AN - GE - LI

LAVDAT TERRENA DOMINVM SIC CELICA TVRBA -
O SACRA MAIESTAS TIBI SIT DECVS ATQVE POTESTAS

*The earthly as well as the heavenly host praises the Lord:
O sacred Majesty, to thee be glory and power*

APOSTOLI PROPHETE MARTYRES

QVOD NON AVDIVIT AVRIS NEC VIDIT OCELLVS -
ID FACTOR NOBIS TRIBVIT PIVS ATQVE REDEMPTOR

What ear hath not heard nor eye seen, hath the Maker and good Redeemer given to us

CONFESSORES VIRGINES BOEMENSES

HI SIBI CONMISSA REDDVNT SPES AMOR ATQVE FIDES
DVPLICATA TALENTA IVSTOS LOCAT HIC BOEMENSES

QVOD CREDENDO PRIVS
AVDIVIMVS ECCE VIDEMVS

*These return two-fold the talents
entrusted to them*

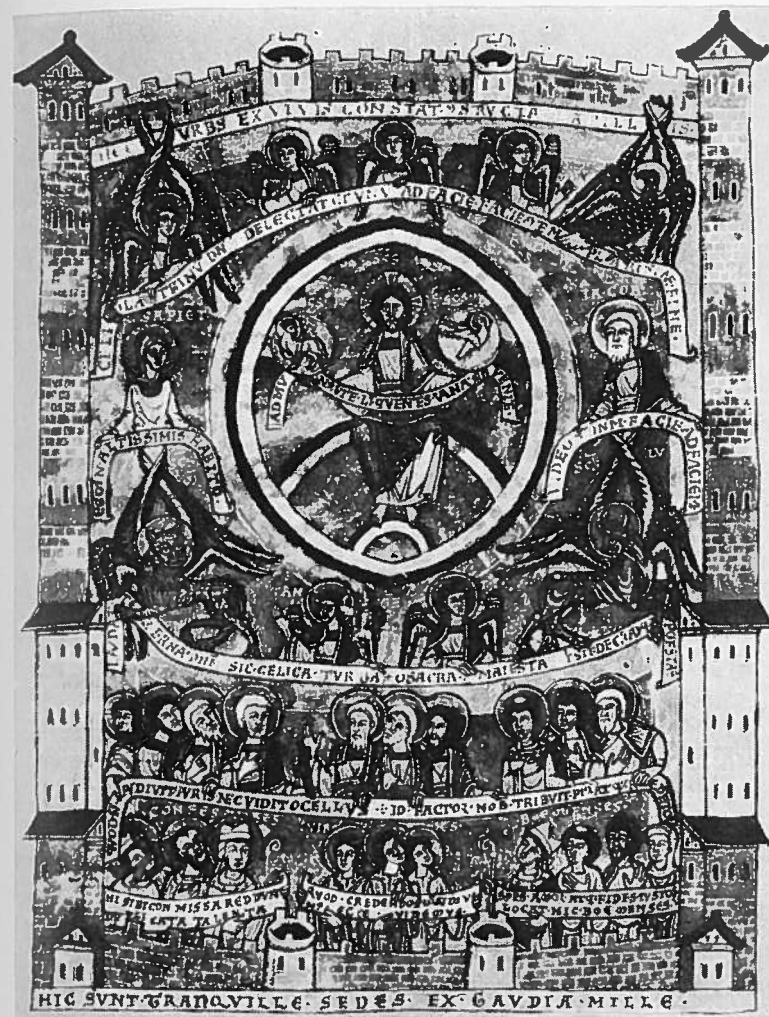
*Hope, love, and faith place here
the righteous Bohemians*

What first we heard by faith, now, lo! we see

HIC SVNT TRANQVILLE SEDES ET GAVDIA MILLE

Here are peaceful homes and a thousand joys

¶ *Certain emendations, necessary for the metre, are shown by Italics.*



The City of God, from a manuscript of *De Civitate Dei*, Prag, c. 1250.

V. Retrospect and Prospect

In PART I we have watched the Picture of the Heavenly Jerusalem take shape, from its far-off beginnings in the folklore story of some Eastern Garden of Delight, through the gradual accretion of many details from the Hebrew Scriptures, until in the Apocalypse of S. John the Garden has become the City of God, *Civitas Dei*, the promised fulfillment in eternity of the Messianic dream of a Golden Age. Then we have seen this Biblical outline filled in with the exuberant word-fancies of pagan rhetoric and poetry, and with the mysterious utterances of the ancient Sibyls. From another direction we have watched the picture being moulded and modified by the impact of Greek philosophy and mysticism, especially that of Plato and Plotinus, until in Augustine and Gregory the doctrine of the *pure-soul* supplants that of the *body-soul*, and mystical contemplation takes the place of, or rather reinterprets in more spiritual language the old pictures of purely sensuous enjoyment. The terrestrial Paradise in Eden and the celestial Paradise of the redeemed are merged in the timeless aspect of the Messianic reign of God, revealed and incorporated in the Catholic Church, one, holy, and eternal, the NEW AND HEAVENLY JERUSALEM, *Civitas sancta Dei, carissima sponsa Christi*.

And we may supplement this timeless picture of the holy City, toward which the saints have ever lifted up their hearts, with a realization or fulfillment in time, which serious and holy men have seen from afar but have never fully attained unto, that is to say, a city, a state, a social order into which the gifts of civilization shall be brought, no longer destructive of man's highest good, but redeemed and transformed by the vision of that perfect city, whose builder and maker is God. Such an ideal city-state is as old as Plato's Republic (ix, 592), where Socrates claims his citizenship is not of Athens, but of a city whose pattern is laid up in heaven. To build amid the devastating and deteriorating effects of a mechanical and materialistic world such a city-life, and a national-life too, which shall reflect in its ordered beauty some image of the glory of the heavenly City-state is and ought to be the social and corporate aim and function of the Church militant here

in earth, even if its perfect consummation can only be that of the Church triumphant in heaven.

Some such hope and desire for his native England must have moved Blake, himself a poet and a mystic, when he wrote these lines, toward the fulfillment of which England is even now striving:

*And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the holy Lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures seen?
And did the Countenance Divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded here
Among these dark Satanic Mills?
Bring me my Bow of burning gold!
Bring me my Arrows of desire!
Bring me my Spear! O clouds, unfold!
Bring me my Chariot of fire!
I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant Land.*

With this picture in mind we shall pass over the centuries between the sixth and the sixteenth, where we shall pick up the thread of the development in the ballad-hymns of Elizabethan England, by which time the underlying mystical ideas had faded and left only the naive and beautiful images of poetry and song. In PARTS II, III, and IV we shall print the original versions of three related poems which owe their ultimate inspiration to the picture of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Then, going back to the eleventh century, we shall describe the nearly forgotten writings, "*On the Contemplative Life*," of Johannes of Fécamp in Normandy (in PART V), and how his work became known and spread abroad under other titles (PART VI); until, its true authorship forgotten, it was printed and widely circulated as the "*Meditations of S. Augustine*" (PART VII). As such it enjoyed great popularity, was translated into English, and furnished the inspiration, if not the very words, of the hymns mentioned above. Finally, in PART VIII, we shall print once more Peter Damiani's beautiful word picture, "*De Gaudio Paradisi*."

PART TWO

"Hierusalem, my happie home."

The Hymn as Ballad.

TWO of the three Elizabethan hymns, which I have reprinted in this book, are, properly speaking, ballads, and must have circulated as part of that extensive black-letter ballad literature, which in the 16th and 17th centuries took the place of newspaper, fiction, and even the pulpit, so varied was the field which they covered, of news, politics, marvels, romances, and songs of pious exhortation and deep religious devotion. "Such ballads were sold in bundles by the printer to wandering minstrels who sang them at markets and fairs to recommend them to the public, teaching purchasers the tunes."¹

From the fact that such ballads occupy only one side of large printed sheets, they are called *Broadsides*, and because they still continued to be printed in the old English letter, even long after the importation and general adoption of the lighter roman type, they are also known as *black-letter* ballads. In order to preserve the text of these ungainly and fugitive sheets in a form more convenient for reading and reference, individuals often made handwritten collections of the pieces which pleased them most or which they thought most worthy of preservation. It is to be supposed that many such collections perished, but some have survived. Such a collection is found in the *Shirburn Ballads*,¹ and particularly in a volume written by some unknown compiler in the reign of James I., and now preserved in the British Museum as MS. Additional No. 15,225. It is to this book that we must go for the best and oldest text of the first two of our hymns, "*Hierusalem, my happie home*," and the closely related poem, "*Hierusalem, thy ioyes devine*."²

¹ The *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford, 1907.

² Reprinted in Part Three of this book.

British Museum MS. Addit. 15,225.

No complete edition of this manuscript volume has yet been made, but Professor Hyder E. Rollins has included in his *Old English Ballads*¹ a reprint of those pieces not available in previous publications. In the preface to this book he thus describes the manuscript in which our hymns are found.

Additional MS. 15,225 was purchased by the British Museum on June 18, 1844, at the Bright Sale, lot 188. It is a small, neat quarto of sixty leaves, size about 6 x 8 inches, without title-page or list of contents, and part of the original manuscript has been lost. The page-numbering by the compiler runs from 1 to 124. Pages 95-98, however, are missing, while at the bottom of page 124 there is a title, "A Godly Exhortation to Love by the Parable of Our Saviour Christ. To the *Queen's Almaine*," but the leaves that contained this ballad, and probably others, have disappeared. The volume has suffered at the hands of the binders, various margins being clipped so closely as to have injured the text; many of the leaves are stained by damp, on others holes have been eaten through by inferior ink, several have torn edges, some of which are mended. Nevertheless, the MS. can be said to be in good condition, and the scholarly Jacobean handwriting is everywhere clear and legible.

Public attention was first called to this book, after its acquisition by the British Museum, in a letter, signed "B. E.," to *The Gentleman's Magazine* for Dec. 1850.² Besides a brief description of the book, this letter contains the *editio princeps* of the hymn, "*Hierusalem, my happie home*,"³ and an historical ballad on the Duke of Buckingham, together with a table of contents of the MS., which I reproduce here, adding the earliest date to which the various ballads can be assigned, usually that of their first entry in the *Stationers' Register*,⁴ or of their first publication in some printed collection of Elizabeth's reign; and for the ballads reprinted by Dr. Rollins I have also given the page number in his *Old English Ballads*.

¹ *Old English Ballads*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, Oxford, 1920.

² *The Gentleman's Magazine*, London, 1850, (Dec.) p. 582; reprinted in *Littel's Living Age*, Vol. 28 (1851) p. 333.

³ But with modernized spelling.

⁴ *Arber's Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers' Company; and An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers, etc.*, by Hyder E. Rollins, University of North Carolina Press, 1924.

Contents of MS. Addit. 15,225.

<i>MS. page</i>	<i>Rollins, Old Eng. Ballads, page</i>
1 A jolly shepherd that sate on Sion hill. [Registered 1586]	101
4 Calvary mount is my delight.	147
6 Amount, my soul, from earth awhile.	152
13 Jesus, my loving spouse. [1568-'69] [In the Shirburn Ballads, p. 84.]	198
14 No wight in this world that wealth can attain.	108
19 A word once said, Adam was made.	203
21 Who is my love, I shall you tell.	206
22 O blessed God, O Saviour sweet. [In The Song of Mary, 1601, p. 42-45.]	114
25 A song of the Duke of Buckingham.	349
29 A doleful dance and song of death, intituled the shaking of the sheets. [In the Roxburghe Ballads, III, 184]	
32 Here followeth a song in praise of a lady. [In Tottel's Miscellany, 1557.]	
33 A pleasant ballad of the just man Job, shewing his patience in extremity. [1564-'65]	209
34 To pass the place where pleasure is. [1561-'62]	213
35 I might have lived merrily. [1564-'65]	216
37 Old Tobie called his loving son. [1624, transfer]	219
39 Behold our Saviour crucified.	119
45 Here followeth the songe Mr. Thewlis writ himself.	79
50 Here followeth the songe of the death of Mr. Thewlis, to the tune of <i>Daintie, come thou to me</i> .	88
54 A song of the cross.	127
59 A song of the puritan.	134
61 A song of four priests that suffered death at Lancaster, to the tune of <i>Daintie, come thou to me</i> . [Robert Nutter, Edward Twing. 1600; Robert Middleton, Thurston Hunt, 1601.]	70
65 A jolly shepherd that sate on Sion hill. [2 stanzas only]	
66 Winter cold into summer hot.	137
69 A song in praise of music.	142
72 A song made by F. B. P. to the tune of <i>Diana</i> . [In The Song of Mary, 1601, p. 38-41.]	164
75 The thoughts of man do daily change.	223
77 A prisoner's song. [Being the first four lines of the following.]	
78 Jerusalem, thy joys divine. [In The Song of Mary, 1601, p. 30-37.]	170
85 My mind to me a kingdom is. [By Sir Edward Dyer, in William Byrd's Psalms, 1588.]	

- 86 O man that runneth here thy race. 229
 [The second part of this, entitled *Respice finem*, in the
 Paradise of Dainty Devices, 1576.]
- 89 A singular salve for a sick soul. [Prose] 405
- 90 The bellman's good-morrow, to the tune of *Awake, awake,*
O England, [1568-'69?; 1580; 1624] 233
 [In the Shirburn Ballads, p. 182.]
- 94 A carol for Christmas Day, "From Virgin's womb to us
 this day did spring." 238
 [In the Paradise of Dainty Devices, 1576, and with music
 in William Byrd's Songs of Sundry Natures, 1589.]
 [Pages 95-98 of the MS. are missing.]
- 99 A parliament of devils. [Earlier version of this, 1509.] 384
- 115 A dittie most excellent for every man to read, that doth
 intend for to amend and to repent with speed, to the tune
 of *A rich merchant man*, or, *John, come kiss me now*.
 [In Tottel's Miscellany, 1557.]
- 120 All you that with good ale do hold. 331

Nature and Date of the MS.

From the nature of the material in this collection, it is evident that it was compiled, during the reign of James I., by some Roman Catholic, perhaps a priest. The latest ballad refers to the execution of John Thewlis in 1616, but many of the older pieces date back fifty years to the beginning of Elizabeth's long reign (1558-1603), and those in *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557) must be still older. It is likely, as in the case of the Shirburn Ballads, that all were taken from printed broadsides, or published collections. Dr. Rollins has demonstrated the circulation, doubtless surreptitious, of a considerable number of distinctly Catholic ballads during these reigns, although, of course, such ballads could not be licensed for publication; and in connection with those found in this MS. he remarks especially on "the tone of calm resignation, the lack of bitterness, and the absence of invective" which place them in strong contrast both with the Catholic ballads under Mary and the strongly Puritan-Protestant under Elizabeth and James.

As to the actual date when the hymn by "F. B. P." was composed, nothing more definite than the above can be given.

From its inclusion in this collection, and from the nature of the other Catholic ballads associated with it, it seems evident that it was born of and under the persecutions of Elizabeth's reign, and it may well have been produced and in circulation any time after 1571, when a rigid persecution of Catholics followed the Bull of Pope Pius V. absolving her subjects from all allegiance to the Queen. And from its inclusion, thirty years later, in the printed *Song of Mary* we know that it antedated the beginning of James's reign (1603). The carefully edited *English Hymnal* (No. 638) dates it *circa* 1580; the *New Hymnal* (American Episcopal, No. 510) gives 1583, but on what grounds, if any, I have been unable, upon inquiry, to learn. It is likely that both dates are approximate guesses.

The Identity of "F. B. P."

The MS. itself states that it is *A Song made by F: B: P:* but the mysterious initials have resisted all attempts to discover the personality of the author which they so effectively hide. The compiler of the MS. probably knew, but for reasons of prudence, perhaps, chose to hide his knowledge. If the author was a Roman Catholic priest, as is likely, the final 'P.' may stand for *Pater* or *Priest*, or the 'F.' may stand for *Frater*, if he belonged to an Order. The numerous guesses as to the identity of the author which have been made by Bonar, Neale, and others, are listed, and rejected, in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (p. 583). A recent attempt to connect the hymn with Fr. Lawrence Anderton, S. J., of Chorley, Lancashire, (1575-1643), under his pseudonym, John Brerely Priest, depends on reading the first initial in the MS. as *J:* instead of *F:* a reading which those best able to judge do not admit. Besides, it hardly seems possible, considering the dates, that a song of this character should be the work of a young man, who received his B.A. at Cambridge in 1596-'97, and who entered the Jesuit Order at Rome in 1605. (*Catholic Record Society's Publ.* XV-XVI, p. 421.)

A Song mad[e] by F. B. P.:

To the tune of Diana

- 1 Hierusalem my happie home,
 when shall I come to thee:
 When shall my sorrowes haue an end,
 thy ioyes when shall I see—?
- 2 O happie harbour of the saints,
 O sweete and pleasant soyle,
 In thee noe sorrow may be founde,
 noe greefe, noe care, noe toyle.
- 3 In thee noe sicknesse may be seene,
 noe hurt, noe ache, noe fore;
 There is noe death nor vglie devill,
 there is life for euermore.
- 4 Noe dampishe mist is seene in thee,
 noe could nor darksome night:
 There everie soule shines as the sunne,
 there god himselfe giues light.
- 5 There lust and lukar cannot dwell,
 there envie beares noe sway:
 There is noe hunger, heate, nor coulde,

but pleasure everie way.

- 6 Hierusalem Hierusalem
 god grant I once may see
 Thy endlesse ioyes, and of the same
 partaker aye to bee:
- 7 Thy wales are made of precious stones
 thy bulwarkes diamonds square:
 Thy gates are of right Orient pearle,
 exceedinge riche and rare—.
- 8 Thy terrettes and thy Pinacles
 with Carbuncles doe shine:
 Thy verie streetes are paved with gould,
 surpassinge cleare and fine—.
- 9 Thy houses are of Ivoire,
 thy windoes Christale cleare:
 Thy tyles are mad[e] of beaten gould,
 O god, that I were there!
- 10 Within thy gates nothinge doth come
 that is not passinge cleane:
 Noe spiders web, noe durt, noe dust,
 noe filthe may there be seene—.

- 11 Ay my sweete home, Hierusalem—
 would god I were in thee:
 Would god my woës were at an end,
 thy ioyes that I might see!
- 12 Thy saintes are crownd with glorie great,
 they see god face to face:
 They triumph still, they still reioyce,
 most happie is their case—.
- 13 Wee that are heere in banishment,
 continuallie doe mourne:
 We sighe and sobbe, we weepe and weale,
 perpetually we groane—.
- 14 Our sweete is mixt with bitter gaule,
 our pleasure is but paine:
 Our ioyes scarce last the lookeing on,
 our sorrowes still remaine—.
- 15 But there they live in such delight,
 such pleasure and such play,
 As that to them a thousand yeares
 doth seeme as yeaſter day.
- 16 Thy Viniardes and thy Orchardes are

- most beutifull and faire,
 Full furnished with trees and fruites,
 most wonderfull and rare.
- 17 Thy gardens and thy gallant walkes
 continually are greene:
 There groes such sweete and pleasant flowers,
 as noe where eles are seene—.
- 18 There is nector and Ambrosia made,
 there is muske and Civette sweete:
 There manie a faire and daintie druggē
 are troden vnder feete—.
- 19 There Cinomon, there sugar, groes,
 there narde and balme abound.
 What tounge can tell or hart conceiue
 the ioyes that there are found?
- 20 Quyt through the streetes with siluer sound
 the flood of life doe flowe:
 Vpon whose bankes, on everie syde,
 the wood of life doth growe—.
- 21 There trees for euermore beare fruitē,
 and euermore doe springe—:

- There euermore the Angels sit,
and euermore doe finge.
- 22 There David standes, with harpe in hand,
as maister of the Queere:
Tenne thousand times that man were blest
that might this musique heare.
- 23 Our Ladie sings Magnificat
with tune surpassinge sweete:
And all the virginnns beare their parts
fittinge aboue her feete.
- 24 Te Deum doth saint Ambrose finge,
saint Augustine doth the like:
Ould Simeon and Zacharie
haue not their songes to seeke.
- 25 There Magdalene hath left her mone,
and cheerefullie doth finge:
With blessed saintes whose harmonie
in everie streete doth ringe.
- 26 Hierusalem my happie home,
would god I were in thee:
Would god my woes were at an end,
thy ioyes that I might see

The Song of Mary, etc., 1601.

A second form of the foregoing hymn, and its earliest in print, is found in a little quarto book (now excessively scarce)¹ of which the full title is:

THE / SONG OF / MARY THE MO- / THER OF CHRIST: /
Containing the story of / his life and passion. / *The teares of*
Christ in the garden: / With / The description of heavenly /
Ierusalem. / [printer's device?] / LONDON, / Printed by E.
Alde for William Ferbrand, / *dwelling neere Guild-hall-gate*
at the signe of the / Crowne. 1601.

The book has no preface, nor table of contents, but consists of the following six anonymous poems:

- p. 1. The Song of Mary the Mother of Christ: Containing the story of his life and passion.
Faine would I write, my minde ashamed is,
My verse doth feare to do the matter wrong.
- p. 22. The teares of our Sauour in the Garden.
The meeke and gentle pledge of mortall peace
Christ *Jesus*, had receiued the pascall Lambe.
- p. 28. A heauenly Prayer in contempt of the world, and the vanities thereof.
O Heauenly God, that gouernes every thing,
Whose power in heauen, and in the earth we know.

¹ I have been able to locate the following copies: (1) British Museum (Brand-Heber copy); (2) Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; (3) Huntington Library (Lampport-Britwell copy); (4) W. L. Andrews-H. V. Jones-Clawson copy (De Ricci Cat. 788; sold Anderson Galleries, May 24-25, 1926); (5) Steves-Beverley Chew copy, lacking last signature (sold And. Gall., Dec. 8-9, 1924, to Quaritch, Lond.); (6) Sir R. L. Harmsworth (provenance ?); and (7) a copy was, 1883, in the libr. of Sir Charles Isham, Lampport Hall, Northampton, bound up with three works of Nicholas Breton (Literary Churchman, v. 29, p. 332). The great increase in value of this book may be judged by comparing the 12s. which it fetched in the Bright sale (lot 5323) Apr. 8, 1845, with the \$2300.00 paid in 1926 for the Clawson copy. O that we could have been at the Bright sale!

² A griffin segreant, No. 284 in McKerrow's Printers' and Publishers' Devices.

- p. 30. The description of heauenly Ierusalem. [= MS. p. 78]
 Ierusalem thy ioyes diuine.¹ [52 four-line stanzas]
- p. 38. Another on the same subject. [= MS. p. 72]
 Ierusalem my happy home. [19 four-line stanzas]
- p. 42. A sinners supplication, or the soules meditation.
 O Blessed God, ô Sauour sweet, [= MS. p. 22]
 O Iesus thinke on me. [21 four-line stanzas]
- p. 45. FINIS

Of the above six pieces, the last three are also found in the manuscript 15,225 previously described. The hymn, *Jerusalem my happy home*, which in the MS. is said to be the work of "F. B. P.," appears anonymously in this book, and in comparison with the MS. version, it has suffered both by omission and transposition of stanzas. Although the MS. was compiled after *The Song of Mary* was published, its version could not have been copied from the book; neither the book from the manuscript, or its archetype. It would seem that both versions depend upon earlier, mutually variant, broadside copies, now lost. It is probable that the copy from which *The Song of Mary* was taken was itself incomplete. Notice how eight stanzas have been omitted, from 9 to 16, except st. 15, which has been transposed to the end, next before the final refrain. In the book the first stanza is twice repeated without change as st. 6 and 19. Even the variation in the typography of st. 6 shows that it was regarded as a refrain, and may have been so distinguished in the broadside copy. Furthermore the printed version adds two new stanzas, one of which (st. 5) may be only a rewriting of the same manuscript stanza, while the other (st. 11) is different, and may have belonged to the original form of the song. If so, it would fall between ms. 19 and 20. On the whole, it is evident that the manuscript preserves an earlier and better text, not only than *The Song of Mary*, but also than the Shirburn-Rawlinson Ballads and that known as the David Dickson recension, which will be given later.

¹ Reprinted in Part Three of this book.

[p.] 38

Another on the same subject.

[i. e. The Description of heauenly Ierufalem.]

- [1] I *Erusalem* my happy home, Compare MS. 1
 when shall I come to thee:
 When shall my sorrows haue an end,
 thy ioyes when shall I see?
- [2] O happy Citty of the Saintes! MS. 2
 ô sweet and pleafant foyle!
 In thee no sorrow may be found,
 no griefe, no care, no toyle.
- [3] There is no dampe nor foggy mist, MS. 4
 no clowde nor darksome night:
 There, euery Saint shines like the Sunne,
 there, God himselfe giues light.
- [4] In thee no sicknes may be found, MS. 3
 no hurt, no ache, no fore:
 In thee there is no dread of death,
 There's life for euermore.

F

There

[p.] 39

- [5] There is no raine, no sleete, no snow, [lacking]
no filth may there be found:
There is no sorrow, nor no care,
all ioy doth there abound.
- [6] Ierusalem *my happy home*, [repeats st. 1]
When shall I come to thee:
When shall my sorrowes haue an end,
Thy ioyes when shall I see.
- [7] Thy walles are all of precious stones, MS. 7
thy strectes paued with golde:
Thy gates are eke of precious pearle,
most glorious to beholde.
- [8] Thy Pinacles and Carbuncles, MS. 8
with Diamondes doe shine:
Thy houses couered are with golde,
most perfect, pure and fine.
- [9] Thy gardens and thy pleasant walkes, MS. 17
continually are greene:
There growes the sweet and fairest flowers,
that euer erst was seene.
- [10] There, Sinamon, there, Ciuet sweet, MS. 18-19
there, Balme springs from the ground:
No tongue can tell, no heart conceiue,
the ioyes that there abound.
- [11] Thy happy Saints (Ierusalem) [lacking in ms.]
doe bathe in endlesse blisse:
None but those blessed foules, can tell
how great thy glory is.

[p.] 40

- [12] Throughout thy strectes with siluer streames,
the flood of life doth flowe; MS. 20
Vpon whose bankes, on euery side,
the wood of life doth growe.
- [13] Those trees doe euermore beare fruite, MS. 21
and euermore doe spring:
There, euermore the Saints doe sit,
and euermore doe sing.
- [14] There *Dauid* stands with Harpe in hand, MS. 22
as Master of the Quire:
Ten thousand tymes that man were blest,
that might his musique heare.
- [15] Our Lady sings *Magnificat*, MS. 23
with tune surpassing sweete:
And all the Virgins beare their parts,
fitting about her feete.
- [16] *Te deum* doth Saint *Ambrose* sing, MS. 24
Saint *Augustine* the like:
Olde *Simeon* and good *Zacharie*
haue not their longes to seeke.
- [17] There *Magdalen* hath lost her moane, MS. 25
and she likewise doth sing
With happy Saints, whose harmony
in euery strecte doth ring.
- [18] There all doe liue in such delight, MS. 15
such pleasure and such play:
That thousand thousand yeares agoe,
doth seeme but yesterday.

[p.] 41

- [19] *Ierusalem* my happy home, Repeats st. 1
 when shall I come to thee:
 When shall my sorrowes haue an end,
 thy ioyes when shall I see?

FINIS

Note on the tune, *Diana*.

The tune *Diana*, to which, according to the MS., our hymn was sung, is evidently that of a ballad concerning Diana and Actæon, beginning,

Diana and her darlings dear
 went walking on a day,
 Throughout the woods and waters clear,
 for their disport and play. (Roxburghe Ballads, II, 520)

The earliest surviving appearance of this ballad is in the 1584 edition of *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, where the tune is given as *Quarter Brawles*, of which nothing further is known. It was probably also contained in the first, 1566, edition of this book, which has been lost.

In the Shirburn-Rawlinson version of our *Jerusalem* ballad the tune is given as *O man in desperation*, and Dr. Rollins was the first to point out (in his *Old English Ballads*, 1920) that the tune *Diana* was evidently equivalent to *O man in desperation*, but as neither has been found, we are no better off. Since then, in a letter to the London Times Literary Supplement (Dec. 22, 1921) he tells of finding a possible clue to the matter. In the Manchester Free Reference Library he found a copy of the "Diana" ballad (about 1605-1640) which gives the tune as *Rogero*. This was a well-known tune, about as old as *Quarter Brawles*, one to which many ballads were sung; it is mentioned as a dance tune as early as 1579 in Stephen Gosson's *School of Abuse*; and may be found in William Chappell's *Popular Music of the olden Time*, I, 93, with the following words, from *Strange Histories, etc.*, 1607:

When as the Duke of Normandy
 with glist'ring spear and shield,
 Had enter'd into fair England
 and foil'd his foes in field.

Dr. Rollin's suggestion is that the four tunes, *Quarter Brawles*, *Rogero*, *O man in desperation*, and *Diana and her darlings dear*, were regarded as interchangeable, or were perhaps identical.

All the ballads assigned to these tunes have the same metrical form, and *Jerusalem my happy home* may be sung as well to *Rogero*, the only one of the four which has survived, as to *Diana*. In fact, *Rogero*, with its quaint, old-fashioned, and peculiarly plaintive melody, is, in my thinking, a more suitable tune for this famous hymn than those in common use, and may be regarded, at least provisionally, as its original.

part three

"Hierusalem, thy ioyes diuine."

WE come now to the second of our three hymns, a poem closely related in thought and imagery to the preceding, but longer and more literary in character. It must date from about the same period, as it is found in the same British Museum MS. Addit. 15,225 already described, and also in *The Song of Mary, etc.*, 1601.¹

In the printed version the title reads, *The description of heauenly Ierusalem*; but in the MS. the four opening lines of the first 8-line stanza appear alone on p. 77, with this title, *A Prisoner's Songe*; then, at the top of p. 78, without title, begins the refrain, from which the poem takes its usual name, *Hierusalem thy ioyes diuine*. The words, *the under song*, at the foot of p. 77 refer to the refrain on 78. Beside minor variations in wording and spelling, the printed form is three 4-line stanzas shorter than the MS. version. Not only is the MS. in this respect superior to the book, but, despite some evident blunders, it often preserves the earlier and better readings.

¹ Reprinted from *The Song of Mary* in Farr's *Select Poetry of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1840), pp. 427-432, omitting the refrain and nine other stanzas. These I have indicated below by asterisks. From Farr it was reprinted by Horatius Bonar in *The New Jerusalem* (Edinburgh, 1852), who included in his preface part of the omitted stanzas. In 1865 William C. Prime of New York, after meeting Dr. Bonar riding over the hills to the north of Jerusalem, made an American re-issue of his book, under the title, *O Mother dear Jerusalem*, in which he repeated Bonar's text from Farr, but failed to insert the asterisks used by Farr to mark omissions. He called the poem *An English Hymn of the Time of Queen Elizabeth; evidently a translation of the Hymn of Damiani*.

Later, in a beautifully printed volume, William Loring Andrews, inspired by his own acquisition of an original *Song of Mary* (later the Clawson copy), published *The Heavenly Jerusalem* (New York, 1908), in which he reprinted both hymns, but, being misled by the title in Prime, he designates as a translation from Damiani exactly the 42 stanzas of Farr's reprint. The text of both hymns was also published in *The Month*, September 1871, from the MS. only, the editor being quite unaware of the printed version. Lastly, both poems have been fully and carefully reprinted in Hyder E. Rollin's *Old English Ballads* (1920).

As to Authorship.

The whole poem is, of course, like the preceding, distinctly Catholic in tone,¹ and the most plausible suggestion as to its authorship is that put forward by J. H. Pollen,² that the writer was Fr. Henry Walpole, S. J., who after long imprisonment was executed, ostensibly for treason but actually for religion, April 7, 1595.³ This ascription depends on the credibility of certain notes, now at Stonyhurst College,⁴ made by Fr. Christopher Grene, who between 1666 and his death in 1697 transcribed many of the records at the English College in Rome which were subsequently lost. In these notes he says that Walpole wrote, during his imprisonment in the Tower, a "Suavissimum Canticum" beginning "*My thirsty soule.*" Pollen, who identifies this with our poem, says, "The smoothness of the lines, which is above the level of the minor poets of that day, and the elevation of mind which inspires every word of the poor, tortured, doomed prisoner, give these verses a singular interest, and go far to justify Fr. Grene's admiring epithet 'Suavissimum.'" Furthermore, relying on the judgment of Joseph Gillow, the editor of the *Biog. Dict. of Eng. Catholics*, he believes that the MS. 15,225 is in the actual handwriting of Fr. Lawrence Anderton, who gave the poem its title from his knowledge of the facts. I have already discussed in PART II the possibility that Anderton under his *alias* John Brerely was the author of the 'F. B. P.' ballad; if he is really the compiler of the collection, there seems to me additional reason for believing that the initials must refer to some other and earlier writer than the compiler himself.

¹ For this reason alone the very doubtful ascription in Farr's *Select Poetry* (p. xl) to Sir Nicholas Breton falls through, as he was a staunch defender of the reformed faith.

² The Writings of the Venerable English Martyrs, in the *Dublin Review*, 133 (1903) 354; also *Cath. Record Soc. Reports V* (1908) 385.

³ Life by Augustus Jessop, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, 1878.

⁴ Stonyhurst MSS., Grene's *Collectanea N*, i (olim ii), fol. 3.

Relation to Damiani's *Ad perennis vitae fontem*.

Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology (p. 13) lists this poem as the earliest English translation of Peter Damiani's *Hymnus de Gloria Paradisi*. In my own edition, *The Song of S. Peter Damiani on the Joyes and Glory of Paradise*, I said that it was influenced, at least in part, by Damiani's hymn but was not a translation. It might be more exact to say that it was composed by one who had before him Damiani's hymn as usually found in the *Meditations* ascribed to Augustine (ch. 26), and who drew both from the hymn and from the preceding chap. 25, (see PARTS IV and VII of this book). A comparison of the text of Damiani (reprinted in PART VIII) will show that our author begins with Damiani's well-known opening lines,

*Ad perennis vitae fontem mens sitivit arida;
Claustra carnis praesto frangi clausa quaerit anima;
Gliscit, ambit, eluctatur, exsul frui patria.*

but in the exuberance of his fancy he soon leaves his model behind and adds detail to detail in his picture of the heavenly joys, returning, now and again, to a closer following of the original. On the other hand, he omits many of Damiani's finest lines, among them those which express much of the deeper symbolism and philosophy of the great 11th century Churchman.

A prisoner's songe. [MS. p. 77]

My thirstie soule desyres her drought [1a]

at heauentie fountains to refresh:

My prisoned mynd would faine be out
of chaines and fetters of the flesh.

The under songe.

- 1 *I*herusalem thy ioyes devine, [Refrain]
 noe ioyes may be compar'd to them:
 Noe people blessed soe as thine,
 noe Cittie like Hierusalem.
 She looketh vp vnto her state, [1b]
 from whence she downe by sinne did slyde:
 She mournes the more the good she lost,
 for present ill she doeth abyde—
- 2 She longes from roughe and dangerous seas,
 to harbour in the hauen of blisse:
 Where safelie ancoreth at her ease,
 and shore of sweete contentment is.
 From bannishment she more and more
 despyres to see her countrie deare:
 She sittes and sendes her sighes before,
 her ioyes and treasures all be there—
- 3 From Babiloy she would retorne,
 vnto her home and towne of peace:
 Hierusalem where ioyes abound,
 continue still and never cease.
 There blusteringe winter never blowes,
 nor summers parchinge heate doth harme:
 It never freezes there nor snowes,
 the weather euer temperate warme—

[p.] 30

*The description of heauenly
 Ferusalem.*

- [1]* **I**erusalem thy ioyes diuine,
 No ioyes to be compar'd to them:
 No people blessed so as thine,
 No City like Ierusalem.
- [2] **M**Y thirsty soule desires her draught,
 At heauenly fountaines to refresh:
 My prysoned minde, would fayne be out
 Of chaynes and fetters of the flesh.
- [3] She looketh vp vnto the state,
 From whence, she downe by sinne did slide:
 She mournes the more the good she lost,
 For present euill she doth abide.
- [4] She longs, from rough and dangerous seas,
 To harbour in the hauen of blisse:
 Where safely anchor at her ease,
 And shore of sweet contentment is.
- [5] From banishment she more and more,
 Desires to see her country deare:
 She sits and sendes her sighes before,
 Her ioyes and treasures all be there.

E

From

- 4 The trees doe blossom, bud and beare,
the birdes doe ever chirpinge singe:
The fruit is mellow all the yeare,
they haue an euerlastinge springe.
The pleasant gardens ever keepe
their hearbes and flowers fresh and greene:
All sortes of pleasant daintie fruites,
at all times there are to be seene.
- 5 The lillie white, the ruddie rose,
the crimsons and carnation flowers
Be wattered there with honie dewes,
and heauenlie droppes of goulden showers.
Pome-grannat prince of fruit, the peach,
the daintie date, and pleasant figge:
The almond, muscadell, and grape,
exceedinge good and wonderous bigge.
- 6 The lemmond, Orange, medler, Quince,
the apricocke, and Indie spice:
The Cherrie, warden, plumbe, and peare,
more sortes then were in Paradise.
The fruites more eisome, toothsome, farre
then that which grew on Adames tree:
With whose delightes assailed were,
and both suppressed, Eaue and hee.

[p.] 30

[error for 31]

- [6] From *Babilon* she would returne,
Vnto her home and towne of peace:
Ierusalem where ioyes abound,
Continue still and neuer cease.
- [7] There blustring winter neuer blowes,
Nor Sommers parching heate doth harme:
It neuer freezeth there, nor snowes,
The weather euer temperate warme.
- [8] The trees doe blossome, bud and beare,
the Birds doe euer chirpe and sing:
The fruites is mellow all the yeare,
they haue an euerlasting spring.
- [9] The pleasant gardens, euer keep
Their hearbes and flowers fresh and greene:
All sorts of dainty plants and fruites,
At all times there, are to be seene.
- [10]* The Lilly white, and ruddy Rose,
The Crimfon and Carnation flowers:
Be wated there with honny dewes,
And heauenly drops of golden showers.
- [11]* Pomgranat prince of fruites, the Peach,
The dainty Date and pleasant Figge:
The Almond, Muscadell, and Grape,
Exceeding good and wondrous bigge.
- [12]* The Lemmon, Orenge, Medler, Quince,
The Apricocke, and *Indian* spice:
The Cherry, Warden, plum and Peare,
More forts then were in *Paradice*.

- 7 The swelling Odoriferous balme,
 most sweetely there doth sweate and droppe:
 The fruitfull and victorious palme,
 layes out her mountie loftie toope.
 The river, wine most pleasant flowes,
 more pleasant then the honie combe:
 Vpon whose bankes the sugar growes,
 enclos'd in reedes of Cinomond.
- 8 The wales of Jasper stone be built,
 most rich and faire that ever was:
 The streetes and houses paved, and gilt
 with gould more cleare then Christall glasse.
 Her gates in equall distance bee,
 and each a glisteringe margerite:
 Which commers in farre of may see,
 a gladsome and a glorious sight.
- 9 Her inward Chambers of Delight,
 be deckt with pearle & precious stone:
 The Doares and posternes all be white,
 of wrought and burnisht Iuorie bone.
 Her sunne doth never eclips nor cloud,
 her moone doth never there wax wanne:
 The lambe with lighte hath her endowde,
 whose glorie pen cannot explaine.

[p.] 31

[error for 32]

- [13]* With fruit more tooth-some, eye-some, faire,
 Then that which grew on Adams tree:
 With whose delight assailed were,
 Wherwith supprif'd were Eue and hee.
- [14]* The smelling odoriferous Balme,
 Most sweetly there doth sweate and drop:
 The fruitfull and victorious Palme,
 Layes out her lofty mounting top.
- [15] The Ryuer wine most perfect flowes,
 More pleasant then the honny combe:
 Vpon whose bankes the Sugar growes,
 Enclos'd in Reedes of Sinamon.
- [16] Her walles of Iasper stones be built,
 Most rich and fayre that euer was:
 Her streetes and houses pau'd and gilt,
 with gold more cleare then Cristall glasse.
- [17] Her gates in equall distance be,
 And each a glistring Margarite:
 Which commers in farre off may see,
 A gladsome and a glorious sight.
- [18]* Her inward Chambers and delight,
 Be deckt with pearle and precious stone:
 The doores and posternes all be white,
 Of wrought and burnisht Iuory bone.
- [19] Her Sunne doth neuer Clipse nor cloude,
 Her Moone doth neuer wax nor wane:
 The Lambe with light hath her endued,
 Whose glory, pen cannot explaine.

- 10 The glorious saintes there dwellers bee,
 in number more then men can thinke:
 Soe manie in a companie,
 as loue in likelineffe doth thinke.
 The starrs in brightnesse they doe passe,
 in swiftnesse arrowes frome a bowe:
 In strength and feircenesse steele and brasse,
 in lightnesse fire, in whitenesse snowe.
- 11 Their cloathing is more softe then silke,
 with girdles guirt of beaten gould:
 They in their handes more white then milke,
 of Palme triumphant branches hould.
 Their faces shininge like the sunne,
 shoote out their gladfome glorious beames:
 The feild is fought, the battell woone,
 their heades be crownd with diademes.
- 12 Rewarde as merit different is,
 distinct their Joy and happinesse:
 But each in Joy of others blis,
 doth as his owne the same possesse.
 Soe each in glorie doth abounde,
 and all their glories doe excell:
 But where as all to each redownd,
 whoe canne the exceedinge glorie tell?

[P.] 33

- [20] The glorious Saints her dwellers be,
 In numbers more then men can thinke:
 So many in a company,
 As loue in likenes doth them linke.
- [21] The starres in brightnes they surpasse,
 In swiftnes arrowes from a bowe:
 In strength, in firmnes steele or brasse,
 In brightnes fire, in whitenes snowe.
- [22] Their cloathing are more soft then silke,
 With girdles gilt of beaten golde:
 They in their hands as white a[s] milke,
 Of Palme triumphant branches holde.
- [23] Theyr faces shininge like the Sunne,
 Shoote out their glorious gladfome beames:
 The field is fought, the battle wonne,
 Their heades be crown'd with Diademes.
- [24] Reward as vertue different is,
 Destinct their ioyes and happines:
 But each in ioy of others blisse,
 Doth as his owne the fame possesse.
- [25] So each in glory doe abound,
 And all their glories doe excell:
 But whereas all to each redound,
 Who can th' exceeding glory tell?

- 13 Triumphant marters you may heare,
recount their dangers which doe cease:
And noble Citicens ever weare
their happie gobnes of ioy and peace.
There learned clarkes with sharpened wittes,
their makers wonderous workes doe tell:
The Iudges graue on bence doe fitte,
to Iudge the tribes of Israell.
- 14 The glorious courtiers ever there,
attend on person of their Kinge:
With Angells ioyned in a Queere,
melodious himmes of praises singe.
The virginne[s] chaste in lillie white, [14b omitted
in The Song
of Mary.]
the marteres clad in scarlet red:
The holie fathers which did write,
weare Lawrell gavelandes on their heads.
- 15 Each Confesser a goulden crowne, [15a also
omitted.]
adornd with pearle and precious stone:
Chapostles pearles in renobne,
like princes fit in regall throne.
Queene mother, virgine Dminent:
then saintes and Angels more devine:
Like sunne amids the firmament,
aboue the planetes all doth shine.

- [26] Triumphant warriors, you may heare
Recount their daungers which doe cease:
And noble Cittizens euery where,
Their happy gaines of ioy and peace.

[p.] 34

- [27]* The learned clerkes with sharpned wit,
Theyr makers wondrous workes do tell:
The Iudges graue on benches fit,
To iudge the Tribes of Israell.
- [28]* The glorious Courtiers euer there,
Attend on person of their King:
With Angels ioyned in a Quire,
Melodious praise of hymmes to sing.

[MS. stanza 14b omitted.]

[MS. stanza 15a omitted.]

- [29]* Queene Virgin, mother Innocent,
Then Saints and Angels more diuine:
Like Sun amidst the firmament,
Aboue the planets all doe shine.

- 16 The King, that heauenlie pallace rules,
dothe beare vpon his goulden sheild
A crosse in signe of triumph gules,
erected in a vardiant feild.
His glorie saith as doeth behooue
him in his manhood for to take:
Whose godhead earth and heauen aboue,
and all that dwell therein did make.
- 17 Lyke frendes all partners as in blis,
with Christ their lord and maister deare:
Lyke spouses they the brydgroome kis,
whoe feasteth them with heauenlie cheere—
With tree of life and manna sweete,
which tasted doth such pleasure bringe:
As non[e] to Iudge thereof be meete,
but such as banquet with the kinge—.
- 18 With Cherubinns their winges they mooue,
and mount in contemplation highe:
With Seraphins the[y] burne in loue,
the beames of glorie be soe nighe.
The virgins Children deare they bee, [18b omitted in The Song of Mary.]
her louinge sonne for to embrace:
And Iesus his brethren for to see
his heauenlie fathers glorious face—.

- [30] The King that heauenly Pallace rules,
Doth beare vpon his golden shield,
A Crosse, in signe of tryumph gules,
Erected in a verdant field.
- [31] His glory such as doth behoue,
Him in his manhood for to take:
Whose God-head, earth and heauen aboue,
And all that dwell therein did make.
- [32] Like friends all partners are in blisse,
With Christ their Lord and Master deare:
Like spouses they the Bride-groome kisse,
who feasteth them with heauenly cheare.
- [33] With tree of life and Manna sweet,
Which taste, doth such a pleasure bring:
As none to iudge thereof be meete,
But they which banquet with the King.

[p.] 34

[error for 35]

- [34] With Cherubins their wings they mooue,
And mount in contemplation hye:
With Seraphins they burne in Loue,
the beames of glory be so nygh.

[MS. stanza 18b omitted.]

- 19 O sweete aspecte, vision of peace,
 happie regard, and heauenlie sight:
 O endles ioy without surcease,
 perpetuall day which hath noe night.
 O well and wale, fountaine of life,
 offspringe of everlastinge blis:
 Eternall sunne, resplendant light,
 and eminent cause of all that is.
- 20 Riuer of pleasure, sea of delight,
 garden of glorie ever greene,
 O glorious glasse and mirror bright,
 wherein all truth is euer seene.
 O princie palace, royall court,
 monarchall seate, imperiall throne:
 Where kinge of kinges and soueraigne lord
 for euer ruleth all alone.
- 21 Where all the glorious saintes doe see
 the secretes of the deitie:
 The godhead and in persons three
 the super-blessed trinitie.
 The depth of wisdom most profounde,
 all puisant high sublimitie:
 The breadth of loue without all bound
 in endlesse longe eternitie.

- [35] O sweet aspect, vision of peace,
 happy regard and heauenly sight:
 O endlesse ioy without surcease,
 perpetuall day which hath no night.
- [36] O well of weale, fountaine of life,
 a spring of euerlasting blisse:
 Eternall Sunne, resplendant light,
 and eminent cause of all that is.
- [37] Riuer of pleasure, Sea of delight,
 garden of glory euer greene:
 O glorious glasse, and mirror bright,
 wherein all truth is clearly seene.
- [38] O princely pallace, royall Court,
 Monarchall seate, Emperiall throne:
 Where King of Kings, and Soueraigne Lord,
 for euer ruleth all alone.
- [39] Where all the glorious Saints doe see,
 the secrets of the Deity:
 The God-head one, in persons three,
 the superblessed Trinity.
- [40] The depth of wisdom most profound,
 all puisant high sublimity:
 The bredth of Loue without all bo[u]nd,
 in endlesse long eternity.

- 22 The heauie earth belowe by kynd,
 aboue ascendes the mountinge fier:
 Be this the Centor of my mynd,
 and loftie speare of her Desyre.
 The Chafed deare doe take the soyle,
 the tyred hart the thicke and wood:
 Be this the comfort of my toyle,
 my refuge, hope and soueraigne good.
- 23 The marchant cutes the seas for gaine,
 the soldier serues for his renowne:
 The tilman plowes the ground for graine,
 be this my ioy and lastinge crowne.
 The falkener seekes to see a flight,
 the hunter beates to see his gamme:
 Longe thou my soule to see that sight,
 and labor to enioy the same.
- 24 Noe houre without some one delight
 which he endeouors to attaine:
 Seeke thou my soule both day & night,
 this one which euer shall remaine.
 This one containes all pleasure true,
 all other pleasures are but vaine:
 Bid thou the rest my soule adew,
 and seeke alone this one to gaine.

[p.] 35

[error for 36]

- [41] The heauy earth belowe, by kinde
 alone, ascendes the mounting fire:
 Be this the centor of my minde,
 and lofty spheare of her desire.
- [42] The chafed Deare doth take the soyle,
 the tyred Hare, the thickes and wood:
 Be this the comfort of my toyle,
 my refuge, hope, and Soueraigne good.
- [43] The Merchant cuts the Seas for gaine,
 the Soldier serueth for renowne:
 The tyll-man plowes the ground for graine,
 be this my ioy and lasting crowne.
- [44] The Faulkner seekes to see a flight,
 the Hunter beates to view the game:
 Long thou my soule to see this sight,
 and labour to enioy the same.
- [45] No one, without some one delight,
 which he endeuors to attaine:
 Seeke thou my soule both day and night,
 this one, which euer shall remaine.
- [46] This one containes all pleasures true,
 all other pleasures be but vaine:
 Bid thou the rest my soule adue,
 and seeke this one alone to gaine.
- [47] To count the grasse vpon the ground,
 or Sandes that lye vpon the shore:
 And when yee haue the number found,
 the ioyes heereof be many more.

- 25 Goe count the grasse vpon the ground,
 or sandes that be vpon the shoare:
 And when you haue the number found,
 the ioyes thereof be manie more.
 More thousand thousand yeares they last,
 and lodge within the happie minde:
 And when soe manie yeares be past,
 yet more and more bee still behind.
- 26 Far more they be then we can weene,
 they doe our Judgment much excell:
 Noe eare hath hard, nor eie hath seene,
 noe pen can wryte, noe tounge can tell,
 An Angells tonge cannot recyte
 the endlesse ioyes of heauenlie blis:
 Which beinge whollie infinite,
 behond all speach & wrytinge is.
- 27 We can imagine but a shade,
 it neuer entred into thought
 What ioy he is enioynd that made
 all ioy and them that ioy of nought.
 My soule cannot the ioyes contayne,
 let her, lord, enter into them:
 For euer with thee to remayne
 within thy towne Hierusalem.

[P.] 37

- [48] More thousand thousand yeares they last,
 And lodge within the happy mynde:
 And when so many yeares be past,
 Yet more and more be still behind.
- [49] Farre more they be then we can weene,
 They doe our iudgement much excell:
 No eare hath heard, or eye hath seene,
 No pen can write, no tongue can tell.
- [50] An Angels tongue cannot recyte,
 The endlesse ioy of heauenly blisse:
 Which being wholly infinite,
 Beyond all speach and writing is.
- [51] We can imagine but a shade,
 It neuer entred into thought:
 What ioyes he hath enioyed, that made
 All ioyes, and them that ioy of nought.
- [52] My soule cannot thy ioyes contayne,
 Let her Lord enter into them:
 For euer with thee, to remayne
 Within thy towne Ierusalem.

FINIS.

A Seventeenth Century Plagiarism.

Indicative of the low estate of the religious ballad in the 17th century, is a curious plagiarism from the preceding poem, which is found in the Roxburghe Ballads (II, 498-502), from which I have reprinted the title, the 1st stanza of part I, and all of part II. The writer must have used as source *The Song of Mary*, as the First Part is evidently an expansion of the short four-stanza poem which in that book precedes *Jerusalem thy ioyes diuine* (see PART TWO, p. 11) beginning:

*O heauenly God, that gouernes euery thing,
Whose power in heauen and in the earth we know.*

The Second Part is taken largely from *Jerusalem thy ioyes diuine*, but in changing from a four-line stanza with alternate rimes to one of six, riming *aabbcc*, the writer has taken such liberties in altering and transposing lines that not only is the sense of the original lost but even the grammar also, and the rimes become impossible. The added portions are of inferior quality, little more than religious doggerel.

[Roxb. Coll. I. 378, 379.]

The Sinner's Supplication:

Confessing his sins, and humbly craving pardon of the Lord: he hateth the world, and desireth to inhabit in the heauenly Jerusalem: and the description thereof.

TO THE TUNE OF *Troy Towne*.¹

- [1] O gracious God and heauenly King,
That rules and gouernes euery thing,
Whose power the heauens and earth do know,
Behold me, wretch, opprest with woe!
Be thou my God in this distresse,
And ease me of my wickednesse.

¹The tune *Troy Towne* is in Chappell, *Popular Music* (I, 370), and is evidently the same as *Queene Dido*, from the ballad, 'The Wandring Prince of Troy' (Shirburn Ballads, p. 276; Roxburghe, VI, 548), which begins as follows:

When *Troy towne* for ten yeers' wars
withstood the Greeks in manful wise.

The second part.

- [11] O where, said Dauid, shall I fly,
But God will be there presently?
There is no place to scape from God,
If thou deserue to feele his rod;
Thou man, in thy vocation stay,
And God will thee defend alway.
- [12] I with my selfe am now resolued,
And with St. Paul, to be diffolued
From this body of finne and mire,
I doe most earnestly desire,
And with my Sauour Christ to be,
To liue with him eternally.
- [13] My thirsty soule desires her draught,
My poysoned mind would faine be out
From chaines and fetters of the flesh,
To liue with him in happinesse;
She longs to come into the coast
Which she by Sathan's wiles hath lost.
- [14] From Egypt now I will returne,
Where cruell bondage makes me mourne,
And eke from Babylon I would be,
Releas'd from captiuiti,
To be in New Jerufalem,
Amongst the faints, to sing with them.
- [15] This is the home which I doe meane,
That city, New Jerufalem,
Where many thousand faints doe sing
Praifes vnto their heauenly King.
Within that citty there is peace,
Continues still, and neuer cease.
- [16] There is an euerlasting spring,
There birds doe euer chirp and sing;
There blusftring winter neuer blowes,

- It neuer freezeth there nor snowes:
Nor summers parching doth no harme;
The weather there is temperate warme.
- [17] There pleafant gardens euer keepe
All forts of flowers euer sweet;
The trees doe bloffom, bud and beare;
The fruits are mellow all the yeere;
All forts of plants, both fresh and greene,
At all times there are to be feene.
- [18] The gates of equall distance be,
Most beautifull and faire to see,
Bedeckt with many precious ftones,
And wrought with burnisht iuory bones;
The walles of iasper richly built,
The ftreets and houfes pau'd and guilt.
- [19] There pleafant wine in riuers flowes,
Vpon the bankes the fuger growes
Enclof'd in reedes of cynamon,
More sweeter than the hony combe:
To see thefe fights and many moe,
Who would not couet there to goe?
- [20] There is no need of moone nor funne,
For there the day and night are one:
No heart can think nor tongue can tell,
The glorious fights for to excell.
The dwellers there are crown'd with gold,
Like kings, most glorious to behold.
- [21] Like louing friends they liue in bliffe,
Like spoufes they the bridegroome kiffe,
Their louing Lord and mafter deare,
Who feafteth them with heauenly cheere.
O God of heauen, of thy good grace,
Conduft vs to that heauenly place!

Printed at London for Henry Goffon dwelling on London Bridge.

PART FOUR

“O Mother deare Hierusalem,”

From *The Glasse of vaine-glorie*, 1585.

OUR third hymn is found in a small duodecimo volume (about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ ins.) of translations from (Ps.-) Augustine by W. Prid, published in London, 1585.¹ Actually the hymn forms the third of three parts, and although it has no separate title-page, it is preceded by a short preface of its own.

1] THE GLASSE OF / vaine-glorie: / Faithfully translated (out of / S. AUGUSTINE his booke, in- / titled, *Speculum peccatoris*) into English, / by W. P.[rid,] *Doctor of the Lawes.* / [cut, with Latin mottoes] / Printed at London by *Iohn Windet,* / dwelling at the signe of the white / *Beare, nigh Baynards Castle.* / 1585. /

Epistle Dedicatory to the Worshipfull Edmunde Hasselwood of Ringstone in the Countie of Lincolne, Esquire. [A1 - A4.]

Preface to the Christian Reader and louing looker in this Glasse of vaine glorie. [16 unnumbered pages.]

The Glasse of vaine glory. [Chap. 1-8; pp. 1-55.]

“Forasmuch as we are trauelers on the highway of this transitory life . . .” [Tr. of the *Speculum peccatoris*.² Quoniam carissime in vita huius saeculi fugientis sumus . . .]

¹ There seem to have been at least four early editions: 1585 (copies in the Brit. Museum and the Huntington Libr.); 1587 (Bodleian), 1593 (Brit. M., and in private possession in New York), 1600 (Harmsworth).

² Pseudo-Augustine, Maurist ed. (Paris 1685) VI, app. coll. 155.

2) The complaint of a sor-/rowfull Soule, that loathing /
his earthly tabernacle, and bewai-/ling the miseryes of this
life, /desireth to be dissolued & to be with /Christ out of S.
Augustines Prayers /the xx chapter therof, faith-/fully trans-
lated into En-/glish verse, by /W. P. / [p. 57.]

"Let me depart in peace,
O Lord, I dayly grone
And loath this life I lead
O help that I were gon
In mischiefes manifolde,
my Pilgrims part I play:
Oh then that I dissolued were,
to liue with Christ for aye."

[10 stanzas of 8 lines; pp. 57-60.]

[Tr. of chap. 21 (xx) of the *Meditations*: Taedet enim me Domine
valde vitae huius, et istius aerumnosae peregrinationis . . .]

3) [No title.] The Translator to the /Reader. / [p. 61-63.]

WHere Nouissima, or the last things (mentioned, as well in
Deut. as by the Sonne of Syrach) are in number foure, to wit,
Death, Iudgement, the Paines of Hell, and the Ioyes of heauen:
and hauing nowe out of S. Augustine, sufficiently intreated of
Death, Iudgement, and Hell, I thought it necessary to deliuer like-
wise (out of the same Author) vnto the repentant Reader, some tast
of the ioyes Caelestial, to inflame his mind with an earnest desire,
and a longing after his heauenly inheritance, and continuing Coun-
trety, the Citie of the great King, that supernal Ierusalem, and
mother of us all. . . . this song of Sion which I haue here trans-
lated (out of S. Augustines booke of Prayers, Chap. 24. into Eng-
lish meeter, quoted and confirmed by the testimonie of the word
(though in deede it be of it selfe nothing els but an abridgement
of sundry places of scripture, curiously collected, and cunningly
couched) together for that purpose, as the learned Reader may easily
perceau: wherefore, I haue as neare as I could, possibly, followed
the verie wordes of mine Authour, contrarie to the minde of the
Poet that sayeth:

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
interpres.

though I could not attaine to his perfection and grauitie, notwith-
standing my hope is, that my will may supply my want therein,
with the godly Reader, that liketh the sence of the minde better
than the sound of the eare. And therefore simply singeth this
Psalme of Sion in this his wofull captiuitie and banishment as
followeth.

The hymn itself, with many Scriptural references in the
margin, is on pp. 64-70, at the end of the book. I give here
a page for page reprint, following the edition of 1585 in spell-
ing (except for a few obvious typographical blunders), punctu-
ation (or the lack of it), and capitalization. But for conven-
ience of reference I have numbered each four-line stanza.

On the pages opposite the hymn I have placed the Latin
text from which it was translated, chapter 25 of the *Medita-
tions* attributed to S. Augustine,¹ often numbered XXIV in
the manuscripts and older copies. Inasmuch as I have not
been able to determine what 16th century edition Prid may
have had before him, I have here followed the *textus receptus*
of the Sommalius collection,² which is, strictly, too late for
him. The still later Maurist text³ introduced new chapter
headings. One curious variation from the usual text deserves
comment. In st. 16, where Prid translates, "and lofty frames
enclosed Castlewise," he must have had some other reading
for "laterculis aureis coopertae." Moreover, the translation
by Thomas Rogers⁴ (1581) agrees with him, "inclosed with
goulden walles."⁵ Prid evidently made use of Rogers' work,
and I have noted, especially in *The Complaint of a sorrowful
Soule* (chap. xx) many striking similarities. The fact that 'F. B.
P.' writes (in stanza 9), "thy tyles are made of beaten goulde"
points to an independent use of the Latin by him, and conse-
quently to separate production, without mutual influence.

¹ For discussion of the origin and composition of these *Meditations*
see Parts Six and Seven of this book.

² Including the *Meditations*, the (pseudo-) *Soliloquies*, and the *Manual*,
1st ed. Douai 1608; my copy Cologne 1631: often reprinted.

³ The great Benedictine or Maurist ed. of the Opera S. Augustini,
(Paris 1685), VI, app. col. 107; reprinted in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 40, 901.

⁴ Thomas Rogers, *A right Christian Treatise, entituled S. Augustines
Prayers, etc.*, London 1581; reprinted, in part, in Part Seven.

⁵ As also the French by Arnauld d'Andilly (1662), "(leurs murailles
sont) couvertes d'un or brilliant come du crystal."

- [1] **O** Mother deare Hierufalem
Iehouas throne on hie,
 O sacred Citie, Queene & wife,
 of Christ eternally.
- [2] My hart doth long to see thy face,
 my foule doth still desire
 Thy glorious beautie to behold
 my mind is set on fire.
- [3] O comely Queene in glorie clad,
 in honour and degree:
 Al faire thou art, exceeding bright
 no spot there is in thee.
- [4] O pieresse dame & daughter faire
 of loue, without annoy
 Triumph, for in thy beautie braue,
 the king doth greatly ioy.
- [5] Thy port, thy shape, thy stately grace,
 thy fauour faire in deede:
 Thy pleasant hew and countenance,
 all others doth excede.
- [6] What is thy welbeloued mate
 thou fairest of thy kind?
 My loue is white and ruddie both,
 of thousands chiefe assigned.
- [7] For as the pleasant Appletree
 amid the Forest greene
 Surmounts the rest so fares my loue

Capitulum xxv.

Animæ desiderium ad civitatem supernam Hierusalem.

- 1 **M**ater Hierusalem, ciuitas sancta Dei,
 carissima sponsa Christi,
- 2 te amat cor meum, pulchritudinem tuam
 nimium desiderat mens mea.
- 3 **Q**uam decora, quam gloriosa, quam
 generosa tu es: tota pulchra es, *Cant. 4. 7*
 et macula non est in te.
- 4 **E**xulta et lætare, formosa filia principis,
 quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam, *Ps. 45. 11*
- 5 et amauit decorem tuum, speciosus
 forma præ filiis hominum. *Ps. 45. 2*
- 6 *Sed qualis est dilectus tuus ex
 dilecto, o pulcherrima?
 Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus,
 electus ex milibus.*
- 7 *Sicut malus inter ligna siluarum,
 sic dilectus meus inter filios.* *Cant. 2. 3*

- the fonnes of men betweene.
- [8] His shadow me doth couer quite
where vnder I do sit:
His fruite is sweete and pleasant both
my mouth desireth it.
- [9] My welbeloued mate did put,
his hand within my doore:
Therefore in him my Lord & life,
my ioy encreaseth more.
- [10] I fought him in my bed my ioy,
alas for loue I die:
I fought him oft and now behold,
I found him presently.
- [11] Now will I hold him fast in deede
till he bring me vnto
My mothers house and chambers faire
I will not let him go.
- [12] For there his duggs abundantly
I hope to sucke, and there
I shall be sure to rid my selfe
from hunger, thirst, and feare.
- [13] O then thrise happie should my state
in happinesse remaine:
If I might once thy glorious Seate,
and princely place attaine.
- [14] And view thy gallant gates thy wals
thy streates and dwellings wide,
Thy noble troupe of Citizens,
and mightie king beside.
- [15] Of stones full precious are thy towres,

- 8 *Sub umbra illius quem desideravi, ecce laeta sedeo: et fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo.* *Cant. 2. 3*
- 9 *Dilectus meus misit manum suam per foramen, et uenter meus intremuit ad tactum eius.* *Cant. 5. 4*
- 10 *In lectulo meo per noctem quaesui quem diligit anima mea: quaesui et inueni eum.* *Cant. 3. 1*
- 11 *Teneo, nec dimittam illum, donec introducat me in domum tuam, et in cubiculum tuum, gloriosa genetrix mea.* *Cant. 3. 4*
- 12 *Ibi enim dabis mihi ubera tua abundantius et perfectius, et satiabis me satietate mirifica, ita ut nec esuriam neque sitiam in aeternum.* *Cant. 7. 12*
Apoc. 17. 16
- 13 *Felix anima mea, semperque felix in saecula, si intueri meruero gloriam tuam, beatitudinem tuam, pulchritudinem tuam.* *Tob. 13. 20*
- 14 *portas et muros, et plateas tuas, et mansiones tuas multas, nobilissimos ciues tuos, et fortissimum regem tuum, in decore suo.* *13. 21*
- 15 *Muri namque tui ex lapidibus pretiosis.*

- thy gates of Pearles are tolde
 There is that Alleluia sung
 in streates of beaten gold,
 [16] Those stately buildings manifold
 on squared stones do rise:
 With Saphyrs deckt, & lofty frames
 enclosed Castlewife.
- [17] Into the gates shall none approche
 but honest pure and cleane,
 No spot, no filth, no loathsome thing,
 shall enter in (I meane)
- [18] O mother deare Ierusalem
 the comfort of vs all,
 How swete thou art and dilicate
 no thing shall thee befall.
- [19] That here on earth we suffer oft,
 poore wretches that beholde
 This world in sorrow soult, and masse
 of mischiefes manifolde,
- [20] In thee Ierusalem I saye,
 no darkeness dare appeare,
 No night, no shade, no winter foule,
 no time doth alter there.
- [21] No candle there, no moone to shine,
 no glittering starre to lighte,
 But Christ of righteoufnesse the king
 for euer shineth bright,
- [22] The lambe vnspotted white & pure,
 to thee may stand in lieu:

- portae tuae ex margaritis optimis, *Apoc. 21.21*
 plateae tuae ex auro purissimo, *Tob. 13.22*
 in quibus iocundum alleluia
 sine intermissione concinitur.
- 16 Mansiones tuae multae quadris lapidibus
 fundatae, Sapphyris constructae,
 laterculis aureis coopertae; *see my note.*
- 17 In quas nullus ingreditur nisi mundus,
 nullus habitat inquinatus. *Apoc. 21.27*
- 18 (Speciosa facta es, et suavis in deliciis
 tuis, Mater Ierusalem.
 Nihil in te tale.
- 19 quale hic patimur, qualia in hac
 misera uita cernimus.
- 20 Non sunt in te tenebrae, aut nox, *Apoc. 22. 5*
 aut quaelibet diuersitas temporum.
- 21 Non lucet in te lux lucernae, *Apoc. 21.23*
 aut splendor lunae, uel iubar stellarum:
 sed Deus de deo, lux de luce,
 Sol iustitiae semper illuminat te:
- 22 Agnus candidus et immaculatus,
 lucidum et pulcherrimum est lumen tuum.

- Of light so great: thy glorie is
this heauenly King to view
- [23] He is the king of kings beset
amidst his Seruants right,
And they his happie household all
do serue him day and night.
- [24] There, there the quiuers of Angels sing
there the supernall fort:
Of Citizens (that hence are rid
from dangers deepe) do sport,
- [25] There be the prudent Prophets all,
Thapostles six and six,
The glorious martirs on a row
and Confessors betwixt.
- [26] There doth the crew of righteous men
and matrons all consist:
Yong men & maids that here on earth
their pleasures did resist,
- [27] The sheepe & lambs that hardly scape
the snares of death and hell
Triumph in ioy euerlastingly
whereof no tongue can tell,
- [28] And though the glorie of ech one
doth differ in degree,
Yet is the ioy of all alike,
and common: (as wee see)
- [29] Where loue and charitie do raigne
and Christ is all in all

- Sol tuus, claritas tua, et omne
bonum tuum, huius pulcherrimi regis
indeficiens contemplatio.
- 23 Ipse rex regum in medio tui,
et pueri eius in circuitu eius.
- 24 ¶ Ibi hymnidici Angelorum chori, *ex Greg. Mag. Homil. in Evang. 14*
ibi Societas supernorum ciuium.
Ibi dulcis sollempnitas omnium
ab hac tristi peregrinatione
ad tua gaudia redeuntium.
- 25 Ibi Prophetarum prouidus chorus,
ibi duodenus iudex Apostolorum numerus,
ibi innumerabilium Martyrum uictor exercitus,
ibi sanctorum Confessorum sacer conuentus.
- 26 Ibi ueri et perfecti uiri, ibi sanctae mulieres,
quae uoluptates saeculi et serus infirmitatem
uicerunt; ibi pueri et puellae, quae
annos suos sanctis moribus transcenderunt.
- 27 ¶ Ibi sunt oues et agni, qui iam
huius uoluptatis laqueos euaserunt.
Erulant omnes in propriis mansionibus.
- 28 Dispar est gloria singulorum,
sed communis est laetitia omnium.
- 29 Plena et perfecta ibi regnat caritas,
quia Deus est ibi omnia in omnibus.

- Whom they most perfetly behold
in glory spirituall
- [30] They loue they praife they praife they loue
they holy holy, crie:
They neither faint, nor toile, nor ende
but laude continually
- [31] O happie hundred times were I,
If after wretched dayes
I might with listening eares conceaue
those heauenly songes of praife,
- [32] Which to the eternall King, are sung
by heauenly wightes aboue:
By sacred foules and Angels sweete,
to loue the God of loue
- [33] But passing happie were my state
might I be worthy found:
To waite vpon my king my God,
his praises there to founde
- [34] And to enioy my Christ aboue
his fauour and his grace
According to his promise made,
which here I interlace.
- [35] *O father deare (qd he) let them,
whom thou hast put of olde
To me bee there where so I am
my glory to beholde:*
- [36] *Which I with thee afore this worlde
was laid in perfect wise
Haue had from whence the fountaine great
of glory doth arife,*

- quem sine fine uident, et semper uidendo
in eius amore ardent.
- 30 *Amant et laudant, laudant et amant.
Omne opus eorum laus Dei,
sine fine, sine defectione, sine labore.*
- 31 *(Felix ego, et uere in perpetuum felix,
si post resolutionem huius corpusculi
audire meruero illa cantica
caelestis melodiae,*
- 32 *quae cantuntur ad laudem regis aeterni,
ab illis supernae patriae ciuibus,
beatorumque spirituum agminibus.*
- 33 *Fortunatus ego nimiumque beatus,
si et ego ipse meruero cantare ea,
et assistere regi meo, Deo meo, et duci meo,*
- 34 *et cernere eum in gloria sua,
sicut ipse polliceri dignatus est, dicens:*
- 35 *Pater, uolo ut quos dedisti mihi Ioh. 17. 24
sint mecum, ut uideant claritatem meam,*
- 36 *quam habui apud te
ante constitutionem mundi.*

- [37] Again, if any man will serue,
 then let him follow me:
 For where I am (be thou right fure)
 there shall my seruant be
- [38] And still If any man loue me
 him loues my father deare
 Whom I do loue, to him myselfe
 in glory will appeare.
- [39] O lighten thou my hart and mind
 that I may nowe be bolde
 (From faith to faith ascending vp),
 thy glory to behold,
- [40] And so in Sion see my king,
 my God my Lord and all,
 Whom nowe as in a glasse I see,
 then face to face I shall
- [41] O blessed are the pure in heart,
 Their Soueraigne they shall see
 And they most happie heauenly wights
 that of his household be
- [42] Wherefore O Lord dissolue my bonds
 my giues and fetters strong
 For I haue dwelt within the tents
 Of Cedar ouerlong
- [43] And grant, O God, for Christ his sake
 that once deuoide of strife
 I may thy holy hill attaine,
 to dwell in all my life.

37 Et alibi: Qui mihi ministrat, Ioh. 12. 16
 me sequatur, et ubi ego sum,
 illic et minister meus erit.

38 Et iterum: Qui diligit me, diligetur Ioh. 14. 21
 a patre meo, et ego diligam eum,
 et manifestabo ei me ipsum.

[End of Chapter 25 of the *Meditations*.]

[Chapter 26, B. Petri Damiani *Hymnus de Gloria Paradisi*.]

Capitulum xxvj. [=Chap. 27.]

39 Ubi mens deuota deo ad altiorem contemplationis
 gradum ascendit. [Heading in the oldest MSS.]

Laus continua quam facit anima ex contemplatione
 supernæ diuinitatis. [Heading in early printed editions.]

Psalmus. Benedic anima mea Domino, etc.

Laudemus Deum, quem laudant Angeli,
 adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates;

44 cui Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili uoce
 proclamant, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.
 Iungamus uoces nostras uocibus Angelorum
 sanctorum, et communem Dominum
 laudemus pro modulo nostro.

41 Illi enim laudant Dominum purissime
 et incessanter, quia semper inhaerent
 40 contemplationi diuinæ, non per speculum
 et in aenigmate, sed facie ad faciem. . . .

70

- [44] With Cherubins and Seraphins
and holy soules of men:
To fing thy praife O Lord of hostes
for euer and euer, Amen.

FINIS

It will be observed that Prid's direct translation from Chapter 25 closes with stanza 38. The remaining six stanzas (39-44) seem to be loosely based on the opening portion of Chapter 27 (*old XXVI*), which in many early editions of the *Meditations* follows Chapter 25 immediately, the hymn of Damiani *De Gloria Paradisi* (Chap. 26) being omitted.¹ Inasmuch as Prid, in contrast to the author of *Jerusalem thy joys divine*, makes no use of the Damiani hymn, we may assume that it was lacking in the copy from which he translated.

Another puzzling point remains to be noticed. It is strange that stanza 39, especially the last two lines, should so nearly represent, not the usual printed heading of Chapter 27,² but the original heading, which belongs, so far as I know, only to the older manuscript tradition (xi-xv cent.) of the *Liber Supputationum*,³ out of which the later *Liber Meditationum* was formed.⁴ On the preceding page I have given both headings for comparison. As already stated, the still later Maurist edition (1685) introduced entirely new headings, with which we have here nothing to do.

¹ See reprint in Part Eight of this book, and in my *Song of S. Peter Damiani on the Joies and Glory of Paradise*, 1928.

² Found also in MSS. of the *Meditations*: as in Munich Lat. 26334, XV cent., of humanistic, probably Italian origin.

³ And in the only printed tr. of the *Liber Supputationum* which I have been able to find, the early Dutch, *Dat boec der ynniger bedinge des biscops Augustini*, Scoenhoven, 1500. [Gesamtk. der Wiegendr. 2976.]

⁴ See discussion of this development in Part Seven.

The Eleventh Century

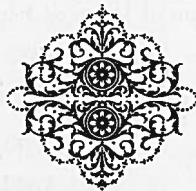
- 961 William (of S. Benignus, Dijon) born at Volpiano, Italy.
973 Death of the **Emperor Otto I**.
983 Death of **Otto II** at Rome (buried in S. Peter's).
Otto III Emperor (983—1002).
990 Arrival of William of Dijon in Gaul.
995? Birth of Johannes Fiscammensis (Jean de Fécamp).

Popes

- 996 Gregory V
999 Sylvester II
- 1001 Foundation of the Benedictine Monastery of Fécamp.
1002 **Henry II Emperor** (1002—1024).
1003 Foundation of the Monastery of Fructuaria, Italy.
1005 Lanfranc born at Pavia: founded Bec 1042; became
Archbishop of Canterbury 1070; died 1089.
1007 Peter Damiani born.
1012 Benedict VIII
1017 Johannes Prior of Fécamp.
1024 **Conrad II Emperor** (1024—1039).
1024 John XIX
1028 Johannes Abbot of Fécamp.
1031 Death of William of Dijon at Fécamp.
1033 Benedict IX
1039 **Henry III Emperor** (1039—1056).
1045 Gregory VI
1049 Leo IX
1049 Consecration of the Church of S. Arnulf at Metz.
1053-1056 Johannes in temporary charge of S. Benignus, Dijon.

The Eleventh Century, Cont.

- 1056, Oct. 5. Death of Henry III; Agnes a widow.
 1056 **Henry IV Emperor**, born 1050; (1056—1106).
 Hildebert of Lavardin born (died 1133).
 1061 William the Conqueror (died 1087).
 1063 Probable date of the Letter, *Dudum quidem . . .* to the
 Empress Agnes (according to Dom Wilmart).
 1071 Dedication of the new Basilica at Monte Cassino.
 1072 Death of Peter Damiani, at Faenza.
 1073 Gregory VII
 1077 Henry IV at Canossa before Hildebrand (Gregory VII).
 Death of the Empress Agnes, Dec. 14, at Rome.
 1078 Death of Johannes at Fécamp, Feb. 22.
 1079 Peter Abélard born (died 1142).
 1082 William de Ros, third abbot of Fécamp (died 1107).
 1086 Victor III
 1088 Urban II
 1090 S. Bernard of Clairvaux born (died 1153).
 1093 Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury (died 1109)
 1106 **Henry V Emperor** (1106—1125).



PART FIVE

“*Libelli de Contemplativa Vita.*”

WE HAVE seen, in the preceding PART FOUR, that the hymn by W. Prid, *O Mother dear Jerusalem*, was translated directly from the 25th chapter of a book known as the *Meditations of S. Augustine*, and it is also evident that the other two ballads, reprinted in PARTS TWO and THREE, draw their inspiration, whether directly or indirectly, from the same source. We have now to inquire into the origin, composition, and literary development of this famous book, until in its final form it came into the hands of our 16th century writers, and furnished the devotional background of these English songs and ballads.

The *Liber Meditationum* belongs to that great mass of apocryphal writings,¹ which the piety of the later middle ages grouped under the patronage of the great name of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (354-430), and must not be confused with the authentic *Liber Confessionum* written by him. Although the *Meditations* are regularly attributed to him in 14th and 15th century manuscripts, and were printed as his in all early editions of his works, the fact that they are never found in manuscripts older than the 11th century should alone have aroused suspicion, and when we observe that they contain quotations from Gregory the Great and other Fathers later than Augustine, the suspicion amounts to conviction. Even so, the Louvain edition (1585) accepted the work as Augustine's, and its genuineness was not questioned, such is the force of tradition, until Mabillon published, in 1675,² an account of a manuscript of the 11th century, which evidently preserved the original form of the work. In this early copy, nearly contemporary with the life of the author, there is, as we should expect, no mention of the name of Augustine.

¹ Maurist ed. of Aug., 1685, VI, App.; in Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. 40.

² *Analecta vetera*, Paris 1675, I, 161 sqq.; reprinted in P. L. 147, 445.

This precious volume still exists, now number 245 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Metz. It is a curiously shaped book, quite long and rather narrow (about 5 x 15 ins.), bound at present in a dull yellow calf, and written on vellum, in single columns of 35 lines each, in a beautifully clear and legible hand, characteristic of the later 11th century. It formerly belonged to the Monastery of S. Arnulf in Metz, and consists for the most part of a collection, or rather a selection, of the writings of an author, long neglected and almost forgotten,³ Johannes, second abbot of Fécamp in Normandy.

The author's name appears in the signature of a letter at the beginning of the volume, in which he dedicates the work to an imperial patron, an empress, who, as appears from the letter, has become a nun after the death of Henry her husband, and is devoting herself both to active works of charity and to the quiet life of contemplation. She has travelled much through Italy, visiting the holy places, and has made generous gifts to the poor and to the churches. The author had some time previously prepared for her use a short selection of quotations from the fathers concerning the life of a faithful widow; but the book which he is now sending at her request is concerned, he tells us, with the life of DIVINE CONTEMPLATION, the LOVE OF CHRIST, and THAT SUPERNAL JERUSALEM, which is the mother of all the faithful. In this compilation she will find the sweet words of CELESTIAL THEORIE,⁴ which must be read with due reverence and pondered with holy fear. And as if by some premonition of the fate which was to befall his book in later years, the author begs of his imperial patron that in case others wish to have a copy of his work, they should transcribe it exactly, neither adding nor subtracting aught, after the manner of careless scribes or irresponsible editors.

I have space here to quote, from the Metz manuscript, only the pertinent portions of this interesting letter.⁵

³ Brief notice by Rivet, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, VIII (1747) 48-57.

⁴ *Œwpta*, Dei 'visio,' the mystical 'contemplation' of God.

⁵ Given nearly complete by Mabillon, *op. cit.*

[Metz 245, f° 8^v - 11^r]

DUDUM QUIDEM DOMINA IMPERATRIX TIBI petere placuit, ut ex scripturis colligerem luculentos breuesque sermones, in quibus iuxta legem ordinis tui absque graui labore discere posses normam bene uiuendi . . . Denique post obitum reuerendę memorię domni Heinrici clarissimi sapientisque imperatoris quondam uiri tui, laudabile propositum laboriosę uiduitatis totis amplexa est uiribus; et quamquam nobilitas, opes et ętas ad repetendum thalamum te inuitarent, noluisti tamen cor tuum inclinare ad uerba hominum pro ueris falsa cantantium; sed erecta sursum accinctis lumbis stetit fortiter supra pedes tuos, ut contemptis illecebris carnis et mundi seruias Christo domino in castitate et ceteris nobilibus matronis prębeas dignum imitationis exemplum. . . . Cognitis itaque piis desideris cordis tui, mox operam dedi, et non nullas ex opusculis patrum sententias celeriter deflorauit, ut ueridica ubique tecum habeas documenta, quę rectum plenius ostendant iter per quod fidelis uidua iuste et pie incedere debeat. . . . Nonne mulier hęc totius uenerationis digna est, quę diuitiis et honoribus prętulit Christi amorem? Et cum esset domina regnorum, humiliavit se et facta est serua pauperum. Taceam quod totam fere peragrauit Italiam, deuotissime uisitans sanctorum reliquias et offerens eis pretiosa donaria, plurimasque faciens elemosinas in urbibus et uicis atque in omnibus locis ad quę orationis gratia properauit. Et quia epistolaris angustia non finit me in eius laudibus diutius immorari, libet et hoc pręterire quod Galliarum partes regressa, similiter pauperes et ecclesias dei larga consolata est manu. . . . Igitur, licet illas paruitalis meę defloratiunculas quarum superius memini saluti tuę posse sufficere arbitrer, tamen, quia relatione amicorum didici te desiderare et poscere, ut ipse quoque quem de Contemplatione Diuina Christique Amore et de illa Superna Ierusalem omnium fidelium matre editum habeo, tibi scribatur libellus, multum gaudet, fateor, cor meum, et in te

magnificat datorem omnium bonorum deum. Nisi enim, Christo duce, ad altiora conscenderes, ambulans de uirtute in uirtutem, nullo modo ualeres talia petere. . . .

Accipe igitur tu, bona anima, præclarum sanctę uiduitatis exemplar, accipe, quęso, peruigili mente, illud quod expetis meę per Christi gratiam deflorationis opusculum, in quo uidelicet reperies magna ex parte Celestis Theorię dulcia uerba, quę reuerenter legenda sunt et cum timore debito meditanda, ne forte de temeritate iudicetur qui tepidus ac indeuotus acceperit. . . .

His ita necessario præmissis, rogo dilectionem tuam, ut si quolibet inueneris qui libellum hunc uelint habere, moneas eos ut diligenter transcribere et scriptum frequenter relegere, usque ad eo ut aliquid addi uel subtrahi uel immutari non patiantur in eo. Hoc autem dicimus propter incuriam librariorum, qui non solum ueritatem corrumpunt sed etiam mendacia mendaciis iungunt.

Sit deus tecum et confortet te manus eius, ut tamquam pennatum et oculatum animal effecta per dies singulos in utraque proficias uita, modo cum Martha in actiua seruens Christo in membris suis, modo cum Maria in contemplatiua sedens ad pedes domini et intente audiens uerbum ex ore eius, quatinus bene operando et pure contemplando ad illam beatissimam peruenias uisionem, ubi palam de patre loquitur filius. . .

Ego Iohannes ultimus seruorum Christi et qui mecum sunt fratres beatitudinem tuam salutamus in Christo, pia mater pauperum et nobile decus uiduarum. Vale.

Conferuet te in uoluntate sua semper omnipotens trinitas.

Agnes Imperatrix.

Mabillon's identification of the *Domina Imperatrix* to whom Johannes' letter is addressed is undoubtedly correct. She was the Empress Agnes, widow of Henry III of Germany (1039-1066), and mother of the unfortunate Henry IV. The details

of her eventful life may be read in Gregorovius,¹ and in the contemporary chronicles of the period.² Daughter of Duke William IV of Aquitania, to whom once the Lombard crown was offered, she became, after the death of her imperial husband (Oct. 6, 1056), regent for her scarcely six-year old son. Six years later the young boy was forcibly removed from her control by the Bishop of Cologne,³ and the embittered Empress retired to her Bavarian estates. Soon thereafter she took the veil, and a few years later, probably in 1067, came to Rome as a penitent.⁴ During that unsettled period she had sided with the anti-Pope Cadalous, and it was in expiation of this sin of schism that she cast herself weeping at the tomb of the Apostle, from which Damiani raised up the exalted lady and received her confession. His letters to her may still be read,⁵ in which he parades before her eyes the tragic figures of Roman emperors as fit symbols of the transitoriness of all earthly power and glory.

¹ Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, especially Bk. VII, chap. 3, 4, 5 (ed. Stuttgart, 1870).

² In the *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*: Chronicle of Lambert of Hersfeld (d. 1075), vol. III, 134; of Sigebert of Gembloux (d. 1112), vol. VI, 268; of Ekkehard of Aurach near Würzburg (from 1069 to 1125), vol. VI, 198; of Berthold (of the 11th cent.), vol. III, 303; and of the *Annalista Saxo* (of the 12th cent.), vol. VI, 693.

³ Lambert, anno 1062; Sigebert, anno 1062.

⁴ As the date of Iohannes' letter to the Empress must be put somewhat after the latter's visit to Rome, this date is important, but, unfortunately, the chronicles are not clear. Lambert, after narrating at length the forcible abduction of the young king in 1062, adds: *Imperatrix nec filium sequi nec iniurias suas iure gentium expostulare uoluit, sed in propria recedens, privata deinceps aetatem agere proposuit. Nec multo post taedium passa aerumnarum saeculi, domesticis quoque erudita calamitatibus, . . . cogitavit saeculo renunciare; statimque ad explendum quod cogitauerat praeceps abisset, nisi in ea impetum spiritus amici maturioribus consiliis inhibuissent.* Sigebert would seem to imply that the journey to Rome followed soon after the loss of her son: *Hanno episcopus Coloniensis consilio primorum regni indigne ferentium per Agnetem matrem imperatoris Heinrici regnum non uiriliter gubernari, puerum uolenter et industrie captum sub tutela sua accepit, et imperii regimen a matre eius amouit. . . At imperatrix necessitatem uertens in uoluntatem, ut obstrueret os loquentium de se iniqua, non solum regno sed etiam saeculo reiecto, Romae ad limina apostolorum se contulit, ibique usque ad finem uitaе omnibus exemplo et miraculo fuit.* But from what Lambert says (anno 1072), the trip to Rome did not occur until 1066 or 1067, for on

Her remaining years were filled with the pious and austere practices of the *sanctimonialis*. She travelled extensively in Italy, visiting, as the habit of the time was, the sacred places. She was often at Monte Cassino and at Fructuaria, for which monastery she entertained a high regard and to whose third abbot Albertus the conscience-stricken Empress addressed a letter expressing her earnest desire to visit a community, the efficacy of whose intercession assured her of salvation.⁶

We know that she made a number of trips to Germany, but was in Italy and present at the dedication of the new basilica at Monte Cassino under Desiderius (1071)⁷. Two years later she witnessed the coronation of Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII, and three years after that, she was a spectator of the Lateran Synod (Feb. 22, 1076), where she heard, "like a sword through her own heart,"⁸ the words which excommunicated her son the Emperor and forced him to make that humiliating surrender before the imperious Hildebrand at Canossa. The unhappy mother did not long survive the deep disgrace of her son. She died the same year (Dec. 15, 1077),⁹ and was buried in the Chapel of Petronella in St. Peter's,¹⁰ an honor which only she and Otto II (d. 983) of the imperial German family obtained.

July 25, 1072 the King met his mother at Worms as she was returning from Italy, *ubi sex aut eo amplius annos iam demorata fuerat, sub nimia austeritate vitam instituens*. And from Berthold (*anno 1077*) we learn that after taking the veil she remained, in order to correct her son, *aliquantisper in Teutonicis partibus*, before going to Rome.

From the above, I am inclined to date the letter about 1068, rather than 1063, as Dom Wilmart has suggested.

⁵ Damiani, *Opera omnia*, Lib. Epist. VII, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and Opusc. 56.

⁶ Mabillon, *Anal. Vet.* I, p. 161 (quoted from Bibl. Sebusiana, cent. 11, cap. 77). She writes: *Conscientia mea terret me peius omni larva omnique imagine. Ideo fugio per Sanctorum loca, quaerans latibulum a facie timoris huius, nec minimum desiderium est mihi veniendi ad vos, de quibus comperi quia vestra intercessio certa salus est. . . .*

⁷ An account of this brilliant occasion in F. J. E. Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, p. 238. See Leo of Ostia, *Chronica monasterii Cassinensis*, in *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.* VII.

⁸ Berthold, *anno 1076*.

⁹ *Ibidem*, *anno 1077*.

¹⁰ An epitaph cited by Maphæus Vegius, in Baronius, *anno 1077*, cannot belong to that period.



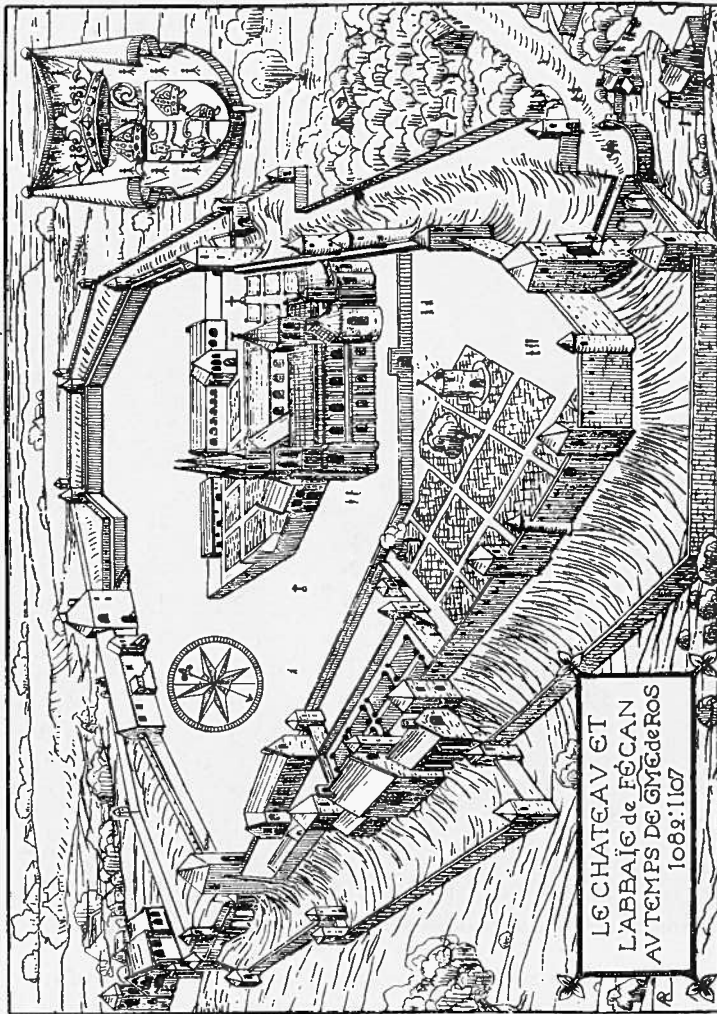
Emperor Henry III and Agnes, his wife, from a Book of the Gospels belonging to the Emperor, now at Upsala, Sweden.

Johannes Fiscamnensis

As to the writer of the letter and author of the *Libelli*, who signs himself IOHANNES, Mabillon suggested two possibilities: one, Johannes Gualbertus, the austere ascetic of Vallombrosa (992-1073);¹ the other, Johannes Fiscamnensis. All circumstances connected with the literary tradition point unmistakably to the latter, and Mabillon's decision in his favor has recently found the support of a not unworthy successor to the great Benedictine scholar.²

Johannes of Fécamp (Fiscampi; Fiscamnensis) belonged to that circle of able and energetic churchmen, Lombards by birth, who, after the disorders of the tenth century, did so much by their labors during the eleventh for the revival of learning and the reformation of western monasticism, helping in this way to prepare for the greater renaissance which was to follow in the twelfth.³ Besides those more particularly dealt with below, we may note among these Lombards such important names as: Peter Damiani (d. 1072), Johannes Gualbertus (d. 1073), Alphanus of Salerno (d. 1085), Hildebrand (d. 1085), Lanfranc, founder of Bec and Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1089), and Anselm, his successor both at Bec and at Canterbury (d. 1109).

Our Johannes was the disciple of a leader among these religious pioneers, Willelmus of Dijon, whom he had followed from Italy into Gaul, under whom he served as Prior of Fécamp, and by whom he was later appointed Abbot of that monastery. This Willelmus must have been a man of vigorous personality and of singular devotion. He was born at Volpiano, not far from Turin in Piedmont, about 961, and came to Gaul thirty years later, where he founded and presided over the



Chateau and Abbey of Fécamp, under the third Abbot, 1082-1107.

¹ Patr. Lat., 146, 971. A popular account of Johannes Gualbertus in Murray, Nevinson, and Carmichael, *Sketches on the old road through France to Florence*, 1904 (1927).

² Dom A. Wilmart, *Jean de Fécamp*, *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, IX (1928) p. 385, an article to which I am greatly indebted.

³ Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the 12th century*, 1927.

Monastery of S. Benignus at Dijon. Requested by Richard of Normandy to restore Fécamp which had fallen into decay, he acted as its first abbot; he also reformed S. Arnulf at Metz; and he founded on his paternal estates near Volpiano the Monastery of Fructuaria (1003),⁴ which he also dedicated to S. Benignus. Although the ill-fated King Arduin was his maternal uncle, and after his defeat sought sanctuary in Fructuaria, died, and was buried there (1015), yet Willelmus lived on friendly terms with the Emperor Henry II (1002-1024), from whom, as also from Conrad II, Fructuaria received special grants and diplomas. Willelmus had under his control no less than forty monastic establishments and more than 1200 monks. It had been his intention to end his days in his native Fructuaria, but death overtook him at Fécamp, and he died January 1st, 1031, "to the grief of his friends, and the joy of the angels," as Rodulphus his biographer says.⁵ He was buried in the larger Basilica of Fécamp, and the following inscription, found according to Mabillon in 1638, is worth quoting, if only for the *Nova Ierusalem* of the last line:

ABBATEM PLENUM, LECTOR, COGNOSCE DIERUM,
NOMINE WILLELMUS HIC RECUBARE SENEM;
ISTE LOCI PRIMUS PASTOR PRAEFULSERAT HUIUS,
QUO STATUIT MULTOS, DANTE DEO, MONACHOS.
ANNI* PRIMA DIES ANIMAE NOVA CLARUIT EIUS,
CUI NOVA IERUSALEM OBVIA TOTA FUIT.

* Instead of *iam* (Ann. S. Ben.) which makes neither sense nor metre.

⁴ Bædeker's *Northern Italy* (1913), p. 65. Volpiano is a little beyond and to the north of Settimo Torinese (7 miles north of Turin) on the road to Ceresole Reale; 13 m. San Benigno, with the Abbazia of Fructuaria; from Rivarolo Canavese (21 m.) by omnibus to the ducal chateau of Agliè. [May this be connected with the name *D'alye*, given to our Johannes?] See also Ugelli, *Italia sacra*, vol. IV (under *Ivrea*), col. 1066.

⁵ *Vita S. Willelmi abbatis Divionensis auctore Glabro Rodulpho monacho*, Annales Ord. S. Bened., anno 1031: *Anno igitur Nativitatis Dominicae M.XXXI. a nativitate quoque ipsius LXX, et ab adventu illius in Gallias de Italia XXXXI, regnante Conrado imperatore, in Francia nihilominus Roberto rege, die Dominicae Circumcisionis venerabili, vi. feria, mane, dum aurora supervenientis diei pelleret tenebras, e mundo transiit a sancto istius Dei amici corpore anima felix et beata, lucerna videlicet orbis, ad sempiternam ac deificam lucem, suis lugentibus sed angelis laetantibus.*

Among the disciples of this Willelmus who had followed him into Gaul, it so happened that there were two by the name of Johannes. The first, and older by a generation, was also devoted to the contemplative life, and was called Johannes 'Homo Dei'. To him Willelmus entrusted the newly founded monastery Fructuaria.⁶ The other, and younger Johannes, called also Johannelinus on account of his short stature, is the author of the work in which we are now interested. A Lombard like his master, Johannes must have been born toward the close of the 10th century (c. 995), as he seems to have been quite old when he died, a few months after his imperial patroness, on Feb. 22, 1078. The sources for his life are scanty: a few dates in the Annals of Fécamp,⁷ some meager facts from the Catalogue of its Abbots,⁸ and a short account in the *Vita altera Willelmi*⁹ are all that we have. From the Annals of Fécamp:

- 998 Obiit Ricardus dux Normannorum, succedit Ricardus filius eius.
1001 Willelmus primus abbas Fiscampi.
1026 Obiit Ricardus dux Normannorum, succedit frater eius.
1028 Johannes abbas Fiscampi secundus.
1035 Obiit Robertus dux Normannorum, succedit Willelmus frater eius spurius.
1067 Willelmus dux Normannorum rex fit Angliae, occiso Haroldo.
1078 Obiit Johannes abbas Fiscampi, succedit Willelmus abbas tertius.

From the Catalogue of the Abbots of Fécamp the following:

- I. Willelmus abbas monasterium rexit per annos 29, in eodem sepultus in Capella S. Mariae Magdalenae.

⁶ The two were confused in the notes and index of the *Annales O. S. B.* (anno 1031), but a recently published study by Dom Wilmart, *Jean, l'homme de Dieu* (Revue Mabillon, Jan.-Mar., 1925), not only clears the matter up, but proves that this Johannes is the author of a treatise, *De ordine vitae et morum institutione*, which has long been assigned to S. Bernard of Clairvaux (Patr. Lat. 184, 561). (The *Vita altera Willelmi* (Annal. O. S. B., 1031; Patr. Lat. 162, 827) speaks of his devotion to the contemplative life, and adds: *Johannes vero, Homo Dei sanctam ob conversationem vocatus, a domno patre Willelmo Fructuariensi cenobio abbas est institutus.* (Probably from 1014 to 1048.)

⁷ ⁸ *Chronicon Fiscamnense*, Patr. Lat. 147, 480.

⁹ Already quoted in footnote 6 above.

II. Iohannes Dalye, Italia progenitus, Hierusolymam profectus, ibique diu detentus in carcere, ad monasterium rediit, obiitque anno 51^{mo}, sepultus in Capella B. Iohannis Baptistae.

The account in the *Vita altera Willelmi* was written, as the author quaintly puts it, "while Johannes was still inhabiting this house of clay," and from it we learn that when Duke Robert of Normandy begged Willelmus to appoint an abbot for Fécamp, he selected Johannes, one of his own monks, who had been its Prior (from about 1017 to 1028):

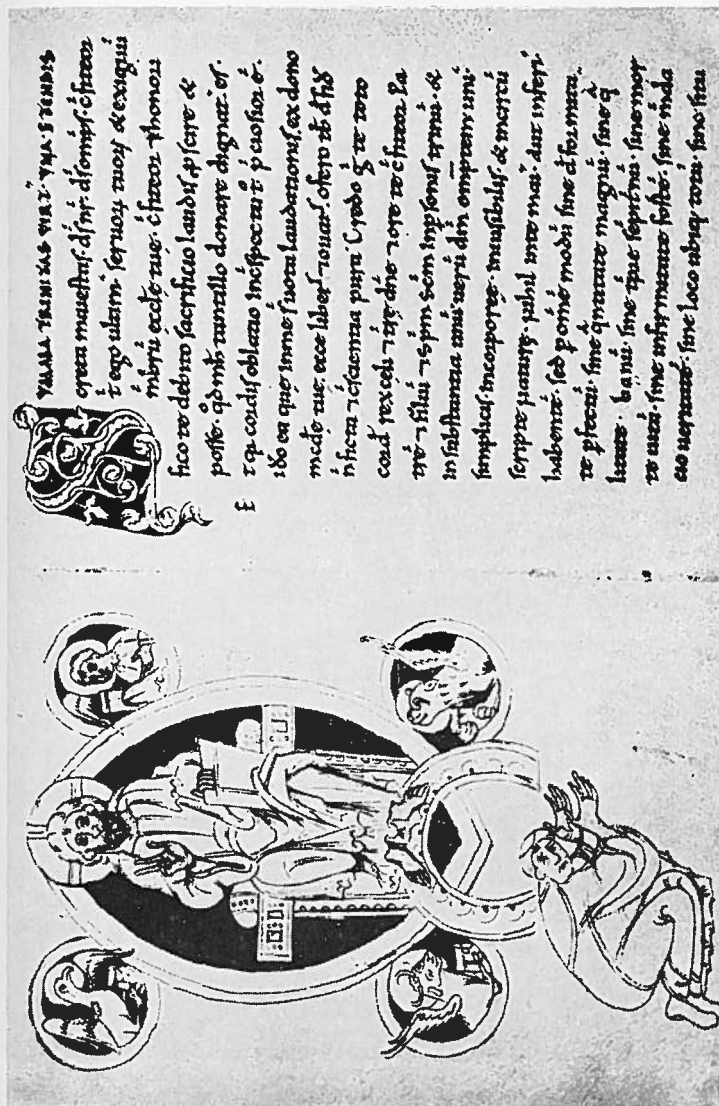
Ad cuius petitionem quendam sibi valde dilectum monachum eiusdem loci priorem, nomine Iohannem, constituit abbatem, licet eum alibi magis optasset praeficere.

Hic Italia partibus Ravennae ortus, litteris eruditus ac medicinali arte per ipsius patris iussionem edoctus, religiosae conversationis eius, doctrinae quoque ac omnium virtutum ipsius prae cunctis aliis exstitit imitator studiosus. Qui ab exilitate corporis Iohannelinus diminutivo nomine est dictus; sed humilitatis, sapientiae, discretionis, et ceterarum tanta in eo refulsit gratia, ut, sicut Sanctus Gregorius in libro Dialogorum de Constantio Presbytero, ita in hoc mirum esset intuentibus, in tam parvo corpore gratia Dei tanta dona exuberare. Sed quia adhuc domum habitat luteam, sufficit hoc tantum dixisse.

It is possible that the Life of Willelmus from which this passage is taken was written about 1052, when for a brief interval after the death of Alinardus who was both Archbishop of Lyons and abbot of Dijon,¹⁰ Johannes had temporary control over the parent house. Other monasteries were under his care, chief among which was the famous S. Michaelis in periculo maris (Mont-S.-Michel), later known as the 'City of Books,' of which books a portion are now at Avranches.¹¹

¹⁰ Annales S. Benigni Divionensis (Mon. Germ. Hist. Script., III, p. 37, anno 1052): *Hoc anno obiit dominus Alinardus Lugdunensis archiepiscopus et abbas istius ecclesiae; cui successit Iohannes abbas Fiscamnensis et monachus huius loci; postea dimisit abbatiam et fuimus sine abbate per tres annos. 1056. Hoc anno ordinatus Adalbero abbas Divionensis ab Harduino Lugdunensi episcopo, vi. Id. Apr.*

¹¹ Among them, the earliest copy of the treatise by Johannes Homo Dei, mentioned in footnote 6 (Avranches 58, s. XI). Among the heavy losses sustained by this famous library may well have been full copies of the writings of Johannes of Fécamp.



Manuscript of Barcelona, S. Maria de Ripoll, 214, of the 12-13th cent.

Incipit libellus de scripturis et uerbis patrum collectus ad eorum presertim utilitatem qui contemplatiue uite sunt amatores.

Psl. Deus misereatur nostri.

Summa trinitas, uirtus una, et indiscreta maiestas . . .



Photostat from the Metz MS, 245, sæc. XI, f^o 11^v-12^r, with title to Lib. I

The Writings of Johannes Fiscamnensis

The Metz MS. of Johannes is evidently a collection, made toward the end of the 11th century by some one, perhaps a pupil, who had in his possession a part but not all of the author's writings. It omits some work which must be ascribed to Johannes, and contains certain portions which are doubtfully his, and some others certainly extraneous. After the dedicatory epistle to the Empress, from which I have quoted, the bulk of the volume divides into two books (Mabillon's *Libellus prior et alter*), of such strikingly similar contents, thought and phraseology, that, as Mabillon already saw, neither could have been produced by a mere borrowing or excerpting of passages from the other, but both are the work of one and the same person, a two-fold recension of similar material. Each *Libellus* is divided into three parts with separate headings, and each is followed by a pendent chain of prayers (*Preces, Orationes*), four being added to the first book, while a longer and more heterogeneous series follows the second.¹

Book I, the *Libellus de scripturis et uerbis patrum de contemplativa uita*, is the work copied and sent to the Empress at her request. This is the book which later became the famous *Liber Meditationum S. Augustini*, and the story of its literary development will furnish the material for PART SIX (*Liber Supputationum*), and PART SEVEN of this book.

Book II, the *Libellus alter* of Mabillon, is, apart from its preservation in the MSS. enumerated on p. 13, an unknown

¹ A third work which must also be assigned to Johannes is not contained in the Metz MS. and lies so far outside the scope of this book, that I can merely mention it here. This is the so-called *Confessio fidei*, published by Chiffet (Dijon, 1656) from a codex Boërius (now Montpellier, Univ. 309, s. XI), under the title *Albini confessio fidei* (Patr. Lat. 101, 1027), a work in four parts which Mabillon, misled paleographically, ascribed to Alcuin. Part I of this *Confessio fidei* equals the Ps.-Augustinian *Speculum* (P. L. 40, 967), and in many MSS. the Second Part is also found, but was printed only in the very rare Cracow ed. of Augustine (c. 1475), a fact not noted in the *Gesamt. der Wiegendrucke*, Nr. 2862. I am greatly indebted to M. Jacques Rosenthal of Munich for permission to examine the perfect copy of this book now in his possession.

work, but it corresponds in part to a scarce little book, the *Confessio theologica* (Paris 1539), of which I shall have more to say in the next part of this book.

In several places Johannes describes his work as a *defloratio*, a culling of passages from the Scriptures and the Fathers "for the use of those especially who are lovers of the contemplative life." These passages are taken largely from Augustine, Gregory, and Alcuin; yet the work is by no means a mere *cento*. The author's definite purpose to produce a useful manual for the practice of the contemplative life fuses and binds the whole together, and gives a warmth of feeling, a fervor of devotion, and a coherence of parts which is far above the mere stringing together of quotations.

The work of Johannes is clearly that of a mystic, and the special object on which he loves to dwell and to which he devotes most of *Part II* in the First Book, and much of *Oratio IX* of the Second (*Oratio decora*, which is equal to *Part III* of the *Confessio theologica*), is "ILLA SUPERNA IERUSALEM, MATER NOSTRA." This is that heavenly city according to whose perfect pattern Augustine had built his *Civitas Dei*, intended to take the place of the decaying *Imperium Romanum* whose downfall he had lived to see. To him it was the seat and dwelling-place of God, eternal in the heavens, the source from which his spirit was derived and its everlasting home. Its very name signifies 'vision of peace,' as in the old 7th century hymn: *Urbs beata Ierusalem, dicta 'pacis visio.'* By a process of allegorical interpretation this heavenly city was confused and identified with the earthly paradise of Genesis on the one hand, and on the other it became the antitype of the Church on earth, in such a way that, by the practice of meditative prayer and mystical contemplation, the soul could anticipate and, as it were, could enjoy here and now some foretaste of that ineffable bliss which was believed to flow from the immediate and beatific vision of him *qui est deus benedictus in saecula saeculorum*.

Manuscripts of Johannes

Our knowledge of the writings of Johannes of Fécamp is not limited to the Metz manuscript alone, although that is clearly the oldest and best. Omitting for the time being the numerous later manuscripts of the *Liber supputationum* and the much smaller number of the *Liber meditationum*,¹ I give here a list of those which belong to the direct tradition of the writings of Johannes, as far as they are at present known.² After which I will give a complete analysis of *Metz 245*.

- A St. Arnulf, now Metz 245, XI, (*fully described herein*).
- C Paris, *Bibl. nat.* 3088, XI, f° 1-6, a fragment containing the last few pp. of the *Conf. theol.* (Bk. II, *Orat. ix*).
- B Bec, now Paris 13593, XII, f° 40-51, containing Bk. I, *Preces i, ii, iii, iv* (*Med. c. 35, 36, 37¹, 37²*).
- R Ranshofen, now Munich, *Clm.* 12607, XII, f° 57, a part only of the *Letter* (balance lost).
- O Offemont, now Munich, *Clm.* 11352, XII (French origin), f° 78-84, part of Bk. I, *Part iii* (*Med. c. 31, 32, 33*); f° 86-100, Bk. II, *Part ii* (more nearly complete than in *Metz 245*).³
- Z Zwettl (Austria) 225, XII, (*Cat. Xenia Bernardina*, II), f° 66-95, *Letter*, and Bk. I, *Part i* (*Med. c. 12-17*).
- V Vatican 1058, XIII, f° 1-23, extracts from Bk. I.
- M Metten (Bavaria), now Munich, *Clm.* 8215, XIII, f° 31-116, *Letter*, Bk. I and II (with omissions, and incomplete at end).
- P Prüel (Bavaria), now Munich, *Clm.* 12105, XIV, f° 134-259, *Letter*, Bk. I and II (nearest to *Metz*).
- E Escorial (Spain), b. III, 3, XV.

¹ See lists in PARTS VI and VII of this book.

² I am indebted to Dom Wilmart for information as to Z, V, E; the others I have seen. In the course of an examination of those in the *Staatsbibliothek*, Munich, I was able to add two (M and O) to the list as printed by Dom Wilmart in Castel, *Méditations et Prières de Saint Anselme* (1923) p. xi; and I have no doubt that more are in existence.

³ Dom Wilmart informs me that *Laon 172*, XIV, and *Paris 2972* contain portions of the *Conf. theol.*, i, ii, and resemble *Munich 11352*.

[Dedicatory epistle to the Empress Agnes]

f°8^v Dudum quidem domina imperatrix . . .

[LIBELLUS PRIOR, Pars prima]

11^v *Incipit libellus de scripturis et verbis patrum collectus ad eorum presertim utilitatem qui contemplative vite sunt amatores.*
Psl. *Deus misereatur nostri.*

Summa trinitas, virtus una, et indiscreta maiestas . . .

Explicit de contemplatione divina pars prima.

[Pars secunda]

16^r *Incipit pars secunda de Christi amore simul et de illa superna hierusalem matre nostra.* Psl. *Eruclavit.*

Spes mea Christe deus hominum tu dulcis amator . . .

Explicit pars secunda theoretice speculationis.

[Pars tertia]

20^v *Incipit pars tertia ubi mens devota deo ad altioem contemplationis gradum ascendit.* Psl. *Te deum laudamus.* Psl. *Benedicite omnia.* Psl. *Laudate dominum.*

Benedic anima mea domino et omnia que intra me sunt . . .

[PRECES: i]

27^v *Incipiunt preces ardentis desiderii, ut fidelis anima solum Christum possit amare; quod bonus et malus amor non se simul in uno capiunt pectore, sicut scriptum est: Nemo potest duobus dominis servire.* Psl. *Iubilare deo omnis terra.*

Iesu nostra redemptio amor et desiderium . . .

[ii]

29^v *Hic peccatrix anima gemit nimis et dolet, videns terram sine aqua, et idcirco pre desiderio lacrimarum preces fundit ad dominum.* Psl. *Quem ad modum.*

Christe domine, verbum patris qui venisti . . .

[iii]

31^v *Hic optat ardore nimio mens pia et datorem omnium bonorum deum humiliter rogat, ut divine gratie fulta presidio hoc constanter agere possit quod apostolus precepit, dicens: Si conresurrexistis cum Christo, que sursum sunt querite, ubi Christus est in dextera dei sedens; que sursum sunt sapite, non que super terram.* Psl. *Quam dilecta.*

Iesu domine, Iesu pie, qui mori dignatus es . . .

[iv]

33^r *Vir desideriorum et celestium contemplator, presentia fastidens, futura desiderans, gemit ex fundo cordis et plorat cotidie dolens se ibi non esse ubi dilectum suum revelata facie mereatur videre, sicut scriptum est: Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.* Psl. *Iubilare domino.*

Christe domine, virtus et sapientia patris, qui ponis . . .

35^r *Des. . . . Ipsum laudo, benedico atque adoro, qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.*[On 35^{r-v}, and on two smaller inserted folios of different vellum 36^{r-v} and 37^{r-v}, there has been added in another hand:*Oratio valde bona: Deus pater piissime . . .]*

[LIBELLUS ALTER, Pars prima]

38^r *Lege et istam aliam orationem que simili modo de divina contemplatione edita est. Nam multa repperientur in ista que in illa superiore non sunt.*

Adesto mihi verum lumen deus pater omnipotens . . .

Explicit pars prima theologie de divinitate patris et filii et spiritus sancti. [Equals the printed *Confessio theologica*, Part I.]

[Pars secunda]

42^v *Incipit <secunda> de humanitate domini nostri Iesu Christi qui nos redemit pretio sanguinis sui.*

Hucusque omnipotens deus trinitas cordis mei . . .

[This second part, here incomplete, is found complete in Munich, Clm. 11352, f° 86-100; and in *Conf. theol.*, Part II.]

[Pars tertia]

44^v *Incipit tertia in qua mens devota nimio amore flagrans, Christo inhians, Christo suspirans, Christum quem solum amat videre desiderans, nihil dulce habet nisi gemere et flere, nisi fugere tacere et quiescere, dicens: Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbe, et volabo et requiescam.*

Spes mea Christe deus hominum tu dulcis amator . . .

Des. . . . tibi honor, virtus et fortitudo, domino deo nostro in secula seculorum. Amen.[This third part is not found in the *Confessio theologica*.]

[ORATIONES]

47^v I. *Isti versiculi ad excitandum compunctionem de scripturis collecti sunt.* [Ed. D. Wilmart, Rev. d'Ascétique et de Mystique IX, 389.]48^v II. *De vitiis et virtutibus.*55^v III. *Apologetici sermonis brevis et vera responsio.*56^v IV. *Humilis confessio peccatoris et indigni laudatoris.*
Ignosce domine, ignosce pie . . . [= *Med. c. 34.*]57^r V. *Quid sit iubilum.*57^r VI. *Oratio ante missarum celebrationem dicenda.*

[Ed. by Dom Wilmart, Revue Bénédictine XXXIX (1927) 317.]

59^r VII. *Oratio Willelmi Abbatis in commemorationem S. Augustini.*60^v VIII. *Confessio humilis peccatoris in tempore angustie et infirmitatis.*
Miserere domine, miserere pie . . . [= *Med. c. 38.*]

- 61^v IX. *Incipit oratio decora compilata per contemplationem, vel meditatio theorica.*
Spes mea Christe deus hominum tu dulcis amator . . .
- 83^v Des. . . . Sit laus, sit benedictio, sit gratiarum actio summę et individue trinitati per infinita et indefessa et immortalia secula seculorum. Amen.
[This appears as Part III of the printed *Confessio theologica.*]
- 84^r X. [without special heading]
Domine deus meus, da cordi meo te desiderare . . .
- 93^r Des. . . . secundum multitudinem tuarum complacere miserationum per Iesum Christum salvatorem meum qui cum patre in tua unitate vivit et regnat in s. s. amen.
[= *Meditationes ad Patrem, etc.*; = Anselm, *Orat.* 10, 2, 14; = also, *Liber Meditationum*, c. 1-9.]
- 93^r XI. *Gratiarum actiones pro beneficiis misericordię divine.*
Spes mea Christe deus hominum tu dulcis amator . . .
- 98^r Des. . . . qui est deus benedictus cum patre et sancto spiritu in secula seculorum. Amen.
[=Ps.-Anselm, *Med.* XVIII. Rev. d'Ascét., etc., 8 (1927) 277.]
- 98^v-102^v [a number of short prayers, etc., not mentioned by Mabillon.]
- 103^v XII. *Ad sanctam Mariam.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 51.]
- 104^r XIII. *Ad Christum.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 20; also, *Med.* c. 41.]
- 106^r XIV. *Ad sanctum Benedictum.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 72.]
- 107^v XV. *Pro amicis.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 23.]
- 108^v XVI. *Pro inimicis.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 24.]
- 109^v XVII. *Alia oratio.* [Anselm, *Med.* II.]
Terret me vita mea . . .
[Wilmart, *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 8 (1927) 272.]
- 111^r XVIII. *Ad sanctam Mariam.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 50.]
- 112^r XIX. *Ad sanctam Mariam.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 52.]
- 115^r XX. *Ad sanctum Iohannem Baptistam.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 63.]
- 116^v XXI. *Ad sanctum Petrum.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 64.]
- 118^r XXII. *Ad sanctum Iohannem Evangelistam.* [Anselm, *Orat.* 67.]
- 119^v On the last page (badly rubbed) added after the mark, *Liber sancti Arnulfi*, is an anonymous prayer: *Credo te deum meum trinum et unum* . . . [Wilmart, *La Vie Spirituelle*, 17, suppl. 142.]

Note. The entire codex is composed of XIV numbered quaternions, all of 8 folios each, except: II, from which one folio between 17^r, 18^r has been cut out; IV, of five regular folios and two smaller inserted ones, 36^{r-v} and 37^{r-v}, of different vellum; VII, of 9 folios; and one additional shorter final folio, 119^{r-v}.

Manuscripts of Johannes.

¶ The following list of manuscripts, showing a number of additions and changes, is intended to take the place of the list on page 13 of this Part.

I. Of the Metz tradition:

Libellus de scripturis et verbis patrum.

- A St. Arnulf, now Metz 245, XI; complete as described.
- W Vienna 1582, XII; complete, Lib. I, II, Orationes i-viii. Orat. ix, *Oratio decora*, etc. lacking.
- H Heiligenkreuz, now Vienna 1580, XII; complete as above.
- Z Zwettl (Austria) 225, XII-XIII, f° 66^v-95^v; complete.
- M Metten, now Munich *Clm.* 8215, XIII; complete, but with omissions in Lib. II.
- S S. Maria de Ripoll, now Barcelona, Ripoll 214, XII-XIII; complete, Letter, Lib. I, II, Orationes i-viii.
- P Prüel, now Munich *Clm.* 12105, XIV; nearly complete, resembles Ripoll.
- E Escorial, b. III. 3, XV; apparently complete; belonged to D. Antonio Agustin, Archbp. of Tarragona.

II. Portions only of the above tradition:

- R Ranshofen, now Munich *Clm.* 12607, XII, f° 57: a fragment, with part of the *Letter*, balance lost.
- B Bec, now Paris 13593, XII; only the *Preces* of Lib. I.
- O Offemont (Ste.-Croix sous Offemont, near Soissons) now Munich *Clm.* 11352, XII; part of Lib. I, *pars iii*, and Lib. II, *pars ii*, fuller than in Metz 245.
- C Paris 3088, XI; fragment, last few pages of the *Confessio theologica*, *pars iii*, (= *Oratio decora* of Metz 245); see PART VI, p. 13.
- D Paris 1919, XIII; complete copy of *Confessio theologica* as in the printed editions.

III. The "Zwettl" Recension:

G Gaming, now Zwettl 164, XII, f^o 1^v-81^v.

This Zwettl manuscript differs considerably from the Metz tradition, and probably represents an earlier recension of the work of Johannes. The prologue is not addressed to the Empress Agnes; the Parts of Lib. I are four in number; the text of Lib. II shows variation; and the Orationes following Lib. II show a different order, with some not found in Metz 245.

Inc. Aurea gemma datur animę quę sponsa vocatur.
Me lege, me sequere, qui vis pie vivere vere.

Title. Libellus Johannis pauperis Christi collectus de scripturis et verbis patrum ad eorum præsertim utilitatem qui contemplativę vitę sunt amatores.

Prolog. O beata anima quę spiritus sancti . . .

Lib. I. Summa Trinitas, virtus una . . .

Lib. II. Adesto mihi verum lumen . . .

N Melk 765, an 18th century copy of the above, made by Nicolai de Argentina, prior of Gaming.

V Vatican 1058, XIII; a series of much shortened prayers, from a recension similar to the above.

Additional MS of the *Liber Supputationum* (VI, 4).

Florence, Laur. S. Crucis xix, dext. 10, s. XIII.

A printed Italian translation of the *Suspiria*.

Affettuosi Sospiri del Gran Patriarca S. Agostino, nuovamente ritrovato nella Libreria Vaticano, e tradotta nella lingua Toscana dal Padre Arsenio dell' Ascensio Scalzo Agostiano. Venice 1777; with the continuation following Chapter 37.

Cf. PART VI, page 5, and foot-note).

Additional MS of the *Liber Meditationum* (VII, 1).

Rein (Cistercian abbey in Styria, Austria) 157, s. XVI, f^o 1-73. *Meditationes*. *Inc.* Domine deus da cordi meo. Reported by Dr. Hermann Maschek (Klosterneuburg).

PART SIX

"Liber Supputationum"

FROM the description of the Metz MS. in PART FIVE we have seen that it contains two books of Johannes' writings, a *Libellus prior* and a *Libellus alter*. Although it is likely that the second book is the earlier of the two in point of composition, yet I will follow the manuscript order and discuss first the development of the *Libellus prior*, which is the work dedicated to the Empress Agnes, into the *Liber Supputationum*, returning after that to a consideration of the printed form in which we find the *Libellus alter*, and reserving for PART SEVEN the final changes by which the *Liber Supputationum* became, late in the 14th century, the well-known *Liber Meditationum S. Augustini*, from the 25th chapter of which W. Prid translated his hymn, "O Mother dear, Jerusalem."

The *Liber Supputationum* (or *Supplicationum*, as some MSS. call it) is practically the same as the *Libellus prior* of Johannes (Metz 11^r-35^r); it retains the same division into three *Partes* with the same headings as before, but it reduces the *Preces* to three by combining the Third and the Fourth into one, omitting in so doing about one folio of the original text (in Metz 33^r-33^v), and replacing the original heading of the Second Prayer with that of the Fourth, which occurred within the omitted portion. This gives six *Partes* in all, often numbered continuously from I to VI. The Epistle to the Empress is omitted, as being of no further moment, and in its place a brief *Invocatio ad S. Trinitatem* precedes the opening lines of *Pars I*. With the loss of the letter went also the only reference to the name of the author, and the work is henceforth usually ascribed to Augustine, doubtless because of the many direct quotations from his authentic works which it contains.

The above will be made clear by comparing the following outlines of Johannes' first book and a typical *Liber Supputationum*. For this purpose I have selected *Munich, Clm. 3015*, a carefully written paper copy of the 15th cent. from Andechs.

Libellus de Scripturis et Verbis Patrum
de Contemplativa Vita. [Metz 245, f° 11v-35r]

Pars I. <De contemplatione divina.> [= Med. c. 12-17]
Psl. Deus misereatur nostri.

Summa trinitas, virtus una, et indiscreta maiestas . . .

Pars II. De Christi amore simul et de illa superna
Ierusalem matre nostra. [= c. 18-25]
Psl. Eructavit.

Spes mea Christe deus, hominum tu dulcis amator, . . .

Pars III. Ubi mens devota deo ad altiorem contemplationis
gradum ascendit. Psl. Te deum [= c. 27-33]
laudamus. Benedicite omnia. Laudate dominum.

Benedic anima mea domino et omnia que intra me sunt . . .

Preces:

(i) *Preces ardentis desiderii, ut fidelis anima
solum Christum possit amare, etc.* [= Med. c. 35]
Psl. Iubilare deo omnis terra.

IESU nostra redemptio, amor et desiderium . . .

(ii) *Hic peccatrix anima gemit nimis ac dolet,
videns terram sine aqua, etc.* [= Med. c. 36]
Psl. Quem ad modum.

Christe domine, verbum patris qui venisti . . .

(iii) *Hic optat ardore nimio mens pia, et datorem omnium
bonorum deum humiliter rogat, etc.*
Psl. Quam dilecta. [= 1st half of c. 37]

IESU domine, Iesu pie, qui mori dignatus es . . .

*Des. . . ubi non est arcus, scutum, gladius et bellum, sed est sum-
ma et certa securitas, et secunda tranquillitas, et tranquilla io-
cunditas, et iocunda felicitas, et felix eternitas, et eterna beati-
tudo, et beata tui visio et laudatio in secula seculorum. Amen.*

(iv) *Vir desideriorum et celestium contemplator,
presentia fastidians, futura desiderans,
gemit ex fundo cordis, etc.* [= 2nd half of c. 37]
Psl. Iubilare domino.

Christe domine, virtus et sapientia patris, qui ponis nubem
ascensum tuum, qui ambulas super pennas ventorum . . .

*Des. . . quem in terris positus tota virtute dilexi, tota karitate
amplexus sum, toto amore inhesi, ipsum laudo, benedico at-
que adoro, qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Libere supputationum beati Augustini episcopi de divi-
ni scripturis collectus ad eorum presertim utilitatem
qui contemplative vite sunt amatores. [Munich, Clm. 3015]

Psl. Deus misereatur nostri.

Introductory prayer: [= Med. c. 11]

Te deum patrem ingenitum, te filium unigenitum, te spiritum
sanctum paraclitum, sanctam et individuum trinitatem, toto
corde et ore confitemur, laudamus atque benedicimus, tibi
gloria in seculis. Amen.

Pars i.

Summa trinitas, virtus una, et indiscreta maiestas . . .

Pars ii. Ubi agitur de Christi amore et de illa superna civi-
tate Ierusalem que est mater nostra.
Psl. Eructavit cor meum.

Spes mea Christe deus, hominum tu dulcis amator, . . .

Pars iii. Ubi mens devota ad altiorem contemplationis gra-
dum ascendit. Hymnus, Te deum laudamus.
Laudate dominum de celis, et Benedictiones.

Benedic anima mea domino et omnia que intra me sunt . . .

Preces (i) *Preces ardentis desiderii, ut fidelis anima Christum
solum possit amare.*
Psl. Confitemini domino quoniam bonus.

IESU nostra redemptio, amor et desiderium . . .

(ii) *Vir desideriorum et celestium contemplator gemit
[pars v] cottidie dicens se ibi non esse ubi dilectum suum
mereatur videre, etc.* Psl. Iubilare deo omnis terra.

O Domine Iesu Christe, verbum patris qui venisti . . .

(iii) *Hic optat ardore intimo mens pia et datorem omnium
bonorum deum humiliter rogat, etc.* [= Med. c. 37]
Psl. Quem ad modum desiderat.

IESU pie domine Iesu bone, qui mori dignatus es . . .

[MSS of the Supputations omit the last 13 lines of Prayer III, the
heading and the first 16 lines of Prayer IV, (about one page in Metz 245,
f. 33r-33v), insert, in order to bridge the gap, the two words here italicized
between bars, and read: Dormiat, obsecro, deus meus, memoria mea
ab omnibus | malis, iniquitatem | odiat, iustitiam diligit, etc.]

*Des. . . quem in terris positus tota virtute dilexi, tota caritate
amplexus sum, toto amore inhesi, ipsum laudo, benedico at-
que adoro, qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Manuscripts of the *Liber Supputationum*.

The editors of the Maurist edition of Augustine¹ seem to have known only one manuscript of the *Supputationes*, which they called the *Codex regius*.² In reality the work long enjoyed great popularity and must have been widely spread over Europe, as the following list of 14th and 15th century manuscripts proves. I have no doubt that further search would disclose still more, because the work is hidden in the catalogues under various or misleading titles.³

Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2971, anno 1471, <i>Codex regius</i> (Italian origin)	5501, c. 1450
Bibl. Nat. 1201, s. XV	Melk, 104, s. XV
Acq. lat. 333, s. XV	Karlsruhe, Reichenau paper 156, s. XV (extracts)
Arsénal, 775, s. XIV	Leipzig, Stadtbibl. 154, anno 1444
Laon, 172, s. XIV	Munich, Staatsbibl. 3015, s. XV from Andechs
Marseille, 211, s. XV	4634, s. XIV-XV, Benediktbeuern
Grenoble, 180, s. XV-XVI	5918, s. XV, Ebersberg, (also <i>Suspiria</i>)
Trèves, 193, s. XIV inc. ⁴	5952, s. XV, Ebersberg
Metz, 612, s. XV	6965, s. XV, Fürstenfeld
London, B. M. Add. 24661, s. XV	15820, s. XV, Salzburg, (title corr. into <i>Suspiria</i>)
Oxford, Canonici scr. 13, s. XV	16402, s. XIV, S. Zeno of Reichenhall, (called <i>Suspiria</i> wrongly)
Rome, Vat. Urb. 484, s. XV	18315, s. XV, Tegernsee, (title <i>Suspiria</i> corr. into <i>Lib. supput.</i>)
Vat. Palat. 224, anno 1457	21082, s. XV, Thierhaupten
Vat. Palat. 717, s. XIV (XV)	23863, anno 1424, (called <i>Suspiria</i> wrongly)
Florence, Laur. Fesulanus viii, XV	26750, anno 1453
Ashburnham 65, s. XV inc.	
Subiaco, 291, s. XV	
Venice, S. Marco Cl. II, n. 59, s. XV	
Copenhagen, Ny. Kgl. S. 1786, XV	
Prague, 544, anno 1389	
613, anno 1402	
Vienna, 3563, s. XV (also <i>Suspiria</i>)	
3607, s. XV " "	

¹ Pierre Coustant had special charge of the Pseudo-Augustinian literature in Vol. VI, App. See R. C. Kukula, *Proc. Vienna Acad.* 121, p. 122.

² Now Paris 2971; summary in the Maurist ed. VI, App. p. 106.

³ I am again greatly indebted to Dom Wilmart for most generously placing at my disposal the list of MSS. discovered by him; to which number I have been able to add a few, mostly from Munich.

⁴ In this early copy Part II begins about one page later than usua: *O splendor paternae gloriae*, as do also copies of the *Suspiria*.

In addition to the above manuscripts, there are a number of references in the mediaeval catalogues to others:

In the Catalogue of the Grande-Chartreuse (near Grenoble), ed. Fournier, a codex of the XV century. In *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands u. der Schweiz*, ed. by Paul Lehmann, Vol. II, in the 15th century catalogue of the Carthusian Salvatorberg: p. 317, No. 14; p. 318, No. 15 (identified as *Weimar*, oct. 55b); p. 353, No. 44, and No. 45 (identified as *Kassel*, theol. 8° 32); p. 354, No. 46, and No. 48.

Traces of manuscripts which contained the original work of Johannes are also found in mediaeval catalogues: Arras (St. Vast), *Iohannes ad imperatricem*, (G. Becker, *Catalogi bibl. antiq.* p. 256); Canterbury (St. Augustine), *Tractatus devotus de contemplacione de divinis libris collectus*, (M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury*, p. 280); Marseille (St. Victor), *Exortatio ad bene vivendum Iohannis ad imperatricem*, (Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibl.*, p. 120); Passau (St. Nicholas), *Liber Iohannis abbatis ad imperatricem Agnetem*, (*ibid.* p. 73).

The *Explicit* to *Munich* 18315 and 26750 may serve to indicate how the title was subsequently altered into that of *Meditationes*: "Tractatus beati Aug. epi. de contemplacionis amore qui orando et *meditando* debet dici."

In the above list of manuscripts reference has been made to the *Suspiria*. This is a shorter collection, made from, and depending upon, the *Supputationes*. It usually consists of the following chapters (of the *Med.*), often retains the old headings, and arranges the chapters in this order: [12] Summa trinitas virtus una, [13] Hucusque deus cordis mei, [34] Ignosce domine ignosce, [18] Splendor paternae gloriae, [28] Magnus dominus et laudabilis, [35] Iesu nostra redemptio, [36] Christe domine verbum patris, [37] Iesu bone domine Iesu pie . . . This is followed in some MSS. by a continuation, the source of which I have been unable to discover.⁵

⁵ In *Munich*, Clm. 5194, 5230, 5918, 7531, 7738, 7788, 18534; but lacking in Clm. 664, 4705, 7781. See also Lehmann, *Kataloge*, p. 311. The continuation begins: *O domine Iesu dulcissime, benignissime, misericordissime redemptor . . .* and ends: *colloca me in caulis tutissimis gregum tuorum, quia tu es pastor meus et salus eterna Iesu Christe etc.*

The Dates of the *Liber Supputationum*.

Although the known manuscripts of the *Liber Supputationum* belong to the 14th and 15th centuries, yet the formation of the book must be earlier. How long after the time of the author himself, or by whom this recension was made, we do not know; but sometime before the close of the 12th century the work in this form and with this title (or its variant, *Supplicationes*) was in circulation.

HORTUS DELICLIARUM

This is established by certain quotations in that remarkable and beautiful codex, the *Hortus deliciarum*, a veritable encyclopedia of religious information, consisting of pictures and accompanying quotations, which was formed by Herrade of Lansberg (1176-c. 1190) for the edification and delectation of the nuns under her charge,¹ and which was completed, at the latest, by 1205. As is well-known, this precious volume was destroyed by fire in Strassburg during the Franco-Prussian war in 1871, and with the original perished also the only complete copy; but fortunately the original codex had previously been borrowed by M. de Bastard, who made from it many careful drawings for a voluminous work on the history of costume on which he was engaged. His notes² include a number of quotations, which have been identified by Dom Wilmart as coming from the *Supputationes*, under such titles as: "Aug. de Supplic. de sca. Trinitate," "Augustinus de superna Iherusalem," "Aug. in lib. Suppl. de sancta trinitate," "Aug. in lib. Supplic. de deo creatore."

It is evident that these quotations enable us to set a *terminus a quo*, and make it certain that such a work as the *Liber Supplicationum* was known at least as early as the end of the 12th century, and was already attributed to Augustine. It is not impossible that 13th or even 12th century manuscripts may yet be found.

¹ Sandys, *Hist. of Class. Scholarship*, Vol. I (1st ed.) p. 533, 537, 595.

² Now in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris, Fr. Nouv. Acq. 6083. Brief account of these unpublished notes (which I have not yet seen) in a letter from Dom Wilmart, Aug. 1928.

BARTHOLOMAEUS OF URBINO

On the other hand, we have evidence in the *Milleloquium* of Bartholomæus of Urbino¹ (died 1350) that as late as the middle of the 14th century the *Supputationes* had not yet been extended and altered into the *Liber Meditationum*. This work of Bartholomæus² was an alphabetical digest of a thousand quotations from the works commonly attributed to Augustine, "Opus maioris laboris quam ingenii," as his friend and correspondent Petrarch said, but which nevertheless so won him the favor of Clement VI that he presented him with the bishopric of Urbino (1347). In the index which he added to his work, Bartholomæus gives a fairly accurate account of all the works of Augustine known to him, together with their titles, the nature and contents of each, and whether Augustine himself mentions them in the *Liber retractationum*, in which he reviews his own writings. This, then, is the account of the *Liber Supputationum* as it was known and used by Bartholomæus during the first half of the 14th century:³

Liber supputationum stylum habet libri Soliloquiorum ad Deum. In quattuor partes distinguitur, non tamen volumen magnum est; nec in libro retract. annumeratur. Praemittit autem cuilibet capiti unum aliquem Psalmum. Incipit a Psalmo, Deus misereatur nostri. Et liber vel capitulum per orationis modum incipit: Te pater ingenitum; Finitur Ubi vera haberi gaudia certissimum est.⁴

¹ Wetzler u. Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*, Freiburg, 1882.

² *Milleloquium veritatis ex Augustino collectum*, (first printed) Lyon 1555; again, edited by Joan. Collierius, Paris 1649.

³ Besides the above Bartholomæus used and described: *Liber de contemplacione Christi* [Manuale, c. 1-24]; *Liber meditationum, sive secundus liber soliloquiorum ad Deum. Satis magnus est et xxxix c. distincta continet et de poenis inferni diffuse pertractat* [the collection of meditations in 39 chapters, beginning: *Eia nunc homuncio . . .*]; *Liber soliloquiorum ad Deum* [Ps.-Soliloquia]; *Liber de speculo, Incipit: Adesto mihi lumen verum. Finitur: Sempiternaliter vivis et regnas per s. s. Amen.* [Confessio fidei (Ps.-Alcuin) Parts I and II, as in the Cracow Augustine, (see PART V, 11, footnote; also Patr. Lat. 101, 1027-1054).]

⁴ His copy ended about half way through c. 37, soon after the lacuna already described, and may have been imperfect. I have seen no manuscript like it. His Fourth Part would have comprised the *Preces i to iv*.

Three Early Versions of the *Liber Supputationum*.

It is truly remarkable that a work so widely spread in manuscript form should have entirely escaped being printed.¹ In fact, the *editio princeps* of this work, as a literary product distinct from its inclusion in the later *Liber Meditationum*, has yet to appear. But its wide-spread popularity is attested by three early vernacular versions: German, Dutch, and Italian.

The German version is found in an unpublished manuscript of the Staatsbibliothek at Munich,² under this title, *Das Puech Sand Augustin von der Lieb der Petrachtung*. It is probably, but not certainly the work of Johannes of Neumarkt (in Silesia), Bishop of Leitomischl 1352, and Bishop of Olmütz 1364,³ who died in 1380. His translations into German of the Ps.-Soliloquies⁴ and of the Life of St. Jerome⁵ have been published. This important and active man, who was in correspondence with Petrarch and Cola di Rienzi,⁶ played a leading rôle in the Bohemian Renaissance, and was for some time Chancellor under Karl IV, founder of the University of Prague, at whose instance the translations from the Latin were made.

That the manuscript in question contains a version of the *Supputationes* rather than an incomplete copy of the *Meditationes*, as the Munich catalogue states, is proved by comparing the following headings, etc., with those given on page 3.

f° 86^r Hie hebt sich an das puech Sand Augustin von der lieb der petrachtung, das erchlaut ist aus der heiligen geschrift, sunderbar den zw nutz dy da liebhaber sein des petrachtlichen leben, vnd am ersten sol man sprechen den psalm, *Deus misereatur nostri* . . .

¹ That is, in Latin, and within the field of the Incunabula. It is unlikely that an edition appeared after 1500.

² Munich, Codex Germ. 70, s. XV, which contains also the *Soliloquia*.

³ Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, (ed. Ratisbon 1873), p. 286 and 298.

⁴ Anton Sattler, *Die Pseudo-Augustinischen Soliloquien in der Uebersetzung des Bischofs Johannes von Neumarkt*, Graz 1904.

⁵ Anton Benedict, *Das Leben des heiligen Hieronymus in der Uebersetzung des Bischofs Johannes VIII von Olmütz*, Prag 1880, Vol. III, Bibl. der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur in Böhmen.

⁶ See Friedjung, *Kaiser Karl IV. und sein Anteil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit*, Vienna 1876, Anhang II and VIII.

Dich vatter vngeporen, dich Sun aingeporen, dich heiliger geist troester, heilige vnd vngetailte driualtkait . . .

86^v Nu hebt sich an der erst tail:

O hochste driualtkait, ain chrafft vnd vngetailte maiestat, vnser got, got almechtiger, ich beckenn dir . . .

97^v Hye hebt sich an der ander tail von der lieb Christi vnd vod der hochsten stat Jherusalem die da ist unser mueter.

111^v Hye hat ein end der ander tail vnd hebt sich an der dritt, da das andchtig gemuet auff steigt in ain hoheren grad der spechung . . .

148^v . . . den ich auff dem ertreich mit gantzer chrafft lieb gehabt hab, mit gantzer lieb vmbgriffen hab, vnd angehangen pin, den pit ich, er ich, vnd lob ich, der got lebt vnd hersch durch alle welt ebichleich. Amen. [*Finis*]

The Dutch version is, I believe, the only printed form of the *Liber Supputationum*, and so scarce has this little book become that the editors of the new *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*⁷ are able to list only two copies, one at the Hague, the other at Darmstadt.⁸ According to the colophon the book was printed at Scoenhoven in dem Hem [Fratres apud Michaelem], Oct. 24, 1500, just in time to bring it within the field of the incunabula. The titles and divisions agree closely with those in the German version. I quote from the Darmstadt copy.

p. 2^r Hier beghint dat boec der ynniger bedinge des biscoeps Augustini tot profijt enn orbaer des scouwenden leuens.

Di gode den vader, di soen eengeboren, di troester den heiligen geest, heilich enn onuerscheiden drieuoudicheit belien enn louen enn benedien wy mit alre herten enn monde; di si glorien in allen werlden. Amen.

O alre hoechste drieuoudicheit, ene cracht enn enen ewich enn onuerscheiden mogentheit . . .

15^v Hier begihnt dat ander deel, van der minnen Christi, enn van den hoechsten Jherusalem die onse moeder is.

28^v Hier beghint dat derde deel, daer die deuote ziele enen hogheren grade opclimmet, van den loue ons liefs heren Iesu Christi.

54^v . . . Hem loue ic, hem aenbede ick, die leuet enn regierniert god voer alle werlden der werlden. Amen, [*Finis*]

⁷ Vol. III, No. 2976, where it is listed among the *Meditationes*.

⁸ Thanks to the courtesy of the Hessische Landesbibl. in Darmstadt, I was able to examine the little book in Munich. (Inc. I, 24.)

O Mueter Jerusalem ein stat des heiligen got vnd
schone prawt Christi, dich hat lieb mein hertz,
vnd mein gemuet pegert vast deiner schon. **D** wie gar
schon, eren reich, vnd wol geparn pistu: dw pist gantz
schon vnd ist kain mail an dir. **E**rfrey dich dw schone
tachter des fursten, wenn der kunig hat pegert dein
gestalt, vnd der schonist der menschen hat geliebt dein
zier. **A**ber dw aller schoniste, wie ist dein lieber aus dem
lieben. **M**ein lieber ist weis vnd rat barb, erbelt aus
taulenten, als der segel pawm vnder holtzen der aw,
also ist meiner lieber vnder den lunen. **V**nder den
schatten des ich pegert hab, pin ich gesehen, vnd sein
frucht ist suels meiner chel. **M**ein lieber hat lassen
sein hant durich ain loch, von des peruerung mein leib
gegrosst ist. **I**n meinem petlein in der nacht hab ich
geluecht den mein sell lieb hat: ich hab in gesuecht vnd
hab in gefunden: ich haldt yn vnd wird yn nit lassen,
pis das er mich ein furt in sein haws vnd in sein
schlaffchamer. **S**chone mein mueter, da wirstu mir
geben dein pruft volkomner vnd mer, vnd wirst mich
satten mit wunderlicher sattung, also das mich hin fur
nymmer hungere noch dursten wirdt ewiglich.

O wie salig ist mein sel vnd ymmer ewigklich sa-
lig ist, das ich verdien antzusehen dein glozi,
dein salikait, dein schon, dein parten, dein mauer, dein
platz, dein wanung, vnd dein edel purger, vnd dein
edelen chunig in seiner tzier. **W**enn dein mauer ist von
edelem gestain, dein parten von den besten perlein, dein
platz von sawbristen gold, in den das frolich alleluia an
vnderlazz gesungen wirdt. **M**einer wanung sein bil
vnd gepawt von gebirden stainen, von saphir vnd gul-
den tziegelein vberdeckt. **I**n dy chainer nyeman ein-
geet wenn wer rain ist, da wanet chain vnlauber nit.
Dw pist schon vnd suels in deinen lusten. **M**ueter
Jerusalem. **E**s ist nichtz solichs in dir als wir hye lei-
den, als wir in dem leben sechen. **I**n dir ist nit vinsten,
noch nacht oder chainerlay wandel der tzeit. **E**s leicht
in dir nit das liecht der luceren oder der schein des
mans, oder der glans der steren, cunder got von got.

liecht von liecht. **D**y sunn der gerechtikait erleicht dich
albeg, das weis vnd vnuermayligt lemplein vnd dein
liecht ist gar schon, dein sunn ist dein chlarhait, vnd all
dein guet ist des kunigs stete petrachtung. **D**er kunig
aller kunig ist mitten in dir, vnd sein knecht vmb in,

Da sein dy singunden kor der engel, da ist dy gesel-
schafft deiner purgen, da ist dy suels hochzeit al-
ler heiligen, dy da von dem traurigen leben tzu deinen
freyden chomen, da ist der propheten fursichtiger char,
da ist dy tzuwelf tzal der tzuwelfpotten, da ist ein vnder-
tzelleiche schar der martret, da ist dy heilig pelanung
der peichtinger, da sein dy waren vnd volkomen munich,
da sein dy kinder vnd maydel, dy ite jar mit sytten vber-
striten haben, da sein dy heiligen frauwen, de dy wollust
der welt vnd swachhait its standts vberbunden haben,
da sein schaffel vnd lembel, dy den huyeggen wollusten
entrunen sein, dy erstreyen sich in iren wanungen.
Vngeleich ist ir salichkait aber gemayn ist dy freyd in
allen, da ist gantze vnd volkome lieb, wen got ist alle
ding in allen, den sy sechen an end, vnd also sehend
in seiner lieb albeg prinnen. **S**y habent lieb vnd lobent,
sy lobent vnd liebent, vnd all ir arbeit ist lob an mue.

O salig vnd warleich ewigklich salig pin ich ob ich
nach dem leben verdien tzu horen dy gesang der
himelischen melody dy gesungen werden tzu lob des
ewigen kunig von den himelischen purgern vnd von al-
lem her der saligen geist. **G**elucksalig wird ich vnd vber-
salig ob ich verdien wird auch tzu singen vnd pey tzu
sten meinem chunig, meinem got, meinem fursten, vnd
in tzu sechen in seiner glozi als er vns verhaissen hat,
sprechund: **V**atter ich will das alle dy dw mir geben
hast pey mir sein, das sy sechen mein chlarhait dy ich pey
dir gehabt hab vor anfang der welt. **A**uch mer hat er
gered: **D**er mir dient der volig mir nach, vnd wo ich
pin da wirdt sein mein diener. **D**er mich lieb hat, der
wirdt lieb gehabt von meinem vatter, vnd ich wird yn
lieb haben vnd wird mich selbs im offenbaren.

Hye hat ein end der ander tail vnd hebt sich an der dritt.

The Italian version exists in a 15th century manuscript at Parma (R. Palatina), beginning: "Comincia il libro della Vita Contemplativa del glorioso doctore messer Sancto Augustino, diviso in sei trattati." Of this manuscript only the Third Part (c. 27-33 of the *Meditationes*) has been published. This was edited by L. Barbieri, in the series: Scelta di curiosità letterarie, Vol. 16, Bologna 1862; Saggio di un volgarizzamento del sec. XIV messo per la prima volta in luce.

From this translation by some unknown Tuscan writer, I quote here a portion of Part III: *Mens illa beata, etc.*

BEATA questa mente che abbandona le cose basse e cerca le cose alte, la quale pone in alto luogo la sedia della sua habitatione, e dall' alte ripe raguarda il sole della justitia con occhi d'acquila: però che non è niuna cosa si bella nè si gioconda come è contemplare solo Idio e vederlo cogli occhi della mente; e, con uno maraviglioso modo, invisibilmente vedere colui che è invisibile, e in questo modo assaggiare non questa ma l'altra dolcezza; non questa ma l'altra luce. Chè questa è una luce che si rinchiude in luogo e rompesi e variasi quando viene la notte, e di questa luce partecipano con noi gli vermini e le bestie, e, agguagliandola a quella somma luce e incommutabile, luce non è [*ma notte*]. Chè quella somma e incommutabile essentia divina, luce vera, luce senza difetto, luce degli angeli, da niuno uomo in questa vita si può vedere, però che questa premio è serbato solo ai sancti nella celestiale gloria; nondimeno credere in lui, e intenderlo e sentirlo e ardentemente amarlo e desiderarlo, è quasi vederlo e tenerlo. (*Meditationes*, Chap. 27-28.)

Footnote additional to p. 9, concerning the printed Dutch version:

Following immediately after the *Supputationes* (p. 54^v-66^v), a work begins, with the title: *Hier begint die contemplacie Sancti augustini van der passien ons lieues heren Ihesu Christi*, but as this portion of the book is not separately named in the brief index on the last page (136^v), it was overlooked by the editors of the *GKW*. It begins: 'Mijn Ihesus mijn minne mijn hope mijn salicheit enn mijn soeticheit enn mijn troester is iammerlic ghepassijt' and ends: 'Welke here Ihesus Christus veruule die armoede onser zielen in dat rijc sijnre glorien' Amen.' After which the book contains: 66^v-111^v, *Manuale* (the full text); 112^v-120^v, *Tractatus van den oersac der minnen Ihesu Christi*; 121^v-136^v, *Soliloquium Bernardi* (Verbum mihi est ad te . . .).

CONFESSIO THEOLOGICA

BEFORE tracing the further development of the *Liber Supputationum* into the *Liber Meditationum*,¹ we must pause here to consider the *Libellus alter* of the Metz manuscript, and its relation to the printed *Confessio theologica*,² a little-known book first published in Paris in 1539, with this title:

CONFESSIO / theologica, tribus par/tibus absoluta. / Parisiis / Apud M. Vascovanum / 1539 / Cum privilegio.

It is a very small, clearly printed octavo, collated A to Z in eight, without pagination, and it is anonymous, except for a brief note stating that the scarcely legible name of the author of the manuscript was 'Johannes.'

At this point I had written, "From what manuscript is not known; perhaps it is still in existence somewhere." But before the sentence could be printed, a fortunate opportunity came to examine closely the fragment in *Paris 3088* (f° 1-6), at the Bibliothèque Nationale (July 3, 1930), with the printed text open before me. Suddenly I saw that this was the very manuscript from which the printer (or editor) of the *Confessio theologica* had worked. This was proved by finding on the margins of the MS. the folio numbers of the book (N8, N10, N12, N14, N16, O, O2, etc.) entered against a check mark in the MS. which tallied to a letter with the end of every two printed pages. Other small signs indicated necessary separation of words in the printed form, and added to the proof. Furthermore, the Prayer "Multa igitur sunt contemplationis genera . . ." which is *Orat. III* in *Metz*, follows in this MS. immediately after the EXPLICIT PARS TERTIA THEOLOGIAE, just as it does in the printed book. The early date of this fragment

¹ In PART VII of this book.

² The views expressed here are provisory only, and await the projected re-publication by Dom Wilmart of this nearly forgotten work.

³ Paris, Bibl. Nat. Impr. D. 13817 (1), entered in the *Catalogue des Imprimés* under Jean Cassien.

(of the 11th century) greatly enhances the value of the 1539 edition, and points to an early rearrangement, nearly contemporary with Johannes, of the material of the Metz collection. The regrettable loss of the bulk of the Paris MS. (unless that too is lurking somewhere) makes it impossible to say whether it contained more than appears in print, or just what the relation was between Part III as printed and Part III of the Metz MS., a matter to which I shall return presently.

By a vague and wholly unwarranted conjecture of later editors the name 'Johannes' of the Paris edition was thought to refer to Johannes Cassianus, a Christian writer of the 5th century, author of *De institutis coenobiorum* and *Collationes patrum*, and his name actually appears as author on the title-page of the Antwerp reprint:⁴

CONFESSIO / THEOLOGICA, TRI/bus partibus absoluta, cum ex/positione Missae Romanae, / Ioanne Cassiano / authore. / Floruit sub Theodosio / Valentiniano Imp. / cccc.xxxv. / ANTVERPIAE / In aedibus Ioan. Steelsij. / M. D. XLV. / Cum privilegio.

The book was again three times republished (Louvain 1573;⁵ Würzburg 1581;⁶ Cologne 1604⁷), after which it seems to have disappeared completely. The reprints agree with the first Paris edition, but the last three break up the text into short chapters (16 chap. in Part I, 27 in II, 40 in III), and add marginal references to the Bible and the *Meditationes*. It is also interesting to note that in these later editions Cassianus is dropped as author, and the title-page now reads:

CONFESSIO THEOLOGICA, in tres partes distincta, a quodam docto et pio ex D. Augustini Confessionum et Meditationum libris pulchrè collecta.

⁴ Copies of the Antwerp ed. at Paris and Munich (Staatsbibliothek). My own copy, from which I quote, was fortunately obtainable from M. Jacques Rosenthal's excellently stocked *Buch- und Kunstantiquariat* on the Briennerstrasse, Munich.

⁵ Copy of the Louvain ed. in the British Museum.

⁶ Copy at Munich.

⁷ Copies in Paris and Munich.

The printed *Confessio theologica* represents a somewhat different and, in the opinion of Dom Wilmart, an earlier arrangement of the material found in the *Libellus alter* of the Metz MS., which, it will be recalled, consists of three Parts and a series of Prayers (see Analysis in PART V of this book).

Part I of the book corresponds with Part I of the MS. [Antwerp ed. p. 2^v-13^v.] Part II is much more complete in the printed form than in the Metz MS., although both begin and end alike. [Antwerp ed. p. 14^r-35^r, in Metz only two folios.]⁸

Part III of the printed book (and of the fragment in *Paris 3083*) is not the same as Part III of the other manuscripts,⁹ but, except for the heading, it is the same as *Oratio IX* of the *Libellus alter*, entitled: *Oratio decora compilata per contemplationem, vel Meditatio theorica*. The printed Part III retains the heading of the MS. Part III (Metz f° 44^v), "INCIPIIT PARS TERTIA, in qua mens devota nimio Christi amore flagrans, Christo inhians, etc." Then both forms run alike through the eight hexameter verses which Johannes was fond of using, "Spes mea Christe Deus, hominum tu dulcis amator, etc.," and they continue the same for about one page more of text, after which the rest of the printed form is exactly that of the *Oratio decora* of the manuscripts. [Antwerp ed. p. 35^v-77^v.]

The reasons for this curious interchange are not clear, but several explanations suggest themselves. It may be that the author left a two-fold recension of Part III, one of which, the *Oratio decora*, appeared as Part III in the complete manu-

⁸ The complete form of Part II exists in *Munich, Clm. 11352* (f° 86^r-100^r), a 12th century MS. which I had the pleasure of finding among the treasures of the Staatsbibliothek. It came to Munich from Polling, an ancient cloister (founded c. 750 and secularized 1803), but it is of French origin, and according to a note on the reverse of the first folio in a late Gothic hand, it belonged to the Celestines of Sainte-Croix near Offémont, Diocese of Soissons. Besides Part II of the *Conf. theol.*, this MS. contains, among other prayers, certain portions from *Libellus I, pars iii* of Johannes (about equal to c. 31, 32, 33 of the *Meditationes*).

⁹ The arrangement of *Metz* is preserved in the other two nearly complete manuscripts which I have been able to examine, except that Prüel (*Munich 12105*) goes only as far as "Iusti autem in vitam aeternam," f° 68^r of *Metz*, where a marginal stroke seems to call attention to a break; while Metten (*Munich 8215*) continues a little further (to *Metz* f° 76^r) and then breaks off abruptly, the rest of the MS. having been lost.

script, of which the *Paris* fragment survives, the other being that in *Metz*. Or it may be that, misled by the similar beginning of each, the copyist of the *Paris MS.* confused the two and substituted the one for the other. Inasmuch as the *explicit* of the book and the *MS.* agree, we cannot suppose that it was an error made by the editor or printer of the *Conf. theologica*.

But, whichever of these two recensions of Part III may be the earlier, it would seem that the *Libellus alter* of *Metz* (and with it, of course, the *Confessio theologica*) is an earlier work of Johannes than the *Libellus prior* (*Liber supputationum*). The ground for this assumption is to be found in a passage in Part II of the *Conf. theol.* (p. 27^r of the Antwerp ed.) where the author speaks of himself as still in a subordinate position, that is, before he became Abbot of Fécamp in 1028: "Praesta domine ut famulum tuum abbatem meum < *Willelmus of Dijon* > et omnes seniores fratres meos sincera et humili caritate semper diligam, etc."

Confessio theologica and *Liber supputationum*.

The parallels between the earlier *Confessio theologica* and the later *Liber Supputationum* (or *Meditationum*) are many and striking. I have already quoted Mabillon's comment,¹ that two books so similar in contents, thought and phraseology could not have been produced by a mere excerpting of passages from each other or from a common source, but that both must be the work of one person. To illustrate this remarkable parallelism, and at the same time to give a certain insight into the literary method of the author, I have chosen a passage from the *Confessio theologica* (Part III)² which has to do with the Heavenly Jerusalem, inasmuch as this is the golden thread which binds together my otherwise scattered material. With this the reader should compare the treatment of the same theme in Chapters 22 to 25 of the *Meditationes*.

¹ In PART V, p. 11.

² *Oratio decora*, in *Metz* f° 68^v-71^r; = Paris ed. p. L1^r-L7^v; = Antwerp ed. p. 49^r-54^r.

Confessio Theologica, Pars III : *Oratio Decora*, *Metz*, f° 68^v.

MATER HIERUSALEM, CIVITAS SANCTA DEI, nobilissima sponsa Christi, congregatio et plenitudo omnium supernorum civium cunctorumque beatorum spirituum: O quam excellentissima tuę beatitudinis magnificentia, quam magna et mira tui decoris elegantia. Magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis in ciuitate dei nostri, in monte sancto eius. Hierusalem quę edificaris ut ciuitas de lapidibus uiuis, Hierusalem sancta quę sursum est, mater nostra carissima, libet mihi intendere tuę claritati. Oblectat me ualde bona tua puro mentis intuitu, et dulcissimo pii amoris affectu in loco peregrinationis meę iuxta modulum meum interim, donec his fragilibus subsisto membris, considerare. Tuę enim caritatis iaculo uulneratus sum; tuo uehementer desiderio || f° 69^r flagro; ad te peruenire cupio; te uidere desidero. Libet itaque, libet oculos fidei in te attollere, flatum mentis conformare, affectum cordis erigere. Anxius et fitibundus ad te uolando curro. Tuę infinite opulentię inhio, tuęque immense beatitudini peregrinus ego suspiro. Vnde mihi ualde libet de te loqui, de te audire, de te legere, de te scribere, de te conferre, ut sub dulcem umbram sinceritatis tuę ingressus, ab huius seculi aestibus in tui refrigerii temperamento abscondar. Huius rei gratia umbrosum montem et condensum ascendo, amoena prata perlustro, uiridissimas sententiarum herbas legendo carpo, frequentando rumino, exarando congreco, ut suauitatem dulcedinis et caritatis tuę reponam in alta fede memorię meę.

¶ Sancta Syon, Mater Hierusalem, felix tu et nimium felix, sine fineque felix; quam pulchra es et decora, quam gloriosa es et beata. Tota pulchra es, et macula non est in te. Electa dei ciuitas, manu aeterni opificis constructa, quis perpendere, quis referre potest decorem ornamentorum mirabilis edifici tui, in quo ponuntur omnes preciosi lapides tunsi et politi atque bene

preparati, nec ideo tamen strepitus mallei in te nunquam auditur. Muri autem tui ex gemmis micantibus multis et variis; portę tuę ex margaritis optimis; plateę tuę ex auro purissimo; mansiones tuę plurimę saphyris fundatę, laterculis aureis coopertę, quas nullus ingreditur immundus, nullusque potest inhabitare uiciosus. Non enim est in te malus neque nequicia. Non est aduersarius neque impugnans, nec est ulla peccati illecebra. || f° 69^v

¶ Mugitus, ululatus, gemitus, lamentum et luctus nunquam in te auditur nec nominatur. Foedum, deforme, tętrum, nigrum, horrendum aliquid aut fordidum, uel tale quid quod displicere animo possit, numquam in te penitus uiderunt oculi. Amoenitatem pulchritudinis, formositatem totius splendoris atque dignitatem omnis elegancię iugiter tui ciues cernunt. Nihil omnino quod conturbet mentem in te auribus datur. Sonant enim semper melliflua hymnorum organa, suauissimę angelorum melodię, cantica canticorum mira quę ad laudem et gloriam ęterni regis, structoris tui, a supernis ciuibus in perpetuum decantantur.

¶ Amaritudo et omnis fellis asperitas in regione tua locum non habet. Tonitrua in te nunquam audita sunt, fulgura et coruscationes, turbines et tempestates atque pluuie, frigora et aestus, et omne quod in hoc mundo graue et aduersum patimur, nusquam in te sunt nec unquam fuerunt. Odor tuus spiritalem delectationem sanctis inspirat; esca tua non grauat stomachum nec hebetat sensum, nec gignit fastidium. Omne quod in te sumitur, dulce est et odoriferum, eiusdemque saporis iugiter manet. Sicut enim bono nuntio aures, et bono odore nares, et bono aspectu oculi saginantur, et ista refectio non potest in digestionem prorumpere; ita refectio quę tuis ciuibus apponitur melliflua in gustu hoc unicuique sapit quo fuerit delectatus.

¶ Non est igitur in te nox neque ulla tenebrarum obscuritas, non lux lucernę aut stellarum, aut lunę uel solis in te lucet, sed

dominus deus tuus illuminat te. Agnus dei lumen tuum, lucerna tua, stellę tuę, luna et sol tuus, atque omne bonum || f° 70^r
et gaudium tuum, continua uisio eius. Ipse rex regum in medio tui, et pueri eius in circuitu eius.

¶ Sunt etenim ibi hymnidici sanctorum spirituum chori, prouidus prophetarum cuneus, iudex apostolorum numerus, innumerabilem martyrum uictor exercitus, sanctorum confessorum sacer conuentus, beatorum monachorum fortissima turba, tanto illic laetior quanto hic afflicta durius, sanctarum uirginum gloriosa caterua, fidelium uirorum multiplex turma, quos a uirilitalis suę robore uoluptas seculi emollire non potuit. Est et in te bonarum mulierum laudabilis constantia, pręmii sui perceptione consolata, quia seculum et sexum uicerunt. Nec non puerorum et puellarum innumerabilis multitudo, qui dum essent in carne, annos suos moribus transcendunt, aut antequam per aetatem peccare potuissent, celeri morte de hac uita sublati sunt. Pręsto sunt etiam illi senes et anus, quos hic et aetas debiles reddidit et uirtus boni operis non reliquit.

¶ Felix societas supernorum ciuium et gloriosa sollempnitas omnium ad te redeuntium ab huius nostrę peregrinationis tristi labore. Letantur in te coram domino omnes oues et agni inter pabula aeternę letitię, qui uoluptuosę temporalitatis laqueos iam euaserunt. Exultant singuli secundum sua merita in propriis domibus. Communis est letitia omnium, sed dispar gloria singulorum, quia unusquisque secundum suum remuneratur laborem. In te quippe mansiones sunt multę, sed quia ibi sola caritas perfecte et integre in perpetuum regnat, omnis procul abest inuidia; et unius magni gloria magna omnium per caritatem est. Sufficit enim unicuique quod datur habere; et amplius non quęrens, nec potest nec uult pręlatis || sibi in gloria inuidere. [f° 70^v
Nulla indigentia, dedecus nullum, nulla rixa, nullum improperium, causatio nulla, nullus timor, nulla inquietudo, nulla poena,

nulla dubietas, nulla uolentia, nulla discordia; sed pax summa, caritas plena, iubilatio et laus dei aeterna, secura sine fine requies, et gaudium semper in spiritu sancto.

¶ Intra moenia namque tua sunt triclinia auro puro radiantia, quae ex gemmis et margaritis habent zetas instructas quas inhabitant milites dei. Lucet eis lumen sine sole; adest serenitas absque nubilo; perfruuntur oculi clarissima luce sine tenebris. Deliciae regni tui nulla impediuntur occasione, nulla penitus distenditur quisquam sollicitudine, sed uiui caelestisque panis aeterna fatiatus refectio, securus et quietus manet in deo et deus in eo.

¶ Felix anima mea, si mihi datum fuerit intueri abundantiam uirtutis et gloriae tuae, pulchra moenia, mirabiles portas, plateas decoro marmore stratas, mansiones inenarrabilibus diuiciis plenas, festiuos ciues et reuerendos milites, regem tuum deum nostrum in gloriosa fede maiestatis tuae. Fortunatus ego, si audiero iocundissimas tuorum ciuium cantilenas, carmina melliflua laudes summe trinitati debito honore promentia; sed et nimium felix, si ego ipse meruero cantare canticum domino de dulcibus canticis Syon.

¶ O uita uitalis, uita sempiterna et sempiterna beata, ubi gaudium sine merore, requies sine labore, dignitas sine timore, opes sine amissione, sanitas sine languore, abundantia sine defectione, uita sine morte, perpetuitas sine corruptione, beatitudo sine calamitate, || ubi omnia bona in caritate perfecta, ubi species et uisio [f^o 71^r facie ad faciem, ubi plena scientia in omnibus et per omnia, ubi summa boni deitas cernitur, et lumen illuminans a sanctis glorificatur, ubi praesens dei maiestas conspicitur, et hoc uitae cibo sine defectu mens intuentium satiatur. Vident et uidere desiderant, sine anxietate desiderant, et sine fastidio fatiantur. Ibi enim uerus iustitiae sol mira tuae pulchritudinis uisione omnes reficit, et ita uniuersos caelestis patriae ciues illuminat, ut luceant ipsi, lumen uide licet illuminatum per deum, lumen illuminans ultra omnem nostris solis splendorem atque cunctarum stellarum claritatem, immortales adherentes deitati, ac per hoc immortales et incorruptibiles facti, iuxta promissionem domini saluatoris: *Pater, quos dedisti mihi, uolo ut ubi ego sum, et illi sint mecum, ut uideant claritatem meam; ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu pater in me et ego in te, et ipsi in nobis unum sint.*

PART SEVEN

Liber Meditationum S. Augustini

THE final step, by which the *Liber Supputationum* was changed into the Ps.-Augustinian *Liber Meditationum*, was taken quite late, probably toward the end of the 14th, or even early in the 15th century, if we can judge from the date of the existing manuscripts, all of which are of the 15th or 16th century. We have already seen (VI, 7) that Bartholomaeus of Urbino in the first half of the 14th century was still unacquainted with this form of the work; yet the place of this final recension seems to have been Italy, and the work done under Augustinian auspices. Only about a dozen manuscripts of the *Liber Meditationum* are known, truly "*un maigre butin*," as Dom Wilmart well says.¹ It is reasonable to assume that if the change had occurred earlier, we should find a greater number of *Meditationes* and a correspondingly smaller number of *Supputationes*, whereas the opposite is true. The known manuscripts of the *Liber Meditationum* are as follows:

- Oxford, Canonici 225, s. XV, with 39 chapters and the following transitional title, *Liber supputationum sive meditationum beatissimi patris nostri Aur. Augustini*.
- South Kensington, Reid 74, s. XV (Italian).
- London, Brit. Mus. Addit. 11420, s. XV.
- Amiens 215, s. XV.
- Grenoble 177, s. XV (*olim* Grande-Chartreuse)*²
- “ 210, circa 1500 (Grande-Chartreuse)*
- Lyon 624, anno 1469.
- Metz 50, anno 1456.
- Paris, B. N. 2986, anno 1510 (Italian)*
- Trèves 164, s. XVI*
- Munich, Clm. 26334, s. XV (Italian) with 39 chapters.
- Vienna 1941, s. XV, (from Lisbon, Portugal)*

*These contain Damiani's hymn, *De gloria paradisi*, as chap. 25 or 26.

¹ To the list printed by Dom Wilmart (*Auteurs spirituels du moyen âge latin*, 1932, p. 128) I have added Grenoble 177, Trèves, Munich, Vienna.

² Called by Fournier a *Recueil*. Entries in catalogues are frequently misleading, due to similar or incomplete collections of *Meditationes*, often entered under Augustine's name. See Dom Wilmart's note, *ibidem*.

COMPOSITION OF THE *LIBER MEDITATIONUM*

CHAPTER

1-9 *Meditationes ad patrem, filium, et spiritum sanctum.*[Metz *Lib. II, Orat. X*, = Ps.-Anselm, *Or. X, II, XIV.*]1-4 = Ps.-Anselm, *Orat. X, Ad deum.*

Domine deus meus, da cordi meo te desiderare . . .

Des. . . . trahe me quatinus post te currere in odorem tuorum delecter unguentorum. [*The balance, omitted in the Med., is found in Metz 245 (f. 86v-88r), and in Ps.-Anselm, Orat. X, and ends:* . . . facias, quatinus per timoris servitutem ad amoris merear pertingere gratiam.5-8 = Ps.-Anselm, *Orat. II, Ad deum patrem per merita filii.*

Invoco te, deus meus, invoco te, quia prope es omnibus . . .

Des. . . . tranquillitas inquietudinem, dulcedo amaritudinem, suavitas iram, caritas lucrificat crudelitatem.9 = Ps.-Anselm, *Orat. XIV, Ad spiritum sanctum.*

Iam, o divini amor numinis, patris omnipotentis . . .

Des. . . . secundum multitudinem tuarum complaceat miserationum, per Iesum Christum, salvatorem meum, qui cum patre in tua unitate vivit et regnat per omnia s. s. Amen.10 = Ps.-Anselm, *Orat. XXI.*

Scio, domine, scio et fateor quia non sum dignus . . .

Des. . . . Praesta mihi in finem ut me excipiat somnus cum requie, requies cum securitate, securitas in aeternitate. Amen.**Liber Supputationum.**[Chap. 11-25: *Liber Supputationum, Partes I, II.*]11 *Brevis Oratio ad Sanctam Trinitatem.*

Te deum patrem ingenitum, te filium unigenitum . . .

Johannis Fiscamnensis Libellus Prior.12-17 = *Johannis Libellus I, pars prima.*

12 SVMMA TRINITAS, virtus una, et indiscreta maiestas . . .

13 Hucusque omnipotens deus cordis mei inspector . . .

14 Desperare utique potuissem propter nimiam peccata mea . . .

15 O immensa pietas, o inestimabilis caritas . . .

16 Gratias itaque ago labiis et corde . . .

17 O quantum sumus tibi debitores, domine deus noster . . .

Des. . . . et beata tui sine fine visio et laudatio, ubi tu cum illo et ille tecum in communionem sancti spiritus aeternaliter ac sempiternaliter vivis et regnas, per omnia s. s. Amen.18-25 = *Johannis Libellus I, pars secunda.*

18 SPES mea Christe deus, hominum tu dulcis amator . . .

19 Haec est domus tua, deus, non terrena . . .

20 O domus dei luminosa et speciosa, dilexi decorem tuum . . .

21 Taedet enim me, domine, valde vitae huius . . .

22 O tu vita quam praeparavit deus his qui diligunt eum . . .

23 Felix anima quae terreno resoluta corpore . . .

24 Felices sancti dei omnes, qui iam pertransistis . . .

25 Mater Ierusalem, civitas sancta dei . . .

Des. . . . Qui diligit me, diligitur a patre meo, et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei me ipsum.

Chap. 26 [25 when c. 11 is not separately numbered]

Peter Damiani, Hymnus de Gloria Paradisi.

Ad perennis vitae fontem mens sitivit arida . . .

Des. . . . Teque merear potiri sine fine praemio. Amen.[Chap. 27-33: *Liber Supputationum, Pars III.*]27-33 = *Johannis Libellus I, pars tertia.*

27 BENEDIC anima mea domino et omnia quae intra me sunt . . .

28 Quamquam autem illa summa et incommutabilis essentia . . .

29 O summe, optime, omnipotentissime, misericordissime . . .

30 Tu vero unitas deitatis, personarum pluralitate multiplex . . .

31 Invocat itaque, domine, te fides mea quam dedisti mihi . . .

32 Deus vera et summa vita, a quo, per quem, et in quo . . .

33 Tibi sancti et humiles corde, tibi spiritus et animae . . .

Des. . . . Te decet laus, te decet hymnus, tibi debetur omnis gloria, tibi benedictio et claritas, tibi gratiarum actio, tibi honor, virtus, et fortitudo, deo nostro in secula sec. Amen.Chap. 34 = *Johannis Libellus II, Orat. IV* [Ps.-Anselm, *Or. V*]

Ignosce domine, ignosce pie, ignosce et miserere . . .

Des. . . . Beati qui habitant in domo tua, domine, in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te.[Chap. 35, 36, 37: *Liber Supputationum, Partes IV, V, VI*]35-37 = *Johannis Libellus I, preces i, ii, iii+iv.*35 = Ps.-Anselm, *Orat. XVII.*

IESU nostra redemptio, amor, et desiderium . . .

Des. . . . intercedente et orante et impetrante gloriosa virgine genetrice tua, domina mea, cum omnibus sanctis. Amen.36 = Ps.-Anselm, *Orat. XVI.*

CHRISTE domine, verbum patris, qui venisti . . .

Des. . . . da mihi effectum petitionis et desiderii mei, precibus et meritis omnium sanctorum. Amen.

- 37 = Ps.-Anselm, *Orat. XVIII-XIX, omitting a portion at the end of xviii and at the beginning of xix, as in the Supput.*
 IESU domine, Iesu pie, qui mori dignatus es . . .
Des. . . . quem in terra positus tota virtute dilexi, tota caritate amplexus sum, toto amore inhaesi, ipsum laudo, benedico, atque adoro, qui vivit et regnat in seculum sec. Amen.

[*Finis Libri Supputationum.*]

- Chap. 38 = *Johannis Libellus II, Oratio VIII.*
 Miserere domine, miserere pie, miserere mihi . . .
Des. . . . sicut tu nosti quod mihi necesse est in corpore et in anima: scis omnia, potes omnia, qui vivis in secula.
- Chap. 39 An anonymous prayer based on genuine works of Anselm.
 Domine Iesu Christe, fili dei vivi, qui expansis in cruce . . .
Des. . . . trahe me ad te, ut tuus sim imitatione et dilectione, sicut tuus sum conditione, qui vivis et regnas in secula.
- Chap. 40 An anonymous prayer of the 11th century, based on earlier prayers of the 7th to 9th centuries.
 Domine deus omnipotens, qui es trinus et unus . . .
Des. . . . in sancto paradiso tuo perseverare facias, qui es benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.
- Chap. 41 A genuine prayer of Anselm (*Orat. XX.*)
 Domine Iesu Christe, redemptio mea, misericordia mea . . .
Des. . . . veniet interea fortasse redemptor meus, quia bonus est, nectardabit, quia pius est. Ipsi gloria in secula sec. Amen.

The above analysis shows by what changes and additions the *Meditationes* were formed from the *Supputationes*. The old division into six *partes* has given way to 40 (or 41)¹ short chapter divisions, the brief headings of which were taken over into the early printed editions from the manuscripts, and remained the same until the great Maurist edition of 1685 supplied new headings to fit a new division of the text.

¹ The number varies from 39 to 41, because c. 11 is usually not numbered, and some MSS omit the hymn of Damiani. *Munich* 26334 combines 31 and 32 into one, thus avoiding the awkward break in the long quotation from Alcuin's *Invocatio S. Trinitatis* (P. L. 101, 55), which Alcuin, in turn, took from Marius Victorinus (P. L. 8, 1139), that pagan rhetorician, who "to the amazement of Rome and the joy of the Church" became a Christian in 355. I am indebted to Dom G. Morin (*Munich*) for pointing out to me the source of the Alcuin passage.

est numerus ubi sunt animalia pusilla-cum magnis
 ubi est draco scivissimus semper paratus ad deuo-
 zandum. Ubi sunt loca periculosa sylva et carybdis
 et alia innumerabilia: ubi naufragatur incauti et in
 fide dubij. Orate dominum orate piissimi. orate
 omnia agmina sanctorum et uniuerses cetus beatorum
 ut uestris precibus meritisque adiuti salua naue et in-
 tegris mercibus peruenire mereamur ad portum ppe-
 tue quietis et pperue pacis et nunquam finire securitatis
 anime desiderium ad ciuitatem supernam hierusalē.
Matez hierusalē ciuitas sancta dei **R. xxiij.**
 charissima sponsa christi te amat cor meum
 pulchritudine tua nimum desiderat mens mea quā
 decora quā glorioza quā generosa tu es. Tota pul-
 chra es et macula non est in te Exulta et letare for-
 mosa filia principis qui concupiuit rex speciem tuam
 et amauit decorem tuum speciosus forma pte filijs
 hominum Sed qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto. o
 pulcherrima dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus
 electus ex milibus Sicut malus inter ligna siluay
 sic dilectus tuus inter filios Sub umbra illius que
 desideravi: ecce lectus sedeo: et fructus eius dulcis
 gutturi meo. Dilectus tuus misit manum suā per
 foramē et uenter meus intremuit ad tactum eius. In
 lectulo meo per noctes quesiui quez diligit anima
 mea quesiui et ueni cum teneo nec dimittam illuz
 donec inreducat me in domum tuam in cubiculum
 tuum glorioza genitrix mea. Ibi enim dabis mihi
 et uicissima uerba tua abundantius et perfectius et sa-
 tiabis me satietate mirifica ita ut neqz esurias neqz

In the final arrangement the original work of Johannes forms, as it were, the core or center, about which the new material has been grouped. The first nine chapters are equal to *Orationes x, ii, xiv* of the large collection published under the name of Anselm.² Inasmuch as this material is often found as a separate and complete work, *Meditationes ad patrem, filium, et spiritum sanctum*, in manuscripts from the 12th century on, and these seem to belong to a tradition quite apart from that of Johannes,³ it is extremely doubtful, despite its presence in the Metz collection, whether it is a genuine work of Johannes.

The treatment of Parts I (c. 11-17), II (c. 18-25), and III (c. 27-33) of the *Supputationes* is evident from the analysis given above. After the three *preces* (c. 35, 36, 37⁴), four new chapters have been added: of which, c. 38 is, like c. 34, probably a genuine prayer of Johannes; c. 39 is an anonymous prayer based on genuine works of Anselm, *Proslogion, Med. ii, iii, xi, Orat. lxii*; c. 40 is based on various older prayers of the 7th-8th-9th centuries, and may possibly be the work of Johannes Homo-dei, first abbot of Fructuaria;⁵ c. 41, finally, is by Anselm.

² Anselmi *Opera omnia*, ed. Gerberon, Lyon 1630 (Migne, P. L. 158). The question of the authenticity of the material published by Gerberon under the name of Anselm is so complex and quite beyond the scope of this book, that I can only refer to the investigations of Dom Wilmart in his preface to Castel, *Méditations et Prières de S. Anselme* (Collection 'Pax,' vol. IX), in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, VIII (1927) p. 249-282, recently reprinted in his *Auteurs spirituels du moyen âge latin*, Paris 1932, p. 173 ff. In Anselm, and also in the Metz manuscript the text of *Orat. X* is complete, while the compiler of the *Meditationes* has omitted, at the end of c. 4, the concluding portion, from *Quam magna domine meus multitudo dulcedinis tue . . . to . . . Sic me participem timentium te et custodientium mandata tua facias, quatinus per timoris servitutem ad amoris merear pervingere gratiam*. The omitted portion is in Metz (f. 86^v-88^r) marked off by signs of parenthesis.

³ These Meditations are sometimes ascribed to Augustine in the manuscripts, as in *Vienna* 4443, *Zwetl* 357, *Florence* Laur. 18 dext. 5, concerning which I shall presently have more to say. Dom Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 420 cites a number of other manuscripts, mostly British.

⁴ Chap. 37 is, of course, a fusion of the two original *preces* (iii and iv) of Johannes *Lib. I*, the union of which in the *Liber supputationum* has already been described in PART VI, p. 1, 2, 3.

⁵ On Johannes Homo-dei see PART V, 9 of this book; and especially Dom Wilmart's latest view, given above, *op. cit.* p. 99 and 573.

Codex Laur. XVIII, dext. 5

Although the *Liber Meditationum* as we know it seems not to have reached its final form until late in the 14th century, yet a manuscript of the Laurentian Library (*Laur.* XVIII, dext. 5) from the first half of that century exhibits already several of the distinguishing features of the later work. This codex¹ in its present form is made up of three unrelated parts, written by three different hands; of these only the middle portion, which is in itself only a fragment of a larger book, is of interest to us here. This portion, to which the general title of *Meditationes Augustini* is given, is a collection, as follows:

f° 80^r - 83^v *Meditationes ad patrem*, etc., divided here into Chapters 1 - 10 of the *Meditationes*.

f° 83^v - 85^r Anselm, *Med.* XXI (Patr. lat. 158, 814-820),² divided into the following short chapters:

Meditatio excitans animam ad querendum deum et inveniendum.

Inc. Eia nunc homuncio, fuge paululum occupationes . . .

Quid sit inaccessibilis habitatio quam inhabitat deus.

Quae in deo sit armonia, odor, sapor, lenitas, pulchritudo inefabili modo.

Quod melior sit creator quam creatura.

Quot et quanta bona sunt fruentibus deo.

Quod anima non sufficit recipere gaudium quod promittitur.

Quod in deo sit gaudium quod promittitur.

Des. . . . desiderat tota substantia mea, donec intrem in gaudium domini mei. Amen.

f° 85^r - 85^v Two short chapters continuing the above:

De multiplicibus bonis que sunt apud deum.

Inc. Quam magna domine deus multitudo dulcedinis . . .

¹ According to Bandinius (*Cat. Bibl. Laur.* IV, 535) this manuscript is of the 13th century, but I am assured by Professor L. Schiaparelli, who very kindly examined it again, that it is rather of the first half of the 14th (letter of Mar. 12, 1930). The script is a well developed gothic rotunda.

² The so-called *Meditations in 39 chapters* also begin with *Eia nunc homuncio* (Dom Wilmart, *op. cit.*, p. 128, 173, 199). Here, however, we have only 7 chapters, which correspond quite closely with the last seven chapters of the *Manuale* as usually printed (c. 30-36).

Des. . . . ad amoris merear pertingere gratiam, et per tuum amorem ad te ipsum perveniam, nam amare ire est.³

Admonitio ad animam.

Inc. Anima suspira ardentem, desidera vehementer . . .

Des. . . . ubi audies illud melos angelicum, illud letitie cantum, illud alleluia perpetuum in secula seculorum. Amen.

f° 85^v - 91^v *Supputationes*, Partes I, II, and part of III, but divided into Chap. 12 - 28 of the *Meditationes*.

Because the text breaks off abruptly in the midst of Chap. 28, with the words, *nullius indigens, sibi sufficiens*, the remaining quaternions being lost, we cannot tell whether the original codex contained the remaining chapters as they are usually found in the *Meditationes*; in particular we cannot say whether chapter 34 occurred in its present place, nor whether the work at that time included the pendant chapters 38 to 41.

But at any rate, this manuscript has several unusual features. The first is, of course, the insertion between Chapters 10 and 12, of the Anselmian *Med.* XXI;⁴ the second is the breaking up of the text, both of the *Meditationes ad patrem*, and of the *Supputationes*, into short chapters, each with its own heading. As these divisions and headings are in agreement with those found in later manuscripts of the *Meditationes*, they must have been introduced into the text some time before its final recension. Finally, Damiani's *Hymnus de gloria paradisi*, is here found, for the first time, after Chapter 25. It is interesting to note that this step also was taken early, although the hymn does not appear in all copies of the *Meditationes*, and, of course, it is never found in the *Supputationes*. It is possible to regard this manuscript as forming a kind of transition, or as indicating, at least, some steps in the formation of the regular *Liber Meditationum Augustini*.

³ This is the balance of Anselm *Orat. X*, which was omitted at the end of *Med.* Chap. 4. See Analysis above and footnote 2 on p. VII, 5.

⁴ *Rouen* 671, s. XIII-XIV, f. 156-160, contains a similar arrangement of Chap. 1-10, followed by Anselm *Med.* XXI, and the first chapter of the continuation, as far as, *ad amoris merear pertingere gratiam*. In *Grenoble* 180, s. XV, the usual form of the *Supputationes* is preceded by the *Meditationes ad patrem*, neither being broken up into chapters.

Incunabula Editions of the *Meditationes*

The early printers found in the manuscripts and accepted as genuine works of Augustine the *Meditationes*, the (*Pseudo*-) *Soliloquia*, and the *Manuale*.¹ The *editio princeps* of the *Meditationes* was printed at Milan, about 1480,² by Johannes Antonius et Benignus de Honate,³ and contains besides the three works mentioned above, the *Scala paradisi*, *De duodecim abusionum gradibus*, *Bernardi Meditationes*, "*Multi multa sciunt*," *De conscientia aedificanda*, *Epistola de gubernatione familiae*, and the *Rhythmus ad membra Christi patientis*. The *Meditationes S. Augustini* are first in the volume, after the dedicatory preface, on p. *B1a-G3a*, and they include the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* as Chapter 25.

The first collected edition of St. Augustine's *Opuscula*,⁴ including the *Meditationes*, *Soliloquia*, *Manuale*, *Confessiones*, and eighteen other works (genuine and supposititious) was printed in Venice by Octavianus Scotus, 28 May 1483.⁵ The *Meditationes Divi Augustini Episcopi Hipponensis* begin the volume, p. *A2a-C6a*, and the *Hymnus*, c. 25, is on p. *B2b-B3b*.

These incunabula copies show 40 chapters, (XI not being separately numbered), and the chapter headings found in them are, except for minor variations in the wording, identical with those of the manuscripts. The headings in the Milan 1480, and the Venice 1483, editions are as follows:

¹ So certain were they of the genuineness of these works that the *Vita b. Augustini*, prefixed to the *Canones iuxta regulam* (Strassburg 1490), even assigns their composition to that period of Augustine's life which preceded his baptism at Milan: *Eo tempore meditationum, soliloquiorum et alios libros multos maxime contemplationis scripsit*.

² *Gesamtkat. d. Wiegendrucke*, 2970, gives c. 1480-1482; but Copinger, apparently from an Olschki Catalogue of 1893, gives the date as 1475.

³ Copies in the U.S. in the Morgan Library, the Chapin Library at Williams College, and in the Library of Congress.

⁴ The very rare Cracow edition of 1475 (?) did not contain the *Meditationes*. The copy mentioned on p. V, 11 has been sold to Maggs, London.

⁵ *GKW* 2863 (*Hain* 1946). Copies in the U.S. in the Morgan Library, the Huntington Library, the Library of Congress, and in my own collection. Other incunabula editions with the *Med.* are: Venice, Andreas de Bonetis, 23 July 1484 [*GKW* 2864]; Strassburg, Martin Flach, 1489 [2865] and again 1491 [2868]; Venice, Dionysius Berthochus, 26 Mar. 1491 [2866]; Brescia 1498 [2972]; Paris c. 1500 [2973].

Tabula i meditatioe per capitula:

Meditationes Diui Augustini Episcopi Hipponensis.

Inuocatio dei omnipotentis ad mores vite reparationem.

Domini accusatio et commendatio misericordie diuine.

Deo questio quod propter inobedientiam domino non audiat.

Iudicii timor.

Inuocatur pater per filium.

Hic respicit homo pro passionem filii.

Hic recognoscit homo se causam esse passionis.

Hic exponit homo deo patri passionem filii et suam reconciliationem.

De inuocatione spiritus sancti.

Oratio sui dei se humiliter sententis oratio ad sanctam trinitatem.

Confessio omnipotentis dei et maiestatis eiusdem.

Qualiter generi humano dignatus est subuenire deus pater et de uerbi incarnatione et gratiarum actione.

De fiducia quam habere debet anima in domino Iesu atque eius passione.

De immensa caritate patris eterni ad genus humanum.

De duplici christi natura quod pro nobis miseretur et pro nobis interpellat.

De gratia quam debet homo deo pro beneficio redemptionis.

Oratio deuotissima ad christum.

Hic distinguit iter sapientiam que domini est et sapientiam que diuina est.

Hic orat homo ut ipsa quoque uox dei orat pro eo.

Quantis amaritudinibus uita ista sit respersa.

De felicitate uite quam preparauit deus diligentibus se.

De felicitate anime sancte hic exultis

Oratio ad sanctos ut nobis succurrant in periculis.

Anime desiderium ad ciuitatem supernam hierusalem.

Hymnus de gloria paradisi.

Laus continua quam facit anima ex contemplatione superne diuinitatis.

Quid sit quodammodo deum cernere et qualiter sit de deo sciendum.

Oratio explicans plurimas deitatis proprietates.

De unitate personarum et pluralitate in deo.

Oratio ad sanctam trinitatem.

Quod deus uera et summa uita est.

Laus angelorum et hominum.

Hic conqueritur homo quod non conpungitur in contemplatione: angeli quoque tremunt deum uidentes.

Oratio cor multum mouens ad deuotionem et diuinum amorem.

Oratio deuotissima ad laudes habendas.

In ista oratione mens humana copiosius conpungitur si in quiete dicitur.

Oratio in tribulatione.

Oratio multum deuota ad filium.

Oratio uilis et dirigitur ad patrem.

Oratio deuota de recordatione passionis christi.

Diui Augustini Episcopi Hipponensis soliloquiorum.

De miseria et fragilitate hominis.

De mirabili lumine dei.

De mortalitate humane nature.

Quid sit nihil fieri.

De casu anime in peccatio.

De multiplicibus beneficiis dei.

De dignitate hominis futura.

De omnipotentia dei.

De laude dei.

De spe erigenda ad deum.

De laqueis concupiscentiarum.

De miseria hominis et beneficiis dei.

Meditationes Diui Augustini Episcopi Hipponensis

[*Meditationes ad Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum*]

- 1] Inuocatio dei omnipotentis ad mores et uite reparationem.
- 2] Hominis accusatio et commendatio misericordie diuine.
- 3] Hominis conuestio qui propter inobedientiam a domino non auditur.
- 4] Iudicii timor. [Iudicis timor, *Strassburg* 1491] [ditur.]
- 5] Inuocatur pater per filium.
- 6] Hic representat homo patri passionem filii.
- 7] Hic recognoscit homo se causam esse passionis.
- 8] Hic exponit homo deo patri passionem filii in suam reconciliationem.
- 9] De inuocatione spiritus sancti. [tionem.]

[*Anselm, Orat. XXI*]

- 10] Oratio serui dei de se humiliter sentientis.

[*Liber Supputationum, Pars I.*]

- Oratio ad sanctam trinitatem.
- 12] Confessio omnipotentis dei et maiestatis eiusdem. = xi
- 13] Qualiter generi humano dignatus est subuenire deus pater et de uerbi incarnatione et gratiarum actione. xii
- 14] De fiducia quam habere debet anima in domino Iesu atque in eius passione. xiii
- 15] De immensa caritate patris eterni ad genus humanum. xiv
- 16] De duplici Christi natura qui [que *Strassburg*] pro nobis miseretur et pro nobis interpellat. xv
- 17] De gratia quam debet homo deo pro beneficio redemptionis. xvi

[*Liber Supp., Pars II.*]

- 18] Oratio deuotissima ad Christum. xvii
- 19] Hic distinguit inter sapientiam que domus dei est et sapientiam que diuina est. xviii
- 20] Hic orat homo ut ipsa quoque domus dei orat pro eo. xix
- 21] Quantis amaritudinibus uita ista sit respersa. xx
- 22] De felicitate uite quam preparauit deus diligentibus se. xxi
- 23] De felicitate anime sancte hinc exeuntis. xxii
- 24] Oratio ad sanctos ut nobis succurrant in periculis. xxiii
- 25] Anime desiderium ad ciuitatem supernam hierusalem. xxiv

[*Hymnus de gloria paradisi*]

- 26] Hymnus de gloria paradisi. xxv

[*Liber Supp., Pars III.*]

- 27] Laus continua quam facit anima ex contemplatione superne diuinitatis. xxvi
- 28] Quid sit quodammodo deum cernere et tenere et qualiter sit de deo sentiendum. xxvii
- 29] Oratio explicans plurimas deitatis proprietates. xxviii
- 30] De unitate personarum et pluralitate in deo. xxix
- 31] Oratio ad sanctam trinitatem. xxx
- 32] Quod deus uera et summa uita est. xxxi
- 33] Laus angelorum et hominum. xxxii

[*Anselm, Orat. V.*]

- 34] Hic conqueritur homo quod non conpungitur in contemplationem: ex quo angeli quoque tremunt deum uidentes. xxxiii

[*Liber Supp., Partes IV, V, VI.*]

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 35] Oratio cor multum mouens ad deuotionem et diuinum amorem. | xxxiv |
| 36] Oratio deuotissima ad laudes habendas. | xxxv |
| 37] In ista oratione mens humana copiosius compungitur si in quiete dicitur [dicatur Milan 1480, 1484, Strass. 1491] | xxxvi |
| [<i>Supplementary prayers</i>] | |
| 38] Oratio in tribulatione. | xxxvii |
| 39] Oratio multum deuota ad filium. | xxxviii |
| 40] Oratio vtilis et dirigitur ad patrem. | xxxix |
| 41] Oratio deuota de recordatione passionis Christi. | xl |

Translations of the *Meditationes*

The popularity of the *Meditationes* is attested not only by their inclusion in so many incunabula and later¹ editions in Latin, but also by many translations into the various vernacular languages. I have already described, in PART VI, three early translations of the *Liber Supputationum*, into German, Italian, and Dutch. The earliest printed translation of the *Liber Meditationum* which I have found is in German: *Das büchlein des sälligen Augustini*, Reutlingen, Johann Otmar, c. 1492-95 [GKW 2975], which also includes the earliest translation of Damiani's Hymn. Then follow, during the 16th century and later, translations into Spanish² 1515, Flemish 1548, English (see below p. 13, 14), Italian 1568,³ French 1582, Polish 1629, Swedish 1708, Modern Greek 1804.

¹ The permanent success of the work is due largely to the *Sommalius* edition, *Diui Aurelii Augustini Meditationes, Soliloquia et Manuale, etc.* by Henricus Sommalius, S.J., 1st ed. Douai 1608; Lyons 1610; Cologne 1631. Of this innumerable reprints, reaching even down to our own time, have appeared, and on this most of the translations are based.

² *Las meditaciones y soliloquios y manuale*, Valladolid 1515. There is also a Spanish translation in manuscript in Vienna (11705, paper, dated 1574): *Las meditaciones de Santo Agustin . . . tradussido de lengua Francesa en lengua Castellana por mi P.* The *Med.* are in 41 chapters and include the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* (f. 62r-65r).

³ A more recent Italian translation, *Le devote Meditazioni di Sant' Aurelio Agostino, con li Soliloqui, Manuale, ed Affettuosi Sospiri*, Venice 1777, is a little volume of unusual interest because it contains as a supplement the only printed translation which I have found of the little known *Suspirta* (see VI, 5). The Continuation mentioned in footnote 5 *ibidem* is included in this translation, which, according to the sub-title, is made from a Vatican MS: *Affettuosi Sospiri . . . nuovamente ritrovata nella Libreria Vaticana, e tradotta nella lingua Toscana dal Padre Arsenio dell' Ascensione Scalzo Agostiniano.*

Queen Elizabeth and the *Meditationes*

Further proof of the wide-spread popularity of the *Meditationes* is found in a story concerning their use by Queen Elizabeth. As usually related¹ it is to the effect that when the Princess Elizabeth was held captive at Woodstock by Queen Mary (1555) she wrote on the fly-leaf of her New Testament the following quotation :

"I walke many times into the pleasant fieldes of the holye scriptures, where I plucke vp the goodlie greene herbes of sentences by pruning; eate them by reading; chawe them by musing; and laie them vp at length in the hie seate of memorie by gathering them together; that so hauing tasted thy sweetenes, I may the lesse perceauē the bitternes of this miserable life."

From a footnote in the *English Hexapla* we discover that the anecdote is derived from Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*,² in which, in connection with the year 1554, we read:

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there is an English translation of S. Paul's Epistles, in black letter; on a blank leaf of this, the following paragraph written in her own [Elizabeth's] hand, and in the pedantry of the times, yet remains: "I walke many times, etc." [as above].

Neither the editors of the *Hexapla* nor Miss Anthony seem aware of the source of the quotation, but regard it as something composed by Elizabeth herself, as, apparently, did Warton also. But, as a matter of fact, it is translated from Chapter 22 of the *Meditationes* (see VII, 18) beginning: *Huius rei gratia sanctorum scripturarum amoena prata ingredior, etc.* Furthermore, the quotation agrees almost³ exactly with the wording of Thomas Rogers' translation (described in this PART) which was not published until 1581, nearly thirty years after

¹ In the Introduction to the *English Hexapla* (p. 38); and recently in Katharine Anthony's *Queen Elizabeth* (1929) p. 71.

² Thomas Warton (1728-1790), *Life of Sir Thomas Pope* (c. 1508-1559), *Founder of Trinity College, Oxford*, 1772, p. 73.

³ On p. 88, with two slight variations from the above text: *using*, possibly a misprint for *musung* (frequentando); and *at the length*.

the reputed date of the story. This apparent impossibility is explained away, at the cost, to be sure, of the usual form of the legend, when we learn that the book in question (now MS e Museo 242 in the Bodleian), which is a part of a New Testament in L. Tomson's version, was printed almost certainly in 1578, in any case not before 1576, the date of the first edition of this version. Thus the quotation from the 1581 translation by Rogers may have been copied in at any time subsequent to that date by the Queen, if indeed the handwriting is Elizabeth's own, as the brief note beneath the passage claims. But even this is not, after all, absolutely certain, and the former Librarian of the Bodleian, E. W. B. Nicholson (1880 to 1910) was sceptical of its genuineness.⁴

Bishop Symon Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*

A later and more extended use of the Augustinian *Meditations* was made by Symon Patrick (1626-1704), Bishop of Ely, in his *Parable of the Pilgrim*,⁵ 1665, a contemporary allegory with *Pilgrim's Progress*.⁶ In the dedication he says that he is indebted to Baker's *Sancta Sophia*⁷ for the idea of the Pilgrim. But several long passages are taken from a "meditation of that devoute person, who, as I told you long ago, undertook the guidance of men to *Jerusalem*" (p. 103), and when, a few pages before (p. 99), he mentions this Guide, "an ancient Guide to *Jerusalem* whom I have met withal . . ." the marginal name "S. Aug." shows whom he meant. Actually the following passage (see p. VII, 32) is freely based on *Med.* c. 22 and 25.

⁴ As I am informed in a very courteous letter from Mr Stephen Wright, Assist. Sec. to the Librarian, 28 Jan. 1933.

⁵ *The Parable of the Pilgrim: written to a Friend*, by Symon Patrick, (in 1663), 1st ed. London 1665, from my copy of which I quote.

⁶ According to Wharey, *A Study of the Sources of Bunyan's Allegories* (Dissert.), Baltimore 1904, Bunyan (1678) was not influenced by Patrick.

⁷ David (Augustine) Baker (1575-1641), *Sancta Sophia, or Directions for the prayer of Contemplation*, Douai 1657, re-edited by Dom N. Sweeney, London 1876. Baker derived his idea of the Pilgrim from the *Scala perfectionis* (Bk. II, ch. 21) of Walter Hilton (d. 1396); ed. by Evelyn Underhill, London 1923; re-issue of Wynken de Worde's ed. London, 1927.

M.S.e. Museo 242

August

I walke many times into
the iulcasans fieldes of the
holye scriptures, where
I plucke vp the goodlie
greene herbes of Sentenc
es by pruning: Eat the
by reading: Chawc the
musing: And Laye them
vp at length in the hie
seate of memorie by gather
ing them together: that
I hauing tasted thy sweet
enes I may the Lesse per
ceauē the bitterness of this
miserable Life

This was queene
Elizabethes booke & this
was her owne hande
writing about

Quotation from the *Meditations*, said to have been written by Queen Elizabeth in her Bible.

EARLY ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

Apparently the first English translation of the *Meditations*, and that not a complete one, is found in an anonymous book of 1558, printed in black letter, with this title:

The Pomander of Prayer, wherein is contained many godly Prayers. Whereunto are added certayne Meditations called S. Augustines, which, being redde with a feruent mynde, will profyt much and stir thee to vertue. Anno 1558.¹

The translations from the *Meditations* begin on f° 172 with the following sub-title:

Certain godly Meditations made in the form of Prayers by S. Augustine.

They embrace the following fourteen Chapters: 6, 7, 8, 9; 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; 21, 22. This book was followed a little later² by another edition nearly the same as the preceding, in which the author's name appeared:

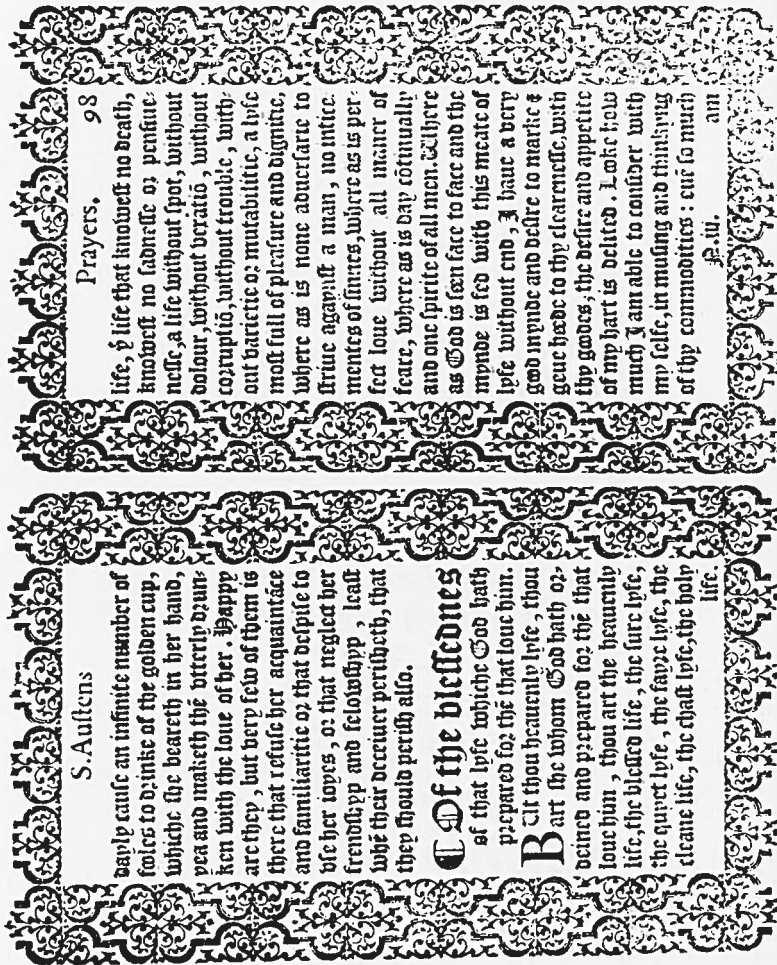
The Pomander of Prayer by T[homas] Becon. Imprinted at London by John Daye.

Facing the title page in this edition there is an engraved portrait of the author with this inscription: "Thomas Beconus sacrosanctæ theologiæ professor, ætatis suæ 41, an. dmi. 1553." The second part of this book (f° 65-123) contains, under the same sub-title as before, the same chapters as in the first edition, with these five more: 34; 36, 37, 38, 39.

It would seem that Thomas Becon, who was Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, and had been imprisoned in the Tower in 1553-'54 for his attachment to the reformed faith, had prepared this book for publication about 1553 when the portrait was engraved, but was unable to issue it, even anonymously, until 1558, the year of Mary's death. A little later, when Elizabeth was firmly seated on the throne, he completed and issued it under his own name.

¹ British Museum, C. 35. b. 24; 12mo of 306 f.

² Br. Mus. C. 66. d. 6; 12mo, 123 f. The catalogue gives 1560 (?) as date.



The Pomander of Prayer, 1558, with the first English translation of the *Meditations* (c. 22).

The next, and the first complete translation, is that by Thomas Rogers, 1581, with this title page:

A right Christian Treatise, / entituled / S. AVGVSTINES / PRAIRES: / Published in more ample sort than / yet it hath bin / in the English tong: / purged from diuers supersti- / tious points / and adorned / with manifold places / of the S. Scrip- / ture, by / THOMAS ROGERS. / Whereunto is annexed Saint / AVGV- / STINES PSALTER: / Translated and quoted by the / same T.R. / I. Tes. 5, 17. / PRAIE CONTINVALIE. / Imprinted at London / by Henrie / Denham, dwelling in Pater / Noster Row, at the signe / of the Starre. / 1581. / Cum priuilegio Regiae / Maiestatis.³

This translation, in 40 numbered chapters, corresponds to the usual printed form of the *Meditations*, and contains the Hymn of Damiani as chapter 25. As first issued, the *Meditations* (218 pp.) were combined with a translation of the *Manual* (96 pp.), also by Rogers, a separate edition of which appeared in 1591. In 1600 the *Soliloquies* were added to the other two, so that the completed work contained three parts:

- 1) A pretious Booke of heauenly meditations called A priuate talke of the soule with God. (*Soliloquies in 37 ch.*)
- 2) A right Christian Treatise, etc. (*Meditations in 40 ch.*)
- 3) S. Augustines Manuel conteneing speciall and picked meditations and godly praiers. . . (*Manual in 35 ch.*)

A third translation by Aubrey Batt, O.S.B., was issued under Benedictine auspices at St. Omer in 1624:

A heavenly treasure of comfortable Meditations and prayers written by S. Augustin Bishop of Hyppon in three several treatises of his Meditations, Soliloquies and Manual. Faithfully translated into English by the R. F. Aubrey Batt, Monke of the holy order of S. Bennet of the Congregation of England. S. Omer, 1624.

An anonymous translation was printed at Paris in 1631 by Nicolas de la Coste at the Mount of S. Hilary.⁴ This may be the same as an anonymous translation printed for Matthew Turner in London, 1686, as in both Damiani's Hymn begins in the same way, and is numbered as chapter 26.

³ British Museum, 1018. B. 24; 12mo of 218 pp.

⁴ Copy in the Harvard University Library, 18mo of 470 pp.

RECAPITULATORY

We have now finished tracing the literary development of this work from its origin in the *Libelli de Contemplativa Vita* of Johannes of Fécamp in the 11th century (PART V), through the *Liber Supputationum* (PART VI), to its final and printed form as the *Liber Meditationum S. Augustini* in the 15th century (PART VII), under the influence of which, especially of those chapters (22 to 25) which contain the traditional picture of the Heavenly Jerusalem, our ballads were produced, "Jerusalem my happie home" (PART II), and The Prisoner's Song, "Jerusalem thy joyes divine" (Part III), and from the 25th chapter of which W. Prid directly made his long poem, "O Mother dear Jerusalem" (PART IV).

On the following pages I have reprinted from the Metz manuscript the text of chapters 22 to 25 of the *Meditations*, being the concluding portion of Johannes' *Libellus Prior, Pars Secunda*, where, as the old title says, he treats especially "de illa superna Hierusalem matre nostra."¹ Opposite chapter 22 I have printed Becon's translation from the *Pomander of Prayer* (1558), and facing chapters 23 and 25 Roger's translation from *A right Christian Treatise* (1581), thus bringing the English text into a chronological harmony with the songs and ballads of the Elizabethan period mentioned above.² Because Rogers altered chapter 24 into a prayer to Christ instead of to the Saints, I have preferred to place opposite that chapter the corresponding portions of the *Oratio decora* from the *Libellus Alter* of Johannes. By comparing these two passages, and also those other portions of the *Oratio decora* in PART VI with the chapters here given, the reader will obtain some idea of Johannes' literary method, and be better able to understand the long-continued popularity and wide-spread influence of this, one of the most important manuals of mystical devotion which the Christian piety of the Middle Ages produced.

¹ The headings to each chapter are those of the printed editions.

² For this reason I have not quoted from the later translation by George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, "Pious Breathings," London 1701, etc.

Metz f^o 18^r] MEDITATIONES, Cap. XXII

De felicitate uitę quam preparauit Deus diligentibus se.

O Tu uita quam preparauit deus his qui diligunt eum, uita uitalis, uita beata, uita secura, uita tranquilla, uita pulchra, uita munda, uita casta, uita sancta, uita ignara mortis, nescia tristitię, uita sine labe, sine corruptione, sine dolore, sine anxietate, sine perturbatione, sine uarietate et mutatione, uita totius elegantię et dignitatis plenissima; ubi non est aduersarius et impugnans, ubi nulla peccati illecebra, ubi est amor perfectus et nullus timor, ubi est dies eternus, et unus omnium spiritus, ubi deus facie ad faciem cernitur, et hoc uitę cibo mens sine defectu satiatur.

¶ Libet mihi tuę intendere claritati, delectat me bona tua auido corde quantum plus ualeo tecum considerare: tuo enim amore languo, tuo uehementer desiderio flagro, tuaque dulci memoria admodum delector. Libet itaque, libet in te oculos cordis attollere, statum mentis erigere, affectum animi conformare. Libet sane de te loqui, de te audire, de te scribere, de te conferre, de tua beatitudine et gloria cotidie legere et lecta sepius corde reuoluere; ut uel sic possim ab huius mortalis et periturę uitę ardoribus, periculis, et sudoribus, sub tuę uitalis aurę dulce refrigerium transire, et transiens in sinu tuo fessum caput dormiturus uel paululum reclinare.

¶ Of the blessednes of that lyfe whiche God hath prepared for them that loue him.

BUt thou heauenly lyfe, thou art he whom God hath ordeined and prepared for them that loue him, thou art the heauenly life, the blessed life, the sure lyfe, the quyet lyfe, the sayre lyfe, the cleane life, the chaste lyfe, the holy life, the life that knowest no death, knowest no sadnesse or peniuenesse, a life without spot, without dolour, without vexation, without corruption, without trouble, without varietie or mutabilitie, a lyfe most full of pleasure and dignitie, where as is none aduersarie to striue agaynst a man, no inticementes of sinnes, where as is perfect loue without all maner of feare, where as is day continually and one spirite of all men. Where as God is seen face to face and the mynde is fed with this meate of lyfe without end, I haue a very good mynde and desire to marke and geue heede to thy clearnesse, with thy goodes, the desire and appetite of my hart is delited. Looke how much I am able to consider with my selfe, in musing and thinkyng of thy commodities: euen so much am I rauished and capt with thy loue, with the seruent desire of thee and with the sweete and comfortable remembraunce of thee, am I wonderfully delited. I haue a pleasure therfore, surely to lift by the eyes of my hart vnto thee, to erect the state of my mynde, and conforme or fashion the affects of my mynde vnto thee: It pleaseth me to talke of thee, to heare of thee, to write of thee, to conferre and meditate of thee, to read euery day of thy blessednesse and glorie, and to muse often tymes in my mynde of the thynges I haue read concernyng thee, that at the least by such meanes, I beyng vnder the sweete refreshyng and comfortyng of thy liuely ayre, may passe from the vexations, ieopardies, labours, and trauels

¶ Huius rei gratia sanctorum scripturarum amena prata ingredior, uiridissimas sententiarum herbas exarando carpo, legendo comedo, frequentando rumino, atque congregando tandem in alta memorię sede repono, ut tali modo tua dulcedine degustata minus istius miserimę uitę amaritudines sentiam.

¶ O tu uita felicissima! o regnum uere beatum, carens morte, uacans sine! cui nulla tempora succedunt peręuum; ubi continuus sine nocte dies nescit habere tempus; ubi uictor miles illis hymnidicis angelorum sociatus choris cantat deo sine cessatione canticum de canticis Syon,

“Nobile perpetua caput amplectente corona.”

Vtinam concessa mihi peccatorum uenia moxque hac carnis sarcina deposita, utinam in tua gaudia ueram requiem habiturus intrarem; et in tuę ciuitatis preclara atque spatiosa menia coronam uitę de manu domini accepturus ingrederer; ut *illis sanctissimis choris interessem, ut cum beatissimis spiritibus glorię conditoris affilterem, ut presentem Christi uultum cernerem, ut illud summum et ineffabile et incircumscriptum lumen semper aspicerem, sicque nullo metu mortis affici, sed de incorruptione perpetuę glorię letari* potuissem sine fine.

* Ex Gregorii Hom. in Evang. 37; Patrol. lat. 76, 1275.

of this mortal life that will soone perish, and that in passing I may lay my weary head in thy bosome to sleepe or to rest a little, for this cause do I enter into the pleasaunt meadow of the holy Scriptures, and in plowng, I plucke the goodlyest greene herbes of sentences, and in readyng I do eatte them, and in frequentyng I do meditate, and as it were cud them, and ingatheryng them together, at the last I lay them bp in my memorie, that by such meanes when I haue tasted of thy sweetness, I may somewhat lesse feele the bitterness of this most wretched life. O thou most happy lyfe, oh kyngdome which art blessed in deede, whiche lackest death, whiche art without ende, no tyme doth successiuelly passe at any tyme to thee. Where as continuall day without night knoweth no tyme, whereas that captaine and conquerour is accompanied with those queres of aungells, singyng of hymnes and songes, they sing vnto God without ceassing the balet of Balets of Sion. Oh most noble head which art compassed about with a perpetuall crown, oh that pardon and forgeuenesse of my sinnes were graunted vnto me, and then immediatly, this burden of my flesh layd away, that I might enter into thy ioyes to haue true rest, & that I might get within the goodly and beautifull walles of thy Citie to receiue a crowne of lyfe at the hand of our Lorde, that I might be amongst those most holy queres, that I might stand with the most blessed spirites of the creator of glory, that I might see presently the countenaunce of Christ, that I might behold alwayes that most hye and vnpeakeable light, incomprehensible whiche can not be contened as in a place. And so I should not onely be out of all feare of death; but also I might reioyse alwayes at the gift of euerlastyng incorruption. Amen.

MEDITATIONES, Cap. XXIII

De felicitate anime sanctę hinc exeuntis.

FELIX anima, quę terreno resoluta carcere, libera cęlum petit. Secura est et tranquilla, non timet hostem neque mortem. Habet enim semper presentem cernitque indefinenter pulcherrimum dominum, cui seruiuit, quem dilexit, et ad quem tandem leta et gloriosa peruenit. Hanc uero tantę beatitudinis gloriam nulla dies minuet, nullus improbus poterit auferre. *Viderunt eam filię, et beatissimam predicauerunt, reginę et concubinę laudauerunt eam,* dicentes, Quę est ista quę ascendit de deserto, deliciis affluens, innixa super dilectum suum? Quę est ista quę progreditur sicut aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies decorata? Quam leta exit, festina currit, cum dilectum suum dicentem attonitis auribus audit: Surge, amica mea, speciosa mea, et ueni; iam enim hiemps transiit, imber abiit et recessit; flores apparuerunt, tempus putationis aduenit; uox turturis audita est in terra nostra; ficus protulit grossos suos; florentes uinę dederunt odorem. Surge, propera, amica mea, formosa mea, columba mea, in foraminibus petre, in cauerna macerie, ostende mihi faciem tuam; sonet uox tua in auribus meis: uox tua dulcis et facies tua decora. Veni, electa mea; speciosa mea, et columba mea, immaculata mea, sponfa mea. Veni, et ponam in*

* Cantica canticorum, vi, 8, viii, 5, vi, 9, ii, 10.

S. AVGVSTINES PRAIERS. Chap. 22 [23].

Of the happines of the good soule hence departing.

HAppie is the soule, which departing from the earthlie bodie goeth directlie into heauen; secure it is and quiet, and feareth neither enimie, nor death. For it enioieth continually thy presence, ô God, and vncessantlie beholdeth the most glorious Lord, whome she hath serued, and loued, and whome now at the length full ioyfullie and glorioullie she hath attained vnto.

And this glorie of so great blessednes, neither time shal diminish, nor anie wicked person take awaie.

The daughters of Zion haue seene her, and counted her blessed, euen the Queenes and the concubines haue praised her, saieing:

Who is she that commeth vp out of the desert, abounding in pleasure, leaning vpon her wel-beloued?

Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, faire as the moone, pure as the sun, terrible as an armie with banners?

How cheerefullie goeth she out, hasteneth, runneth, when al amazed she heareth her beloued saieing vnto her on this wise: Arise my loue, my faire one, and come awaie. For behold, the winter now is past; the raine is changed, and gone awaie.

The flowers appeare in our earth: the time of the singing of the bird is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.

The fig tree hath brought forth her young figs; and the vines with their smal grapes haue cast a fauor; arise my loue, my faire one, and come awaie.

My doue that art in the holes of the rocke, in the secret places of the staires, shew me thy sight, let me heare thy voice, for thy voice is sweet, and thy sight comelie.

te thronum meum, quia concupiui speciem tuam. Veni ut leteris in conspectu meo cum angelis meis, quorum focietas tibi a me repromissa est. Veni post multa pericula et labores; intra in gaudium domini tui, quod nemo tollet a te.



MEDITATIONES, Cap. XXIV

Oratio ad sanctos ut nobis succurrant in periculis.

FELICES Sancti dei omnes, qui iam pertransistis huius mortalitatis pelagus, et peruenire meruistis ad portum perpetue quietis, securitatis, et pacis. Securi et tranquilli, semperque festiui atque gaudentes estis. Obsecro per matrem caritatem: securi estis de uobis, solliciti estote de nobis. Securi estis de uestra inmarcesibili gloria, solliciti estote de nostra multiplici miseria. Per ipsum uos rogo, qui uos elegit, qui uos tales fecit, de cuius pulchritudine iam fatiamini, de cuius immortalitate immortales facti estis, de cuius beatissima uisione semper gaudetis. Estote iugiter memores nostri, subuenite nobis miseris, qui adhuc in falo huius uite circumflantibus agitamur procellis.

Come awaie my chofen, my faire one, my doue, mine vnspotted one, my spoufe come awaie, and I will put thee into my bedchamber: because I haue longed after thy beautie.

Come awaie, that thou maist triumph in my prefence with mine Angels; whose companie I haue promised thee.

After manie perils and labors come awaie, enter into thy masters ioie, the which no man shal take from thee.



ORATIO DECORA : CONFESSIO THEOLOGICA

Libellus II, Orat. ix, Metz 75v : Pars iii, Antwerp ed. p. 62v.

FELICES Sancti dei, qui iam pertransistis turbulentum pelagus huius mortalitatis, et peruenistis ad portum perpetue quietis, securitatis, et pacis, atque iam fieri meruistis confortes celestium uirtutum. Securi estis de uobis, solliciti estote de nobis. Per ipsum uos rogo qui uos elegit, qui uos tales fecit, de cuius contemplatione iam gaudetis, de cuius pulchritudine iam fatiamini, de cuius immortalitate atque incommutabilitate immortales et incommutabiles facti estis, estote memores nostri miserorum, qui adhuc in falo huius uite circumflantibus percellimur undis; intercedite et orate pro nobis miseris multumque negligentibus peccatoribus constanter et indefinenter, ut uestrarum ulnis orationum ad deum nostrum portemur. Sumus namque fragiles, et nullius uirtutis homunciones, uentris animalia et carnis mancipia.

¶ Vos portę pulcherrimę quę in magnam furrexistis altitudinem, adiuuate nos uile pauimentum longe inferius iacens. Date manum et erigite iacentes super pedes, ut conualescentes de infirmitate fortes efficiamur in bello. Intercedite atque orate constanter atque indefinenter pro nobis miseris multumque negligentibus peccatoribus; ut per uestras orationes uestro sancto confortio coniungamur; quia aliter salui esse non possumus. Sumus namque ualde fragiles et nullius uirtutis homunciones, animalia uentris et carnis mancipia, in quibus uix aliquod probitatis uestigium apparet.

¶ Et tamen sub Christi confessione positi ligno crucis ferimur, nauigantes per hoc mare magnum et spatiosum, ubi sunt reptilia quorum non est numerus; ubi sunt animalia pusilla cum magnis; ubi est draco seuius, semper paratus ad deuorandum; ubi sunt loca periculosa, Scylla et Charibdis, et alia innumerabilia, in quibus naufragantur incauti et in fide dubii.

¶ Orate deum, orate piissimi, orate omnia agmina sanctorum et uniuersus cętus beatorum, ut uestris precibus meritisque adiuti, salua naue et integris mercibus, peruenire mereamur ad portum perpetuę quietis et continuę pacis et numquam finiendę securitatis.



¶ Vos autem portę fortissimę in magnam porrectę altitudinem, adiuuate nos uile pauimentum longe inferius iacens. Nauigamus enim sicut nostis per hoc mare magnum et spatiosum, ubi sunt reptilia quorum non est numerus: animalia pusilla cum magnis; ubi cetus magnus deuorare transeuntes semper paratus; ubi loca periculosa, Scylla et Charibdis, et alia non nulla in quibus incauti et in fide dubii patiuntur naufragia. In quibus itaque uestro indigemus auxilio. Ligno quidem ferimur et per crucem domini ad portum transire speramus. Fugiant partes aduersę uiso Christi signo.

¶ Orate domini patres et dulcissimi seniores, omnia agmina cęlestis patrię, ut uestris meritis uestrisque sanctis orationibus salua naue et integris mercibus securum perpetuę glorię portum ualeamus feliciter introire, ubi uos estis, ubi uos gaudetis, ubi cum deo sine fine regnatis.



MEDITATIONES, Cap. XXV

Animę desiderium ad ciuitatem supernam Hierusalem.

MATER IERUSALEM CIVITAS SANCTA DEI, karissima sponſa Christi, te amat cor meum; pulchritudinem tuam nimium desiderat mens mea. Quam decora, quam gloriosa, quam generosa tu es. *Tota pulchra es, et macula non est in te.* Exulta et lætare, formosa principis filia, quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam, et amauit decorem tuum speciosus præ filiis hominum. *Sed qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto, o pulcherrima? Dilectus tuus candidus et rubicundus, electus e milibus. Sicut malum inter ligna siluarum, sic dilectus tuus inter filios. Sub umbra illius quam desiderauit, ecce, lætus sedeo; et fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo. Dilectus tuus misit manum per foramen et uenter meus intremuit a tactu eius. In lectulo meo per noctem quęsui dilectum tuum quem diligit anima mea; quęsui et inueni eum; teneo nec dimittam eum, donec introducat me in domum tuam et in cubiculum tuum, gloriosa genetrix mea. Ibi enim dabis mihi dulcissima ubera tua abundantius et perfectius, et faturabis me fatietate mirifica, ita ut nec esuriam neque sitiam in æternum.*

¶ Felix anima mea, semperque in sæcula felix, si intueri meruero gloriam tuam, beatitudinem tuam, pulchritudinem tuam, portas et muros tuos, mansiones tuas multas, nobilissimos ciues tuos, et fortissimum regem tuum, dominum nostrum, in decore suo. Muri namque tui ex la-

S. AVGVSTINES PRAIERS. Chap. 24 [25].

A desire of the soule after the supernal Jerusalem.

O Mother Jerusalem, the holie Citie of God, and the derelie beloued spouse of Christ, after thee doth mine hart couet; and my soule exceedingly is in loue with thy beautie.

Oh how comelie, how glorious, how honorable art thou! thou art all faire, and there is no spot in thee.

Triumph and reioice, ô beautiful daughter of the Prince; for the king hath a pleasure in thy fairenes, and loues thy goodlie personage, ô thou fairer than the children of men.

But what is thy welbeloued, ô thou fairest among women, of the welbeloued? my welbeloued is white and ruddy, the chiefeſt of ten thousand.

Like as the apple tree among the trees of the forest, so is my welbeloued among the sonnes of men. Vnder his shadowe had I delite; lo now I sit, and his fruite is sweete vnto my mouth.

My welbeloued put in his hand by the hole of the dore, and mine hart was affectioned toward him.

In my bed by night I fought him that my soule loued, I fought, and I found him: I hold, and wil not let him go, vntil he bring me into my mothers house, into the chamber of hir that concealed me.

For there thou wilt giue me thy teates most abundantlie, and perfectlie, and wilt satisfie mine hart with a maruelous fatietie, so that I shal neither hunger nor thirst anie more.

Oh, happie shal my soule be, yea happie and alwaies happie shal I be, could I once get to behold thy glorie, thine happines, thy beautie, thy gates, and thy walles, and thy streetes, and thy manifold mansions, thy noble citizens, and thy mightie king in his maieſtie.

pidibus pretiosis, portę tuę ex margaritis optimis, plateę tuę ex auro purissimo, in quibus iocundum alleluia sine intermissione concinitur. Mansiones tuę multę quadris lapidibus fundatę, saphiris constructę, laterculis aureis coopertę, quas nullus ingreditur inmundus, nullus habitat inquinatus.

¶ Speciosa facta es et suavis in deliciis tuis, mater Ierusalem. Nihil in te tale quale hic patimur, qualia in hac misera uita cernimus. Non sunt tenebrę in te, neque nox, aut quęlibet diuersitas temporum, Non lucet in te lux lucernę aut splendor lunę uel iubar stellarum; sed deus de deo, lux de luce, sol iustitię semper illuminat te: agnus candidus et immaculatus, lucidus et pulcherrimus est lumen tuum. Sol tuus, claritas tua, et omne bonum tuum huius pulcherrimi regis indeficiens contemplatio. Ipse rex regum in medio tui, et pueri eius in circuitu eius.

¶ * Ibi hymnidici angelorum chori, ibi societas supernorum ciuium; ibi dulcis sollempnitas omnium ab hac tristi peregrinatione ad tua gaudia redeuntium; ibi prophetarum prouidus chorus, ibi iudex apostolorum numerus, ibi innumerabilium martirum uictor exercitus, ibi sanctorum confessorum sacer conuentus; ibi ueri et perfecti monachi, ibi sanctę mulieres quę uoluptates sæculi et sexum infirmitatis uicerunt, ibi pueri et puellę quę annos suos moribus transcenderunt.*

* Ex Gregorii Hom. in Evang. 14; Patrol. lat. 76, 1130.

For thy walles are of pretious stones; thy gates of the richest pearles; and thy streetes of the purest golde, wherein is soong the ioieful Halleluiah without intermission; thy manifolde buildings are founded vpon squared stones, builded vpon Saphires, inclosed with golden walles, whereinto none shal enter but the cleane, and it no vnclane person shal inhabit.

Beautiful art thou become, ô mother Ierusalem, and sweete in thy comforts, no such thing is in thee, as we suffer in this world; and as we behold in this wretched life.

There is neither darkenes nor night, nor any change of times in thee.

There shineth not in thee either the light of the candle, or the brightnes of the moone, or the glitteringnes of the starres; but the God of God, light of light, euen the sonne of righteoufnes euermore doth lighten thee.

The white and vnspotted lamb, is thy pure and cleere light, thy sunne, thy cleerenes, and euerlasting contemplation of this most glorious King is al thine happines.

He is the King of kings in the mids of thee; and you are his ministers about him.

There be the singing quires of Angels; there the companies of supernal citizens; there the sollempnitie of al which haue returned from this woful peregrination vnto thy ioies.

There be the prudent Prophets; the twelue Apostles; the victorious host of infinite Martyrs; and the sacred conuent of holie confessors is there.

There be both vpright men and holie matrones, which haue ouercome the pleasures of this world, and the weakenes of sexe; there be those yong men, and maidens, which haue spent their time in godlie conuersation.

¶ Ibi sunt omnes oues et agni qui iam huius uoluptatis laqueos euaserunt. Exultant omnes in propriis mansionibus. Dispar gloria singulorum sed communis est letitia omnium. Plena et perfecta ibi regnat caritas; quia deus est omnia omnibus, quem sine fine uident et semper uident in eius ardent amore. Amant et laudant, laudant et amant. Omne opus eorum laus dei sine defectione, sine labore.

¶ Felix ego et uere in perpetuum felix, si post resolutionem huius corpusculi audire meruero illa cantica celestis melodie, que cantantur ad laudem regis aeterni ab illis supernae patrie ciuibus, beatorumque spirituum agminibus. Fortunatus ego nimiumque beatus, si et ego ipse meruero cantare ea, et adfiteri regi meo, deo meo, duci meo, et cernere eum in gloria sua, sicut ipse polliceri dignatus est, dicens: *Pater, uolo quos dedisti mihi sint mecum, ut uideant claritatem meam quam habui apud te ante constitutionem mundi;* et alibi, *Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur, et ubi ego sum, illic et minister meus erit;* et iterum, *Qui diligit me, diligetur a patre meo, et ego diligam eum, et manifestabo ei me ipsum.*

EXPLICIT PARS II, THEORICE SPECVLATIONIS



There be the sheepe and lambes that haue escaped the snares of this world, where they now triumph in their seueral mansions: the glorie of each particular man differeth; but common is the ioie of them al.

There ful and perfect charitie doth raigne, for God there is al in al; whome they do alwaies behold: and by beholding him, continualie they burne the more in loue toward him.

They loue, and they praise him; they praise and they loue him; al their worke is to praise God without ending, without fainting, without toiling.

Oh happie, yea, and euermore happie shal I be, if after the resolution of this mortal bodie, I may heare those celestial songs of melodie, which are soong vnto the praise of the eternal king, by those citizens of the supernal countrie, and by the companies of the blessed spirits!

Happie then, yea much happie should I be, might I be counted worthie to sing those songs, and to wait on my King, my God, and my Captaine; to behold him in his glorie, according as he hath promised, saing, Father, I wil that they whome thou hast giuen me, be with me euen where I am, that they may behold my glorie, which I had with thee, before the foundation of the world.

And in another place, If anie man serue me, let him folow me, for where I am, there shal also my seruant be.

And againe, He that loueth me, shal be loued
of my Father, and I wil loue him,
and wil shewe mine owne
selfe to him.



How different, faith he, is the life of those in that place, from that of ours here? Here there is fallhood; there is truth. Here is perturbation; there is a faithful possession. Here is bitterness and hatred; there is dilection and eternal love. Here is dangerous elation of mind; there is secure exultation of spirit. Here we are in doubt, whether they that love us may not change their thoughts; there is perpetual friendship, and no possibility of being enemies. . . . O sweet life! the more I think of thee, the more I love thee; the more vehemently I desire thee; the more I am pleased in the remembrance of thee; I love to speak of thee, I love to hear of thee, I love to write of thee, to confer of thee, to read of thee; that so I may refresh the pains and the sweat, and the dangers of this tedious life, by laying my weary head in the bosome of thy secure pleasures. For this end I enter into the Garden of the Holy Scriptures; I gather there the sweet flowers of Divine Sayings; that which I gather, I eat; that which I eat, I chew over again; and that which I have tasted, I lay up in mine heart; that by such sweetness I may allay the bitterness and irksomeness of this miserable life. O that my sins were done away! O that laying aside the burden of this flesh, I might enter into the thy ease and quiet! To receive the Crown of Life; to be associated to the celestial Singers; to behold the face of Christ; to see the uncircumscribed light, and without fear of death to rejoyce without any end. There is the goodly fellowship of the Prophets; there are the glorious twelve Apostles; there is an innumerable Army of Martyrs; there is the holy Company of Pious Confessors; there are the Divine Lovers of Solitude and Retirement; there are the holy Women that have overcome the infirmities of their sex, and the powers of the world; there are the brave Youths and Virgins, whose holy manners transcended their years; there are the Sheep and the Lambs that have escaped the danger of glutting themselves with these earthly pleasures; there perfect Charity reigns, because God is there All in All. There they see without fear, and love without measure, and praise without ceasing. There loving they praise, and praising they love, and it is their work to do so alwaies with any interruption. [P. 103-105, 1st edition, 1665.]

• In terra celestis. ferax lactis et mellis. ex
 quiritas orta. tollit errorum dogma.
 A rorem nobilitantem de prole strigis trahit.
 filia quodam regum. sed matris regum.
 Salus iam uirgo secreta. auctora plena. nomen
 aue dignetur. ut illud gabrielis.
 Ille dum te salutat. suae nomen comitatur.
 reducat nos uirgo secreta. unde est nequa lapsa.
 T u solue quod debemus. aue te quod timemus.
 impetra quod optamus. prope quod speramus.
 Si tu illos trinitatem. sic decus unitatem. cui lex
 uerbo rerum potest parare curam.
RITHMVS DE GAUDIO PARADISI.
Ad plenitudo fontem mens situit arida.
 claustra carnis pectore frangi. clausula quae
 anima. gliscit. abire. elucet. oculi frui parua.
 D u pectus aceripsum segetem obnoxia. quam
 amittit cum deliquit contemplatur gratiam.
 pectus malum augeat boni pectus memoria.
 Na quae pectus sumus pectus quanta sit letitia.
 Vbi unum margaritis surgunt edificia.
 Auro caetera micant reuera. radiant in celum.
 Solis gemmis pectus. haec structura noctem.
 Suro mundo te qua uero urbis in aeternum.
 Ibi est limus. deest simus. lucis nulla teneat.
 Iyem horrent. estis corrent illic nunquam
 sequuntur. flos purpureus rosarum uerum ager
 pectus. candent lilia. rubescit crocus. sudat balsamum.
 Virent pruna. uernant sacca. riuus mellis influ
 uunt. pectus spirat odor. liquor et aroma
 tuum. pectus pectus flos uerum. nomen pectus.
 Non aliter luna uerum. sol. uel cursu siderum.
 agri felicitas. riuus in nocte diu. neque accipit
 de simo. cui hem fect continuum.
 Nam et sic quae. uelut sol pectus riuus. riuus.
 pectus triumphum coronam mutuo conuolunt.
 et pectus pugnat hostes. uel secum numerant.
 Ibi Libe de pectus carnis bella nesciunt. ca
 rnis riuus. et mens unum fructum. pectus
 multa pectus scandala non pectus.

Manuscript Vaticanus Lat. 3797, saec. XI, f° 362^r

Mutabilibus exant repetunt originem. et pectus
 ueritas contemplant speciem. hinc uerale uiui
 fontis hauriunt dulcedinem.
 Inde stetit sepe idem existendi capiunt.
 clari. ueridi. iucundi. nullis parent casibus.
 absunt morbi. pectus. se necat iuuenibus.
 In uerenne uerente. nam transire transire.
 inde uerent. uigent. florent. corruptela cor
 ruit. in mortalitatem ueror. morat uel absorbu
 uiscent. aucta stant. quod nec fore nequeunt.
 na et pectus. archana. penetrant alcer uerum.
 unum uolunt. unum non. unum est mentium.
 L uer uer. sic diu uer. pectus. merito. hauri
 tal hoc suum facit quod amat. in aliter. pro
 pectus sic singulorum commune fit omnium.
 Vbi corpus illic uer congregant aquile. quo
 cum angustis et se recreant animae. uno pane
 uiuunt. uer uer uer. pectus.
 A uer uer. et pectus quod habent de uer.
 non facietas. fectus. neque. famet. cruciat.
 in haurit sepe diu. et edentes in haurit.
 Nouas semper armonias uer melodia conat
 pectus. et in uer. pectus. mulcent aures for
 gana. digna. pectus. se uer uer. regi dant pectus.
 Felix celi. quae pectus. regem. certum. animam. et
 sub se de pectus. alta orbis uolui machina.
 solem. lunam. et globosa. bini. cursu sidera.
 X pectus palma bellorum. hoc in munum capiunt.
 introduce me pectus. solutu. militare. cingu
 lu. fac confortem. donatum. beatorum. uiu.
 P ectus uer uer. in exhausto. laborant. pectus. ut
 quietem. post. pectus. debet. emerito. uer.
 meretur. potest. sine. fine. premio. **AAE**.
RITHMVS PASCALIS.
Pascalus festus gaudium. mundi replet. ambrem.
 celi. uer. ac maria. lecta. pectus. car
 mina. et alleluia. et omnis. modum. et organum.
 Solus uer. uer. riuus. riuus. pectus. uer. frac
 tos. uer. et uer. riuus. pectus. pectus. moenia.
 quae. subruunt. rex. et. cum. laude. uer. et.

part eight

Peter Damiani: De Gloria Paradisi

INSERTED between chapters 25 and 27 of the *Meditationes*
 S. Augustini there is found in some of the manuscripts¹
 and in the early printed editions the rhythmical poem of Peter
 Damiani *De Gaudio Paradisi*. It formed, of course, no part of
 Johannes' original work, nor does it ever appear in copies of
 the *Supputationes*. The earliest manuscript of the *Meditatio*
nes in which I have found it is *Laur.* XVIII, dext. 5, of the
 first half of the 14th century, already described in PART VII.

The reasons which led to the insertion of this poem as chap
 ter 26 of the *Meditationes* are obvious: the language used by
 Johannes in describing the Heavenly Jerusalem could hardly
 have failed to suggest to a compiler the similar treatment of
 the same theme by Damiani, himself a compatriot and con
 temporary (1007-1072) of the former. Both the prose and the
 poetry are products of the same century and of the same
 ascetic and mystic revival. It was therefore fitting that after
 so many years the rhythmic verses of the great Cardinal of
 Ostia should find a place beside the rhythmic prose of the
 humble monk of Fécamp.

The hymn of Damiani owes its fame, if not its survival,
 almost entirely to its inclusion in the popular and wide-spread
Meditations. Except for a few late manuscript copies, and the
 early, almost unknown Vatican manuscript described below,
 it would have been lost amid the great mass of mediæval po
 etry, if it had not been embedded in a work which all ascribed
 to Augustine. As Damiani's name does not appear,² the hymn
 long and successfully masqueraded as Augustine's own, despite
 the rimed and accentual Latin in which it is written. From its
 place in the *Meditations* it passed into collections or common
 place-books, such as in *Munich Clm.* 11962 (late 15th century)
 where it bears the title, *Hymnus de gloria paradisi beati Au*
gustini (f. 164^v-166^v).

¹ On p. VII, I have indicated certain MSS which contain the hymn.

² But the Paris edition circa 1500 says: *Hymnus de gloria paradisi patri <for Petri> Damiani cardinalis ostiensis non beati Augustini.*

This hymn, or rather poem of Damiani's, for it never had liturgical use, is, properly speaking, the last of a series of four, similar in plan and execution, and written in the same trochaic metre, *De quattuor novissimis*, 'On the Four Last Things':

De die mortis: Gravi me terrore pulsas vitae dies ultima.

De extremo iudicio: Iocundantur et laetantur simul omnes reprobī.

De poenis inferni: O quam dura quam horrenda voce iudex intonat.

De gaudio paradisi: Ad perennis vitae fontem mens sitiuit arida.

And they are found in this order in the two 15th century collections,³ which, with the Karlsruhe manuscript used by Mone,⁴ constituted the meager manuscript tradition, apart from the *Meditations*, until the fortunate rediscovery in the Vatican Library by Henry Marriott Bannister (1854-1919)⁵ of one of the early codices used by Gaëtani, when he was preparing his complete *editio princeps* of the works of Damiani.⁶ This manuscript,⁷ for which the editors of the *Analecta hymnica* had searched the libraries of Italy in vain, is a large and beautifully written codex of the end of the 11th century, practically contemporary with Damiani himself, and prepared either under his personal supervision or soon after his death by one of his disciples. It contains a very full collection of his works in prose and verse, and from a note on the last page (f. 384) we learn that in 1113 it was at Faenza, the city where

³ Troyes 1612, s. XV (olim Clairvaux); Zwollen (Holland) 434, s. XV.

⁴ Mone, *Hymni latini medii aevi*, Freiburg 1853, I, 422, from a manuscript of Karlsruhe, s. XV (possibly from Reichenau).

⁵ Biographical notice of Bannister by Blume, in *Anal. hymn.* 55, pref.

⁶ Constantinus Caietanus [Gaetani], *S. Petri Damiani . . . OPERA*, Rome, vol. I (Epistolae) 1606; II (Sermones, etc.) 1608; III (Opuscula theologica et moralia) 1615; IV (Orationes ac diversi generis metra) 1640. Later editions: Lyons (of vol. I, II, III) 1622; Paris, complete, 1642; Venice 1743. In Migne, *Patr. Latina*, 145. Variant readings from the later manuscripts and from these editions are given in my former edition of the poem, *The Song of S. Peter Damiani on the joys and glory of paradise*, Washington 1928.

⁷ Codex Vaticanus Lat. 3797, saec. XI exeuntis.

Damiani died and was buried in 1072. Near the end of this large volume we find, along with many other poetical compositions, the following hymns:

f^o 362^r RITHMVS DE GAUDIO PARADISI

Ad perhennis uitę fontem mens sitiuit arida

RITMVS PASCALE

Pascalis festi gaudium mundi replet ambitum

f^o 362^v RITHMVS IN EOS QVI DE REGIS VLTIONE
SECVRI SVNT SED CHRISTVM EVADERE NE-
QVEVNT [*De extremo iudicio*]

Iocundantur et letantur simul omnes reprobī

HVCVSQVE DE ADVENTV, HINC DE PENIS IN-
FERNI

O quam dura quam horrenda uoce iudex intonat

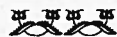
f^o 363^r RITMVS DE DIE MORTIS

Graui me terrore pulsas uitę dies ultima

The text of the hymn which is here reprinted is exactly that of the Vatican manuscript previously described. In the preface to my former edition I said that I had departed from that manuscript in one place only (in stanza iv, line 3), where I followed the majority of the later manuscripts and all the editors in reading *cernitur* instead of *teritur*.⁸ Acting on the kindly offered suggestion of Dom Germain Morin that, after all, the manuscript *teritur* is not only the original reading, but is in itself more vivid than the vaguer *cernitur*, I have in this edition (as also in 'Hortus Conclusus')⁹ restored it to the text, and slightly altered my English translation.

⁸ The 14th century MS *Laur.* XVIII, dext. 5 (already described in *Part VII*, p. 6, 7) agrees with the Vatican in reading *teritur*. And in a Venice edition of 1516 of the *Meditations* a humanistic hand has written in the margin opposite the hymn: *Ista carmina sunt petri Damiani cardinalis*, and added there marginal corrections from the Vatican MS: *teritur*, *purpureus* (also in the Rome ed.), and *floscidorum* (*floridorum*, in others).

⁹ 'Hortus Conclusus' A Series of Mediæval Latin Hymns with Selected English Renderings, Part VI, Peter Damiani & Hildebert of Tours, 1936.



RITHMUS DE GAUDIO PARADISI

[*Meditationes Beati Augustini, Cap. 26*]

AD perennis vitę fontem mens fitivit arida:
claustra carnis preſto frangi clauſa querit anima;
glificit, ambit, eluctatur exul frui patria.

- 2 Dum preffuris ac erumnis ſe gemit obnoxiam,
quam amiſit cum deliquit contemplatur gloriam;
preſens malum auget boni perſiti memoria.
- 3 Nam quis promat ſummę pacis quanta fit letitia,
ubi vivis margaritis furgunt edificia,
auro celfa micant teſta, radiant triclinia.
- 4 Solis gemmis pretioſis hec ſtructura neſcitur;
auro mundo tamquam vitro urbis via ſternitur,
abeſt limus, deeſt ſimus, lues nulla teritur.
- 5 Hiems horrens, eſtas torrens, illic numquam ſęviunt;
flos purpureus roſarum ver agit perpetuum;
candent lilia, rubefcit crocus, fudat balfamum.
- 6 Virent prata, vernant ſata, rivi mellis influunt;
pigmentorum ſpirat odor, liquor et aromatum;
pendent poma floſcidorum non lapſura nemorum.



THE SONG OF S. PETER DAMIANI
ON THE JOY AND GLORY OF PARADISE

To the fount of life eternal cries the ſoul with longing thiſt,
And the ſpirit, fleſh-imprisoned, ſeeks the bars of fleſh to burſt;
Strives to gain that heavenly country, exiled now and ſin-accuſt.

Sore beſet with care and danger, groans the ſpirit for releaſe,
Still beholds, though loſt in Eden, glory forfeited and peace;
Former good, in memory dwelling, doth the preſent ill increaſe.

Who can tell how great the joy of that Peace ſurpaſſing all,
Where of living pearls conſtructed riſe the ſtately buildings tall,
Where with gold the roof-tree glitters, ſhines with gold the banquet-
§ hall.

All of precious ſtones compacted riſe thoſe ſtructures of delight,
Pureſt gold as crystal ſhining paves the heavenly city bright;
Never mire nor filth deſiling ſtains the ſtreets of radiant light.

Chilling winter, burning ſummer, neither rages in that land,
But the crimson bloom of roſes doth an endless ſpring demand;
White the lilies, red the crocus, fragrant doth the balfam ſtand.

Green the paſtures, flower-beſprinkled, fed by ſtreams with honey
§ filled;
All the air is ſweet with incenſe from the odorous herbs diſtilled;
Never falls the ripened fruitage, nor is bloom by winter chilled.

- 7 Non alternat luna vices, sol vel curfus siderum;
Agnus est felicitatis urbis lumen inocciduum;
nox et tempus defunt, ævum diem fert continuum.
- 8 Nam et sancti quique velut sol præclarus rutilat;
post triumphum coronati mutuo coniubilant;
et prostrati pugnas hostis iam securi numerant.
- 9 Omni labe defæcati, carnis bella nesciunt;
caro facta spiritalis et mens unum sentiunt;
pace multa perfruentes scandala non perferunt.
- 10 Mutabilibus exuti repetunt originem,
et præsentem veritatis contemplantur speciem;
hinc vitalem vivi fontis hauriunt dulcedinem.
- 11 Inde statum semper idem existendi capiunt;
clari, vividi, iucundi, nullis patent casibus;
absunt morbi semper fanis, fenectus iuvenibus.
- 12 Hinc perenne tenent esse, nam transire transit;
inde virent, vigent, florent, corruptela corruiunt;
immortalitatis vigor mortis ius absorbit.
- 13 Qui scientem cuncta sciunt, quid nescire nequeunt;
nam et pectoris archana penetrant alterutrum;
unum volunt, unum norunt, unitas est mentium.

*Waxeth not the moon nor waneth, need not sun or stars to be,
But the Lamb in that blest City shines a Sun eternally:
There the daylight is unbroken, night and time have ceased to be.*

*Shine the blessed with a splendor like the splendor of the sun;
Crowned in triumph stand they singing that the race of life is run;
Now secure, they count the glories of the contest they have won.*

*Cleansed from every stain of evil, they from carnal strife are free;
Flesh made spirit, with the spirit doth for evermore agree:
There, released from all affliction, they shall Peace unbroken see.*

*Stripped of changing accidentals, they the changeless source attain;
Truth unveiled and beatific they to gaze upon shall gain;
Living sweetness from the waters of the living fountain drain.*

*Thus they reach a state unchanging, undisturbed and permanent,
Filled with life and joy of living, subject not to accident;
To the strong, the ever youthful, nor is age nor illness sent.*

*Here possess they life eternal, passing things have passed away;
Here they bloom, they thrive, they flourish; vanquished now is all
§ decay;
Clothed with life's immortal vigor, death for them hath lost his sway.*

*Knowing well the Source of all things, naught there is they cannot
§ know;
Every secret penetrating, which was hid from them below;
Unity of thought and purpose, perfect unity they show.*

- 14 Licet cuique fit diversum pro labore meritum,
karitas hoc suum facit, quod amat in altero;
proprium sic singulorum commune fit omnium.
- 15 Ubi corpus, illic iure congregantur aquilę,
quo cum angelis et sanctę recreantur animę;
uno pane vivunt cives utriusque patrię.
- 16 Avidi semper et pleni, quod habent desiderant;
non fatietas fastidit, neque fames cruciat;
inhiantes semper edunt, et edentes inhiant.
- 17 Novas semper harmonias vox meloda concrepat,
et in iubilum prolata mulcent aures organa;
digna per quem sunt victores regi dant preconia.
- 18 Felix cęli que presentem regem cernit anima;
et sub se despectat altam orbis volvi machinam,
solem, lunam, et globosa bini cursus sidera.
- 19 Christe, palma bellatorum, hoc in municipium
introduc me post solutum militare cingulum;
fac confortem donativi beatorum civium.
- 20 Prebe vires inexhausto laboranti prelio,
ut quietem post precinctum debeas emerito,
teque merear potiri sine fine premio.



*Granted that the prize be varied, and with toil commensurate,
What in others love desireth, love doth this appropriate;
Thus the common good combineth what in each was separate.*

*As around a victim body circling eagles congregate,
There do holy souls, with angels, all their hunger ever sate;
One the Living Bread they feed on, citizens of either State.*

*Ever filled, yet ever eager, need and appetite agree;
Hunger brings not torment with it, plenty not satiety:
Ever eager for the feasting, ever feast they eagerly.*

*Ever more the voice melodic makes new harmonies to ring;
Instruments of heavenly music their exultant concord bring;
Worthy of the King who saves them are the praises that they sing.*

*Blest the soul that contemplates thee, King of Heaven, face to face,
And beneath her sees revolving the concentric orbs in space,
Sees the sun, the moon, the planets all their two-fold journey trace.*

*Christ, the palm of worthy warriors, when my sword is laid aside,
Bring me to thy heavenly City, there for ever to abide,
Grant that I the veteran's bounty with thy faithful may divide.*

*Strength supply, in heat of conflict, ceaseless struggle to maintain;
Grant thy servant, warfare ended, well-deserved rest to gain;
Grant that I, thyself deserving, may thyself as prize attain!*



¶ About two centuries after the time of Damiani, lived Jacopone da Todi (c. 1230-1306), a mystic and early follower of S. Francis of Assisi. "In his last period," wrote Evelyn Underhill in her *Biography of Jacopone*, "he reached the goal of the contemplative life, the vision of the Ineffable One, and the *Laude* in which he tries to tell the nature of this consummation, are among the few successful attempts in literature to express the secret of ecstasy."

¶ Perhaps this book, which has dealt with various aspects of the contemplative life, could not be brought to a better conclusion than with these verses from Jacopone's 91st *Lauda*, '*Sopra onne lingua amore*,' in the excellent verse translation of Mrs. Theodore Beck.

When the mind's very being is gone,
Sunk in a conscious sleep,
In a rapture divine and deep,
Itself in the Godhead lost:—
It is conquered, ravished and won!
Set in eternity's sweep,
Gazing back on the steep,
Knowing not how it was crossed—
To a new world now it is tossed,
Drawn from its former state,
To another, measureless, great—
Where Love is drowned in the Sea.

Far over the firmament,
Where the Stellar Heaven is bright,
Adorned by virtues white,
To the Third Heaven's ecstasy,
The soul hath made its ascent!
Beyond the Crystalline Height
To the seraphs' Fire and Light;
Far, far above purity!
That light, divine and high,
Can never be stained nor spoiled,
Never by sin be soiled,
No evil therein can be.

High in that Empyrean,
The soul finds treasure so great,
No place it hath, and no date,
Nothing for tongue to tell.
And wonder groweth more keen,
At the soul, thus re-create,
In a new and stronger state,
Where images cannot dwell,
Where illusions melt and dispel;
It cannot be lost in night,
Darkness is turned to light,
In a love so great and free.

Possessed of Him, He is thine,
In union so intimate,
That nothing shall separate—
Nothing draw thee away.
Thou drink'st, and thou art the Wine;
Transformed to that perfect state,
So holy, so pure and great,
Nothing can lead thee astray.
Never His hand can delay,
Never His gifts shall cease,
Thou hast entered His central peace
Beloved and Lover to be.

Death thou hast left behind,
The centre of life is here;
No wounding needst thou fear,
Nothing can hurt thee more.
Nothing can force thee nor bind,
Thy Self is no longer near;
No hostile voice canst thou hear,
Upon this infinite shore.
God, who taught thee to soar,
He only can understand
Thee, the work of His hand;
Thy Maker and Lord is He.

Thou art a garden in bloom,
Adorned with many a flower;
And there, thro' sun and thro' shower,
The Tree of Life shall be green.
Purged of shadows and gloom,
Thou art Light divine, and Power,
Firmness and strength are thy dower,
From maiming and taint made clean.
And since to the truth unseen
Eternally thou art wed,
Change cannot touch thee, nor dread,
Nor any diversity.



¶ Of this book 320 copies have been printed, of which 120 are on French Vidalon paper. The types are hand-set Bodoni, Lutetia, Civilité, and Caslon Black Letter. The end-papers have been reduced from the original large map in the Library of Congress. Parts II & III were printed in 1929, Parts IV & V in 1930, Part VI in 1931, Part VII in 1933, and Parts I & VIII in 1943.

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