The Graduate Centre for
Medieval Studies

Thirty years of

Medieval Studies

at the

University of Reading

1965 - 1995

A Celebration

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Thirty Years of Medieval Studies at the University of Reading: a Personal View*

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.On 1 July 1995, the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Reading began its thirtieth anniversary celebrations with a special Summer Symposium. The event was intended as a reunion of alumni of the Centre. To emphasise that fact, most of the papers given on that day were by past students of the Centre. The remaining two talks were presented by academic staff long associated with the Centre – David Williams of the English Department, who is now the only colleague amongst us who was involved in the Centre from its inception, and Malcolm Barber of the History Department, Director of the Centre from 1986 to 1989. Many of the talks were lavishly illustrated with slides. David Williams showed alluring video clips of the Cinematic Middle Ages. But an even greater technological breakthrough for the Centre came with Katherine Fenton's projection from a computer linked to the internet. In publishing the papers it has not been possible to reproduce the number and quality of graphic images shown on that day, but we hope, none the less, that reading the papers and seeing such images as we have been able to include will evoke memories of what was a splendid day in all kinds of ways. We were pleased to welcome back graduates of the Centre from all three decades of its existence, and to have with us again Professor Sir James Holt, Director from 1969 to 1972. Greetings were also received from those unable to be present on the day, including two former Directors, Miss Barbara Dodwell and Miss Paddy McNulty. Not only was it pleasant to meet old friends, but also to hear what they had been up to since graduation. Some had remained in the academic world, continuing to focus on research which had often been begun whilst in the Centre. Others had put their skills to completely different uses outside both the university sector and the medieval world. Others had managed to keep a foot in both camps, combining academic and medieval interests with the demands of modern employment. The papers presented here, therefore, reflect, by the breadth of their subject matter and style, the equally wide range of careers and interests of our alumni. We were particularly grateful to Margaret Harris for stepping in at very short notice, all the more so as she was one of the graduates of the Centre in its early days. To the 13 papers presented on the day have been added three further contributions by recent graduates, who kindly gave precedence to 'older lags' on the day itself. The papers have been published as given. Editorial interference has been minimal and the papers have not been refereed. The primary purpose of this publication is to celebrate the Centre and its alumni on the thirtieth anniversary of medieval studies at Reading.

Arguably we could have begun our celebrations in 1993. Exactly when the idea of a graduate centre for medieval studies was framed in the mind of Professor Pickering will perhaps never be known, but he had put a proposal for a 'School of Postgraduate Medieval Studies and Research' to a Senate Working Party in December 1963, at a time when plans for such interdisciplinary centres were but

one aspect of a University poised on the brink of expansion. The proposal was referred to the Board of the Faculty of Letters at its meeting of 27 January 1964 but full discussion was postponed both on that occasion and at the next meeting of 11 May 1964 – a salutary reminder that things moved no less slowly in the past.[1] It was at special meeting of the Board on 25 June 1964, therefore, that Professor Pickering's paper was considered.[2] By this stage 'School' had been dropped in favour of 'Centre', and 'Research' was held to be covered by 'Studies'. As Professor Pickering argued, 'A Centre for the coordination and development of postgraduate work in the medieval field is in any case desirable. In the coming period of University expansion such a Centre could be rapidly and effectively established'. His intention was that 'staff working in the medieval field be attached to the Centre for the purpose of conducting courses, or for the direction of the research of graduate members of the Centre, and that all graduates working for a higher qualification in the medieval field should be enrolled as members'. His request at this early stage that a special seminar room should be provided was finally fulfilled in 1968 when the Centre was allocated Room 157 where it has remained ever since, but his insistence that there should be adequate funding for sessional teachers as well for research and publication costs will ring a bell with all who have been involved in the subsequent administration of the Centre: indeed, a further memorandum attached to the papers for the meeting of 25 June reveals Professor Pickering's level of concern: 'it is clear that the project for a Centre for postgraduate medieval studies must be abandoned if the University is not able to assume financial responsibility'. By this stage a syllabus for a two-year 'MA by examination' had been drawn up, the duration paralleling that of other courses already in existence, including the MA in Medieval Symbolism and Iconography which Professor Pickering had initiated in 1961,[3] and which he now suggested should be dropped in favour of an MA course in the Centre. The first year was to consist of a Basic Course with three elements: (a) a compulsory course in Materials and Methods; (b) one course chosen from seven possibilities (The Fourth and Fifth Centuries in Christian Europe, The Carolingian Renaissance, The Twelfth Century, Liturgy, Monasticism, Medieval Law, and Archaeology and Technology), and (c) two from a further list of five courses (Medieval Romance, Grammar and Rhetoric, Iconography and Symbolism, Early Humanism and Aquinas). All courses were to be examined by three-hour papers. Assuming their satisfactory completion, students were to be permitted to proceed to a second year and to the MA qualification by writing a dissertation of article length.

A tendency to optimism has perhaps always been a characteristic of Directors of the Centre: Professor Pickering was no exception, adding in his additional memorandum that 'the number of graduates in the Centre by October 1966 may be confidently estimated at 20; it might be 30'. His approach was persuasive enough to persuade the Board to set up a committee under the Vice-Chancellor's chairmanship to investigate the matter further. When the Board met again on 19 October 1964, the interim report of the committee was accepted.[4] By this stage expectations of number had been toned down a little: 'at present there are 6 postgraduates working in the field. It is not anticipated that the number will rise rapidly, but it is thought that the Centre as proposed could cater for up to 20 students'. Indeed, this document is a model of judicious drafting throughout. Thus, 'the Centre should conduct courses at least initially by the voluntary participation of existing members of academic

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[1] Board of the Faculty of Letters, Minutes 1457 and 1469.

[2] Minute 1491, and supporting papers for Agenda item 7.

[3] *University Calendar 1961-62*, p. 286. This was a two-year MA by examination which involved the detailed analysis of medieval literary works, the study of iconographic conventions in graphic arts and literature, and the consultation of medieval compendia and encyclopedia. It was examined by three written papers in the first year and a dissertation in the second. The running of an interdisciplinary, general seminar to some degree anticipated the existence of a medieval centre, but most of the teaching for this MA was carried out on a departmental basis.

[4] Board of the Faculty of Letters, Minute 1509, and supporting papers for Agenda item 13.

staff', but 'such participation could be arranged so that normal departmental duties would not be interfered with'. 'Whilst some provision for part-time sessional lectures would be desirable [a word clearly much favoured by the administrators of the day], it is not intended that full-time staff should be recruited for the Centre'. But the Centre's constitution was well on the way to being laid down, with provision for a Director, 'initially appointed for an experimental three-year period' – an experiment we are still following! At the Faculty Board of 10 May 1965 Professor Pickering was appointed as the first Director of the Postgraduate Centre for Medieval Studies,[5] and at the subsequent meeting held on 8 June 1965 the Calendar entry was finalised so that a Prospectus for 1965-6 could be issued.[6]

By this point, therefore, the Centre had been founded. The course outlined was essentially that of the proposal considered in June 1964, being 'in principle available to graduates reading for MA or PhD by thesis and to other workers in the medieval field'. Clearly the 'one-plus-three model' recently favoured by the British Academy was anticipated by the University of Reading by at least thirty years. But two matters still taxed the Board. The first was the name of the Centre. In January 1965 the proposals of a Working Party on Graduate European Studies had been accepted, resulting in the inception of a Graduate School with its own MA courses.[7] There was some disquiet that in the University Gazette of 2 April 1965 the Centre for Medieval Studies had been styled postgraduate whereas the School for Contemporary European Studies is a graduate school. The Board urged that uniformity should be achieved by the time the Calendar was revised. The Postgraduate Centre thus became the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies.[8] Its modern counterpart remained a Graduate School, and had a Chairman rather than a Director; it would be tempting to see the difference as a mirror of the historical periods each institution was intended to deal with – an autocratic Middle Ages as opposed to the democratic modern world – but the terms used relate closely to concepts prevailing in the University in the mid-1960s as it began to develop cross-Departmental initiatives. The second matter of debate was the naming of courses. Initially it had been envisaged that students would receive the MA only at the end of a two-year course, with the Basic Course having no specific qualification attached to it, but counter-proposals in the Graduate School forced a review of this, with the result that, in basic terms, the first year became the MA and the second year the MPhil.[9] As the University Calendar for 1966-67 indicates, GCMS MA students would sit examinations for all four courses in one year, have a viva but would not submit a dissertation; the MPhil candidates would be examined in Materials and Methods and in the period paper (b) in the first year; along with a satisfactory viva, this qualified them to progress into the second year when the remaining two courses were examined and a dissertation produced.[10] It was possible, however, for students who successfully completed the Basic course to forgo the MA and to proceed, with permission of the examiners, directly to a PhD in one of the Departments of the Faculty.[11] The MA and MPhil course fees will no doubt sound attractively low to us at £60 per session.[12]

To those of us accustomed to an array of subcommittees in the Faculty it may come as a surprise to learn that in the early days it was the full Board which controlled all applications for postgraduate study. Thus at the meeting of 17 October 1966 the Board approved the first two applicants, Freda Howard, a History

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[5]   Minute 1564.
[6]   Minute 1576 and supporting paper concerning Calendar entry.
[7]   Minute 1525.
[8]   Minute 1596, second draft calendar entry. The *University Calendar 1965-66*, p. 153 noted the establishment of the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies and the Graduate School for Contemporary European Studies.
[9]   Board of the Faculty of Letters, Minute 1596.
[10] *University Calendar 1966-67*, pp. 310-3.
[11] Prospectus of the Graduate Centre, February 1966, p. 4.
[12] *University Calendar 1966-67*, p. 171.

graduate from the University of Nottingham, and Robert Pearson, who had just graduated from Reading's own Department of French.[13] At its meeting of 1 February 1967 their choice of courses was also approved, with Miss Howard choosing the Twelfth Century, Medieval Romance and Iconography and Symbolism, and Mr Pearson substituting Historiography for Romance.[14] Mentioning these choices may appear inconsequential but they reveal an enduring and significant aspect of the Centre – that historians were obliged to learn something about literature and their literary counterparts something about history. Moreover, all students were expected to 'take part in a number of hybrid courses which traversed the traditional divisions between subjects'.[15] Not surprisingly, perhaps (and even without the remaining 18 of Professor Pickering's predicted intake), Faculty Board decided only three months later that it needed a Higher Degrees Committee to deal with postgraduates.[16] In the following session, 1967-68, it became possible for the MA and MPhil courses to be taken part-time over two or four years respectively 'for suitably qualified candidates resident in or near Reading'. This was a significant and enlightened move on the part of the University. The Centre has profited greatly from the contribution and involvement of part-time students ever since.[17]

The Centre had thus been established as an institution but, as our celebration of 1 July 1995 reminded us, it is and was made possible by the goodwill, enthusiasm and commitment of *people*. Professor Pickering's contribution as founder and first Director is particularly distinguished, and is rightly commemorated in the dissertation prize established in his memory following his death in April 1981.[18] Over the last thirty years, many staff, whether full-time, part-time or sessional, have contributed to the Centre's success and to the breadth of its courses, as successive prospectuses and prefaces to *Reading Medieval Studies* reveal.[19] There can be no doubt, too, that the existence of the Centre has been an important factor in encouraging Departmental appointments in the medieval field, thereby maintaining Reading's reputation in this area, even if Professor Pickering's hopes of specially-appointed Centre staff and of a Professor in Medieval Studies have not been realised. The Centre has never reached the dizzy heights of 30, 20, or sometimes even 6 students in its yearly intake. In this respect, Sir Frank Stenton's advice,

[13]   Board of the Faculty of Letters, Minute 1670.

[14]   Minute 1683. At the same meeting the first external examiners for the Centre were appointed, Professor H. Rothwell for History and Dr D. Ross for Literature with the internal examiners being Professors Pickering, Bolton, and Holt, and Miss McNulty (Minute 1680). Both students graduated as MA in 1967.

[15]   J.C. Holt, *The University of Reading: the first fifty years* (Reading University Press, 1977), p. 226. See also the statement in the Centre Prospectus of February 1966: 'All graduates will be given a grounding in some of the basic skills of medieval studies; each graduate will in addition pursue a course designed to broaden and supplement his knowledge and understanding of the Middle Ages, so that – without abandoning his field of undergraduate work – he may become familiar with significant manifestations of medieval civilisation which lie between or across the limits of established academic disciplines'.

[16]   Board of the Faculty of Letters, Minute 1720, meeting of 17 May 1967.

[17]   *University Calendar 1967-68*, p. 321. From 1995 it has been possible to take the MA course over five years.

[18]   The Pickering prize in the GCMS, for the best MA dissertation, was first awarded in 1983.

[19]   It is not possible to name here all of those who have contributed to the Centre, but given the debt we always have to those who acted as pioneers, I would like to list those who feature in the first list of staff in the documents of 8 June 1965: Mr Bethell, Professor Bolton, Dr Bowen, Miss Dodwell, Prof. Hodges, Mr Holland, Mr Ievers, Dr Lepschy, Professor Pickering, Mr Robertson, Mr Scott, Dr Slade, Mr Thurlow, Mr Wardman, Mr D.J. Williams, Mr R.D. Williams, Dr Wood, Dr Jean Young. Further details given in the first GCMS prospectus (February 1966) reveals that they were drawn from seven departments: Classics, English, French, German, History, Italian, and Philosophy.

'keep it small, keep it good', has been followed.[20] But past students have maintained contact in impressively large numbers, as have many friends and associates, so that the Centre exists – as its founders intended – as a forum of medievalists of all kinds, beyond the courses which it offers. Moreover, it has fulfilled its objectives in attracting students from many different disciplines, sciences as well as arts, and from several countries.

Let us return briefly to the Centre as an institution. Looking at its own minutes may seem a fairly recondite undertaking, but they reveal important developments which are worthy of note, as well as some points of gentle amusement to the retrospective reader.[21] Anyone who has attended a Centre meeting will know what 'after considerable discussion it was decided...' really means, and the history of educational and administrative trends in the modern university is sharply reflected by the fact that the early meetings seem to have taken only a fraction of the time of those of later years (or else watches ran more slowly in those days!).[22] There had been informal meetings of a Committee of Management in the early days but an increase in the number of staff as a result of University expansion led to the following concern, expressed in an agenda for a meeting held on 29 May 1968: 'we have no regular schedule of times for meetings (perhaps we should!)'. Item 4 was ominously called 'Future organization, e.g. the need for formal records of business meetings'. A formal Board of Studies and the keeping of minutes thus commenced at that very meeting with Director Pickering in the Chair, and the Dean, Professor Campbell, in attendance. This meeting also reported on the acquisition of Room 157 for the Centre, and 'in the course of the discussion of the Director's report, the Centre proceeded, as a first step towards ensuring a business like record of its activities, to elect a secretary' and to propose the holding of four regular meetings a year. Dr Peter Noble, duly elected, celebrated by taking the minutes on that auspicious occasion, and for the next 15 years before becoming Director himself. Volunteering is always a dangerous thing in the Centre. In November 1972, Keith Bate became the Centre's first 'bookman' responsible for liaison with the University Library, a post he held until his retirement in 1995, serving also as Director between 1989 and 1992. The Centre has stuck steadfastly to the (normally three-yearly) rotation of Directors; by the publication of this booklet, it has seen 11 Directors, drawn from six departments of the Faculty, and four secretaries, each from different departments.[23] Inter-departmental fertilisation has not always been simple. Pickering wrote in June 1969 that 'I shall be glad if the Director can be informed of medievalists who have now 'settled in' in their departments and who could be approached about their possible participation in our teaching', but in only the next year the new Director, Professor Holt, expressed concern 'at the present trend in the University which showed a tendency for medieval studies to be concentrated in the departments of History, German and Latin which could lead to

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[20] Stenton expressed this opinion to Professor Holt in respect of the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies in 1966; Holt, *The University of Reading*, p. 124 n. It is pleasing to note that this session (1995-6) has seen the largest number of applications ever.

[21] I am grateful to Brian Kemp for allowing me access to his file of Centre minutes and papers.

[22] Estimates and equipment are recurrent themes in the minutes. Anyone who has been inspired whilst sitting on the Centre's two special 'teaching' chairs or on its red velvet armchair may perhaps have a debt to the following minute of June 1973: 'it was indicated to the Director that there was a possibility of acquiring some additional furniture as a result of the reorganisation of Faculty Office'. The status of the Centre is also revealed by the fact that it is one of the few carpeted rooms in the Link building, the latter being under construction at the very moment the Centre was being founded (Board of the Faculty of Letters Minute 1520, 25 January 1965).

[23] Professor Pickering 1966-69, and 1972-4 (German); Professor Holt 1969-72 (History); Miss Barbara Dodwell 1974-7 (History); Professor Scott 1977-8 (Italian), who left the University to take up a Chair in Australia and was thus replaced for the remaining two years by Professor Van Emden 1978-80 (French); Miss McNulty 1980-83 (History); Dr Noble 1983-86 (French); Dr Barber 1986-89 (History); Mr Bate 1989-92 (Classics); Dr Curry 1992-95 (History); Mrs Hardman 1995- (English). The secretaries have been Dr Noble 1968-83, Dr Curry 1983-89, Miss Judith Hunter 1989-94 (German) and Dr Paul Davies 1994- (History of Art).

the Centre becoming unbalanced and might necessitate a reconsideration of its role'. Holt thus wrote to the heads of the relevant departments, expressing the Centre's concern and asking them to consider the place of medieval studies. It is, to my mind, most satisfying to note that, at the present time, the Centre is able to draw on expertise in more departments than ever before.

It has also had a number of visiting lecturers drawn from outside, who have formed an important element in the broader issue of the Centre's external links. Indeed, one of the most important aspects of the Centre has been its activities beyond the courses on offer. Even in the early days, visiting speakers were regularly invited, and the Centre's 'guest list', as revealed in the minutes and the preface to *Reading Medieval Studies*, contains the names of many eminent medievalists in all fields. Several international speakers of note have also visited us, including Professors Duby, Contamine and Bisson. From 1971, there has been an annual theme, the first being 'Religion and Society', and, in keeping with the Centre's interdisciplinary emphasis, the talks have reflected different areas of medieval studies. Right from the start, special additional lectures on medieval art and architecture have been given, and remain an important aspect of the Centre's activities, along with, since 1976, an annual outing. The first Summer Symposium was held in 1972, a year which also saw the introduction of graduate research seminars. Links with other institutions have also featured, such as with the University of Bristol in the late '70s and early '80s, the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Oxford in the mid '80s and, more recently, with the Confraternity of St James (the saint's hand being the principal relic of Reading Abbey). By virtue of its various activities, the Centre has acted as an important meeting place for medievalists, enabling students to come into contact with a wide range of distinguished scholars: a momentous decision was taken at the meeting of 8 March 1972 that in future visiting speakers should be taken to have coffee with the Centre's students. The social aspects of the Centre have always ranked highly: my colleagues in modern history have often lamented how the medievalists always seem to be wining and dining and enjoying themselves.[24]

Professor Pickering had always intended the Centre to be involved in publishing activities. This desire was fulfilled with the launch of *Reading Medieval Studies* in 1975, initially edited by John Norton-Smith and Peter Noble. This periodical, published annually ever since, reflects the multi-disciplinary nature of the Centre. Some of its volumes have been devoted to specific themes; two have served as Festschrifts for significant former members of the Centre, Barbara Dodwell (vol. 11) and David Farmer (vol. 16), with volume 1 being dedicated in a less formal fashion to Professor Pickering. The volume for 1992, when the University celebrated one hundred years of university-level education in Reading, was also special in that it consisted entirely of articles produced by teaching members of the Centre and by a recent graduate. In addition, three monographs have been produced, the first by Professor Pickering, the second by a graduate of the Centre, Adrian Ailes, based upon his MA dissertation, and the third by Professor Janet Bately of Kings College London, who had served as external examiner for literature.

The MA syllabus has not remained constant but two basic principles have always been maintained, namely, the emphasis on skills and the requirement for all students to study more than one discipline. By 1967-8 the choice of the (b) course had been restricted to three periods, the fourth and fifth centuries, the Carolingian Renaissance and the twelfth century. Due to staff resources, the twelfth-century course came to predominate in 1972, and continued to do so until fairly recently, embracing both historical and literary elements. In the early '70s, music could also

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[24]   An early minute notes the regret that, due to pressure from the accounts office, staff would in future have to pay for their lunch! The 'class of '95' will realise with some relief that I have not included in this essay a photograph of the Centre in September 1995, nor any reference to the apple of serenity nor to the mobile pizza delivery allegedly made to Room 157. Some things are best left unsaid!

be taken in this core course. The lists of options (essentially the original course (c)) have also altered in response to the arrivals and departures of staff but have remained wide-ranging and challenging. Changes have also arisen as a result of broader developments in education. When the Centre was initiated it was feasible to require all entrants to have a good knowledge of Latin and a working knowledge of a medieval vernacular. Now neither can be assumed, although the writing was perhaps already on the wall even in 1965 when the Faculty Board decided to abolish the need for Ordinary level Latin for admission to BA courses in History.[25] Thus an important element in the current MA course is Beginners Latin. In the next academic year the Centre will for the first time be assessing its courses without use of formal timed examinations . This change too is a reflection of trends in modern educational practices. But it was as early as 1968 that the MA course saw a dissertation introduced in place of one of the three-hour papers, and this has been an important element in the course ever since, and often the foundation of later doctoral work. Research methods still feature, but have also moved with the times, such as in computer-assisted bibliographic searching. Perhaps our current students might still like to tackle a question from the very first Materials and Methods examination paper set in 1967: 'What might be the drawbacks of mechanized bibliographies of modern scholarship in the medieval field?'[26] Or perhaps not!

The Summer Symposium of 1995 was intended as a celebration of the Centre's students as much as of the Centre itself. The minutes reveal a constant concern for the Centre's 'customers'. The following extracts may sound all too familiar to those who have taught there. 'Are we demanding too much in bulk from our students... my impression is that other Centres demand less than ours' (1972). 'Experience has shown that we have not yet solved the difficulty of teaching historians and non historians side by side' (1971). A recurrent theme, especially since the late '70s when the University stopped awarding its own scholarships for MA courses and government policy began to reduce the availability of postgraduate studentships, has been the problem of funding, and we must never forget that many of the students who have taken the course have done so at considerable personal expense. In 1975 it was agreed 'that commitment was as important as paper and intellectual qualifications'. This is, I think, a fitting note on which to end. Over the whole of its existence, the Centre has sought to maintain high standards, whilst encouraging and channelling commitment and enthusiasm from both its staff and students. As a medieval historian I feel that I have benefited immeasurably from contact with colleagues in other disciplines through the auspices of the Centre. Let us hope that the Centre has many significant anniversaries still to come.

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[25] Board of the Faculty of Letters, 25 January 1965.
[26] Examination paper D.E. 373, June 1967.
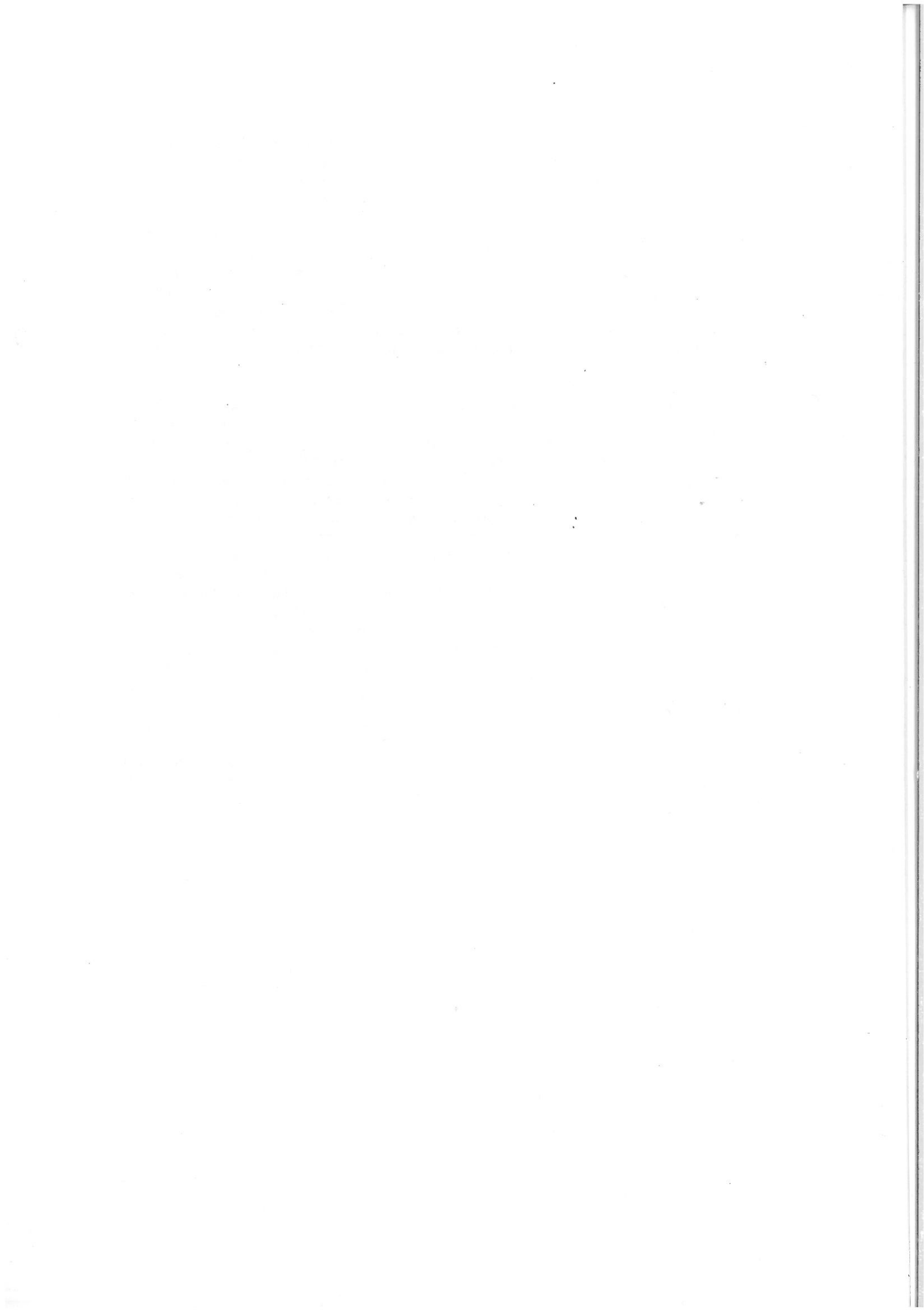
Up in Arms: the Rise of the Armigerous *Valettus*, *c.* 1300

Adrian Ailes
Public Record Office

There is in the Public Record Office, London, a very fine, clear impression of the seal (fig. 1) of one Roger de Merdisfen, *valettus* of Aymer de Valence, Lord of Montignac and later Earl of Pembroke.[1] It is attached to a receipt dated 7 June 1303. The fact that a *valettus*, a man of sub-knightly rank, was using a personal seal was certainly not unusual; virtually all freemen and even some serfs possessed seals by this date.[2] What is unusual is that Roger's seal depicts a personal coat of arms; he was in other words 'armigerous' – bearing arms. Moreover, the arms displayed clearly resemble the Valence arms of his lord and master (fig. 2).

Like seals, arms had gradually filtered their way down the social hierarchy, helping at each stage to bestow upon their new owners a sense of greater dignity and worth. Initially, in the second quarter of the twelfth century, arms had been adopted by great magnates, nobles such as Geoffrey of Anjou, the father of Henry II, Waleran, count of Meulan and earl of Worcester, and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford. But gradually in the second half of that century they came to be appropriated by lesser men, and by the middle of the thirteenth century, when our first heraldic records appear, they were almost certainly used by the majority of knights. In the meantime they had also been adopted by women, and by the end of the thirteenth century by bishops and even corporations.

Valetti, on the other hand, belonged to that shadowy world below the rank of knight where various groups merged with one another and where no clear stratification of landed society existed.[3] Originally the term *valettus* had indicated the younger son of a knight who had not yet been dubbed. With the increasing evasion of knighthood in the second half of the thirteenth century the term came to encompass older men. Thus, by 1300 *valetti* could include those young men from various backgrounds who were simply too young to be knights, older men in possession of one or more knights' fees who had deliberately chosen not to be dubbed, and those from more humble backgrounds whose families were unable to support knighthood. It is quite possible that two distinct groups were emerging within the ranks of this sub-knightly class – *valetti* occupying various domestic and administrative positions within the household, and those who served as mounted men-at-arms in the military retinues of earls and bannerets. The former were very often qualified with titles such as 'of the chamber', or

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[1]   R.H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals*, ii (London, 1981), P1781. Seal attached to E213/13 [all documents cited are in the Public Record Office, London], oval, 18 x 15 mm; red; legend: S' ROGERI.D' MERDISFEN.

[2]   The Statute of Exeter, 1285, required bondsmen to have seals to authenticate their written evidence when they served on inquests for which there were insufficient freemen (see M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993), p. 51).

[3]   For *valetti* see N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 16-29, and P. Coss, 'Knights, esquires and the origins of social gradation in England', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 5 (1995), pp. 155-78. I am grateful to Professor Coss for letting me have a copy of his paper before publication.

'of the kitchen'.[4] The latter were presumably well-armed and trained, owning their own mount.[5] Both involved a high degree of service.[6]

Roger de Merdisfen's seal is attached to a receipt for the safe delivery of wine provisions for Aymer de Valence and Walter de Beauchamp, son of the late steward of the king. The wine had come from the royal storehouse at Berwick upon Tweed, a strategic victualling base in Edward I's Scottish campaigns. It may be, therefore, that Roger was a *valettus garnisture* – in charge of provisions – keeping Aymer's large retinue in the north supplied with important victuals. His receipt is, in fact, just one of several hundred produced at the time in Berwick and sealed by *valetti*, masters, clerks, and sometimes even *garciones* – grooms or serving men.[7]

Although at this time the term *valetti* was often interchangeable with *armigeri* and *scutiferi* – the esquires – it seems that on occasions it did signify a different role within the household or retinue. Private indentures – contracts or bonds of service drawn up between lords and their men – speak of the need to provide so many esquires *and* so many *valetti*; clearly the two were being differentiated, though the distinction was obviously loose and occasionally not applied.[8] On campaign the two were paid the same (12d a day). But if the two were equal, then esquires were it seems 'more equal' than *valetti*, and as the fourteenth century wore on so *valetti* came more and more to be associated with the lower rank of yeoman.[9]

It may be, therefore, that elsewhere Roger de Merdisfen was referred to as an esquire; we should not try to distinguish too closely between the two at this stage. Either way his seal provides the earliest known English example of a *valettus* (and possibly esquire, certainly one below the rank of knight) using personal arms. If the thirteenth-century Old French romances can be believed, even new knights could not be armigerous, but had instead to use shields of a single colour.[10] Such practice probably owes more to the fictional world of Arthur's Britain than to the reality of the thirteenth

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4   See the examples in *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1286*, ed. B.F. and C.R. Byerley (London, 1977), nos. 981, 1701-3, 1710, and in *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae* [Wardrobe Account 1299-1300] (London, 1787), esp. pp. 318-20.

5   See esp. the horse inventories printed in *Scotland in 1298*, ed. H. Gough (London, 1888), pp. 160ff. Aymer de Valence's retinue in Scotland in 1298 included 41 *valetti* (ibid., pp. 216-18).

6   In the late thirteenth century, Wardrobe and Household accounts speak of *valetti de officiis* (*Liber Quotidianus*, p. 103, and *Records of the Wardrobe and Household*, nos. 216, 1701, 1703, and 1710). Indentures speak of *vallez de meyster* (of service) carrying the baggage ('Private indentures for life service in peace and war 1278-1476', ed. M. Jones and S. Walker, in *Camden Miscellany*, xxxii, Camden Fifth Series, iii (1994), pp.37, 66, 67); cf. the *valetti* sent to 'serve' the king in Scotland in 1302 (SC1/14/47; *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, v, ed. G.G. Simpson and J.D. Galbraith (Edinburgh, 1986), no.293; J. Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ii (Edinburgh, 1870), pp. 445-46).

7   Included within E101/10/18, E101/10/28, E101/13/17, E101/13/36, E101/684/26, for the years 1303-4.

8   For the relationship between esquires and *valetti* see Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 14-29, and Coss, 'Knights, esquires'. An indenture of 1318 speaks of 'tierce bachillier ove sept vadletz' and later of 'ses bachilliers et esquiers avantditz' (DL27/186, quoted in full in Jones and Walker, 'Private indentures', no. 29). Yet an earlier indenture of 1297 between Aymer de Valence and Sir Thomas Berkeley speaks of Sir Thomas being provided with 'quatre esquiers pur ses quatre chevalers servir, e pur trois vallez de meyster portaunz les males' (E101/68/1 no. 1, 'Private indentures', no. 4) and cf. E101/27/11, 'Private indentures', no. 11; E101/17/33, *Cal. Docs Scotland*, v, no. 503. In the *Liber Quotidianus* (pp. 224, 232) *valetti* are called *scutiferi* in the margin. Seventy years later Geoffrey Chaucer was likewise being termed *valettus* and esquire at the same time (*Chaucer Life-Records*, ed. M.M. Crow and C.C. Olson (Oxford, 1966), pp. 123, 126-7). See also J.R.V. Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100-1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 121.

9   Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, pp. 17-18.

10   *The Death of King Arthur*, trans. J. Cable (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 28-29, written *c*.1230-35; G. J. Brault, *Early Blazon* (Oxford, 1972), p. 30.

1.   Seal of Roger de Merdisfen, *valettus* of Aymer de Valence, 1303
     (PRO, E213/13).
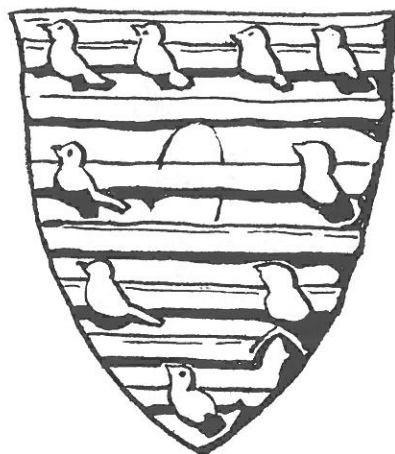
2.   Arms of Aymer de Valence, 1300 (from his seal in the PRO, E42/68).

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century. Even so Edward I's *Statuta Armorum* of *c*.1292 regulating tournaments did specify that esquires were to wear caps of the arms of their lords for recognition, suggesting that they had no personal arms of their own at this date.

Moreover, those esquires and *valetti* not yet dubbed, or who may have deliberately chosen not to assume knighthood, tended to use small seals or signets bearing not shields of arms but simple devices or scenes. Those used by *valetti* at Berwick include squirrels, lions, birds, flowers, mythical beasts, animal scenes and so on. Although virtually all the Berwick seals have lost their legends, in many cases these would probably have consisted of no more than a simple, impersonal motto or phrase, or the seals may have had just a decorated border. Some are very probably ready-made 'anonymous' seals used by more than one person, being either borrowed or owned simultaneously by a variety of men of sub-knightly rank. In such cases the designs at the centre of these seals are no more significant heraldically than a pictorial rubber stamp.

This apparent reluctance on the part of those not yet dubbed to adopt arms on their seals or elsewhere did not reach up as high as the royal family where, for example, Edward's sons Alphonso and Edward of Caernarvon, later Edward II, both bore arms in their childhood.[11] In 1303, the date of Roger's Berwick receipt, Edward's younger son, Edmund of Woodstock, possessed an armorial seal despite being then only two years of age.[12] The probability is that sons of knights were to follow the royal lead and thus begin to seal with the family arms even though not knighted themselves. This was already the case in France, where sons of great lords who had not yet been dubbed used simple armorial seals displaying the family shield.[13] In England noblemen like Thomas of Lancaster in 1292-93 and Humphrey de Bohun in 1305 were fighting tournaments before they were knighted, and it may be that such public displays were prompting them to adopt armorial bearings even though they were not yet dubbed.[14] Of greater interest are those members of non-knightly families in England now adopting arms for the first time; Merdisfen himself may well have come from such a background. Peter Coss has brought to light the example of the Archer family of Tamworth in Arden in Warwickshire.[15] Towards the end of the thirteenth century members of the family were sealing with a bow-and-arrow device not on a shield. By the 1320s the family, even though still of non-knightly rank, had adopted heraldic arms, not surprisingly portraying arrows or arrow heads.

A number of armorial seals exist for wealthy merchants dating to between 1310 and 1320 which again are heraldic.[16] John Titterton has recently shown how one busy London merchant, Henry Buscre, successfully avoided knighthood in 1312 and 1316 and yet bore arms on his seal in 1315.[17] Clerks had borne arms on their seals since the end of the thirteenth century.[18] It may be that one of the many clerks using seals at Berwick in the opening years of the fourteenth century was, like Roger de Merdisfen, also armigerous. A fine seal portraying a chevron between three arrow heads is attached to a letter of Alexander de Bikenore and Randolph de Benton, clerks.[19] Sadly the seal legend, which in similar cases sometimes stated the owner's name, has been broken

[11] N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry 1254-1310* (Oxford, 1965), p. 62.

[12] Ibid.

[13] P. Adam-Even, 'Les sceaux d'écuyers au XIIIe siècle', *Archives héraldiques suisses* (1951), quoted in Anthony R. Wagner, *English Genealogy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972), p. 119.

[14] Barker, *Tournament in England*, p. 115.

[15] Examples from the Archer Deeds, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust (see note 3 above).

[16] *Cat. Seals in PRO: Personal Seals*, i, P175, P304, ii, P1799 and P1846.

[17] J.E. Titterton, 'The Use of Arms by a Medieval Merchant Family' (unpublished); W.G. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 6 vols (London, 1887-1900), ii, no. 7973. I am grateful to Mr Titterton for permission to quote from his paper.

[18] *Cat. Seals in PRO: Personal Seals*, ii, P982.

[19] E101/13/36/Part1/26, dated September 1303 at Berwick.

4. Seal of Hugh de Coniggesby, *valettus* of Sir John de Segrave, 1304 (PRO, E101/10/18/Part2/169).

3. Seal attached to receipt of Percival Simeon, *valettus* of Aymer de Valence, 1304 (PRO, E101/10/18/Part2/197).

off. The probability is that it did belong to one of these two individuals (two seals are attached), although, as already noted, seals were often borrowed from others to authenticate instruments, and this may be just such an example.

Problems of identification also exist with regard to the seal (fig. 3) attached to a Berwick receipt dated 26 June 1304 of Percival Simeon.[20] Like Roger de Merdisfen, he too was a *valettus* of Aymer de Valence. Indeed, we know from other sources that he faithfully served his master from 1299 to Aymer's death in 1324.[21] The likelihood is that the arms portrayed, three lions rampant overall a bendlet, are those of Percival, but the seal legend is lost and the arms are not recorded for him elsewhere. We are on firmer ground with our next seal (fig. 4), even though, as is so often the case, the legend has again been lost. This bears the arms three rabbits or hares.[22] Although the receipt dated 28 April 1304 had been drawn up by Sir John de Segrave, its text states that it has been authenticated with the seal of one of Sir John's *valetti* Hugh de Coniggesby 'in the name of his master'. Other *valetti* of Segrave used a seal depicting a lion (though not on a shield) perhaps reflecting their master's arms of a crowned lion rampant.[23] Interestingly, one of Segrave's *valetti*, Thomas of Tonthorp, used both the lion seal and another depicting three rabbits (again not on a shield), this time joined siamese-triplet-like by the tips of their ears.[24]

These examples all slightly post-date the seal of Roger de Merdisfen, *valettus* of Aymer de Valence. Unfortunately nothing is known about this man. Aymer's father, William, had for long held lands in Merdisfen (now Mason) in Ponteland, Northumberland, and at his death Aymer possessed there twenty-one bondages each containing thirty acres by then worth only 34s, 12d rent from a freeman, and a turbary once worth 10s but then 6d.[25] Roger does not appear in any of the published lists of Aymer's retinues; indeed, Aymer recruited few retainers from his northern outposts.[26] His Scottish campaigns however, must have led him to rely heavily on the few local men in his *familia*. In January 1303 Aymer was commander of the forces in Berwick and it was here in June that Roger received his supplies of wine for Aymer's business. The arms on Roger's seal, three barrulets each charged with a martlet, strongly suggest that they were based on those of his master Aymer de Valence and his father, barry argent and azure with an orle of martlets gules.[27] William de Valence had originally differenced his simple Lusignan family arms (of blue and white bars) with a label charged with the three lions passant guardant of his half brother, Henry III. However, later he dropped the label and added instead martlets, perhaps as a pun on the name of his birthplace Valence, *volens* meaning flying.

The fact that Roger's arms are similar to those of his master may well reflect a close relationship between the two men or their families. Heraldic patronage, whereby a lord flattered his kinsmen or followers by granting or allowing them to use arms deliberately

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[20]   E101/10/18/Part2/197.

[21]   C67/15 m.12; J.R.S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 256, 297.

[22]   E101/10/18/Part2/169.

[23]   E101/10/28/54. Segrave's arms: *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals, 1301*, with an introduction by Lord Howard de Walden (Bristol, reprinted 1984), p. 111.

[24]   Lion: E101/10/28/53; rabbit: E101/10/18/Part2/166 and 167.

[25]   For the Valence lands in Merdisfen see *History of Northumberland*, 15 vols (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1893-1940), xii, pp. 449-452.

[26]   *Scotland in 1298*, pp.216-218; Barker, *Tournament in England*, pp.193-94; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, Appendix 2.

[27]   William de Valence: *Rolls of Arms, Henry III*, ed. T.D. Tremlett and H.S. London (Oxford, 1967), pp. 31, 49, 72, 183; Aymer: *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals*, p. 22; see also *History of Northumberland*, xii, pl. III. Aymer's arms can be clearly seen on his small seal (see fig. 2), contemporary and similar in size and design to that of Merdisfen's (*Cat. Seals in PRO: Personal Seals*, i, P818).

similar (though not identical) to his own, was not unknown and was to become increasingly common throughout the fourteenth century. We have already noted how William was allowed to add the English leopards to his own coat presumably as a sign of royal favour; he was after all related to, and personally knighted by, the king of England. In the second half of the thirteenth century Adam de Gurdon, for example, bore a differenced version of the arms of his master, William de Cantilupe, in whose *familia* he had temporarily served.[28] William and John de Hastings, sons of Aymer's sister Isabel, both fought in Aymer's retinue, and at the Dunstable tournament in 1309 both used differing combinations of their father's arms and those of Valence.[29]

The use of these arms by Roger de Merdisfen in the opening years of the fourteenth century may well reflect a change in the way *valetti* in general were beginning to perceive themselves and the way in which they were perceived by their masters. Holding important positions within the household and forming the backbone of many a military retinue, they must have felt an increasing sense of worth. Magnates such as Aymer de Valence were beginning to enter into private indentures with such men, thus helping to regulate relations between the two.[30] These formal contracts of service, moreover, required the use of seals by both parties.[31] In 1309 John Darcy, Aymer's *valettus*, agreed to receive in peacetime his keep and robes, and in war his keep, mount and armour. He was to attend his master in person. He was also expected to take knighthood. The agreement was for life. *Valetti* were obviously coming to be well regarded by their masters as valuable members of their *familia*. When some thirty years later the same John Darcy, now holding the exalted rank of Justiciar of Ireland, wrote letters to Edward III, he asked that the bearer, his 'good and well-beloved' *valettus*, be shown favour as he had for long accompanied his master in France, Scotland and Ireland.[32] Such feelings could be mutual. When Darcy was originally appointed Justiciar in 1323 his reaction had been one of regret at having to leave his 'good master and lord', Aymer de Valence.[33]

It may be that such feelings of mutual respect also existed between Roger de Merdisfen and Aymer, a relationship possibly reflected by their similar arms. It is true that by the middle of the fourteenth century *valetti*, in terms of social status, were on the wane, to be relegated firmly beneath the *armigeri* – esquires – to the lowest rung of gentle society. Early in the next century the term was not even to survive as an indicator of rank, but only as one of service – 'valet'. A hundred years before, the situation was different. As a *valettus* Roger de Merdisfen had doubtless felt himself 'on the up', a rise in esteem, however short-lived, that was tangibly symbolised by his use of arms.

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[28] Gurdon bore gules, three fleurs de lis *argent* (St George's Roll and Charles Roll), whilst Cantilupe (d.1254) bore three fleurs de lis *or* (*Rolls of Arms, Henry III*, pp. 76, 77, 119, 120). See also C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I* (Harleian Society, lxxxi, 1929), p. 161.

[29] William's arms: Or a maunch with an orle of eight martlets gules, a label of three points argent each charged with four barrulets azure; and John: Argent five barrulets azure a shield or charged with a maunch gules within an orle of eight martlets gules (*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, iv (1837), pp. 83-84; A. Tomkinson, 'Retinues at the tournament of Dunstable 1309', *English Historical Review*, 84 (1959), pp. 70-89 (83-84)).

[30] E40/A11547; 'Private indentures', no. 15, and ibid., nos. 7 and 36 for indentures with *valetti*. *Valetti* were also increasingly given letters of protection.

[31] Ibid., p. 29.

[32] SC1/56/11; *Cal. Docts Scotland*, v, no. 797. See also SC1/14/47; Stevenson, *Docts Scotland*, ii, p.445, where two well mounted and arrayed *valetti* are sent to Sir John de Segrave, who is to 'array them along with others of their condition (*condicion*)... in the best manner' possible.

[33] SC8/239/11949, quoted in Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p. 268.
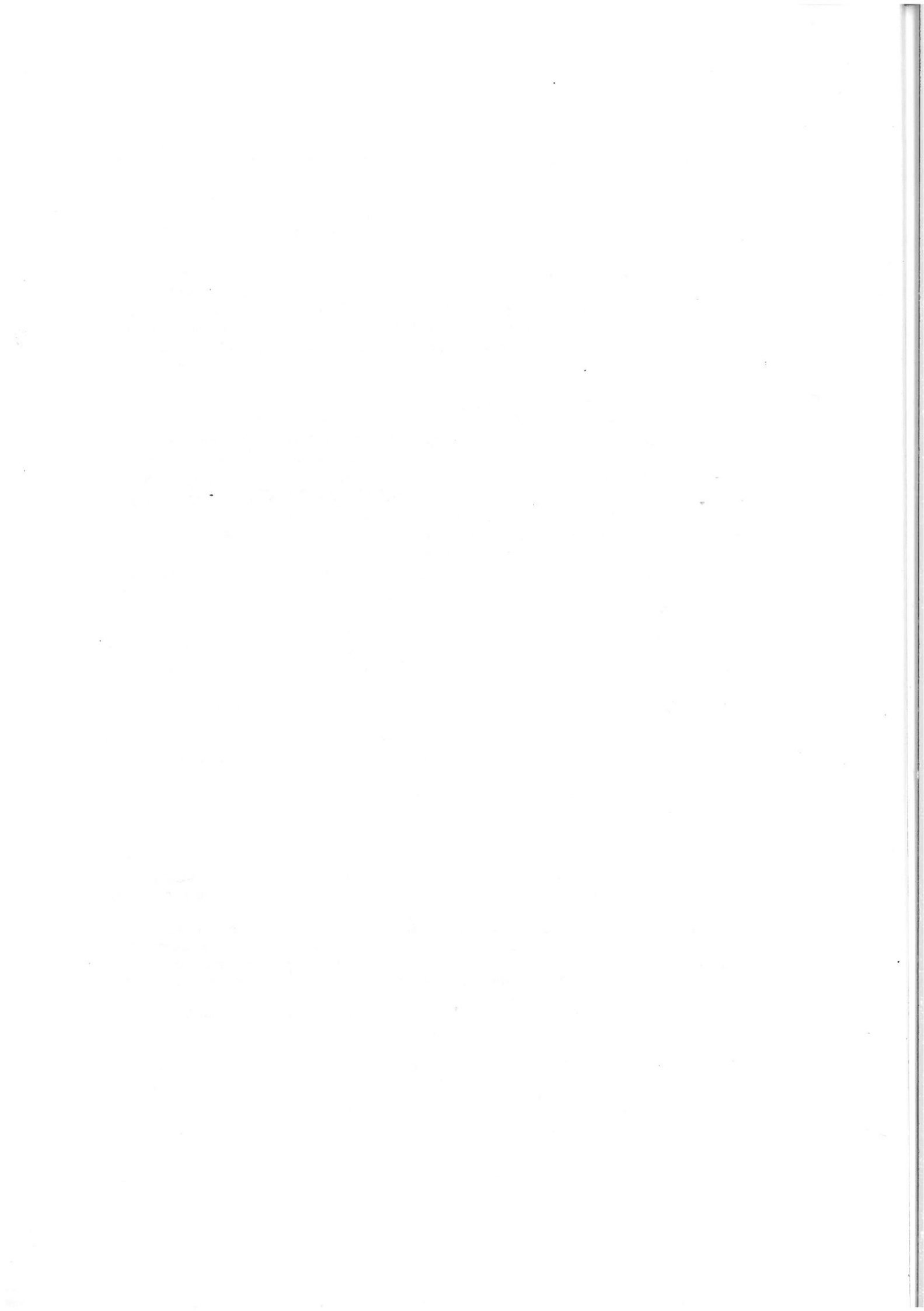
From Epic to Chronicle and Back: The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *chanson de geste Fierebras**

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In the Old French epic, the *Chanson de Roland*, the fighting archbishop Turpin dies with Roland, the peers and 20,000 men at the battle of Roncevaux. In the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* we learn that he survived, wounded, to return to France where he wrote this account of what happened on that fateful day in Spain. The epic *Chanson de Roland* has thus become chronicle – pseudo-history. From the time of its compilation in around 1140 the Chronicle was the accepted version of events, seen as historical fact.[1]

In the words of Professor Ian Short, 'To the modern reader, Turpin's Latin history reveals itself as an uneasy marriage of the epic and the homiletic, the clumsy handiwork of pious propagandists eager to turn to the Church's advantage the broad appeal of popular poetic legend and unscrupulous enough to impose their fabrication on an unsuspecting public as an authentic chronicle with an ecclesiastical imprimatur'.[2] In the later Middle Ages there were to be many such 'chronicles' which drew on epic, while presenting themselves as 'history' – Philippe Mouskés, Vincent de Beauvais, Jehan Bagnyon, to name but three of the 'chroniclers' – and these often provide us with useful evidence about lost versions of *chansons de geste*. But the *Pseudo-Turpin* is not only much earlier, it also had a more widespread effect. We still have some 170 Latin manuscripts and eight different French versions.[3] The *Pseudo-Turpin* may even have begun this trend, making the material of the *chansons de geste* credible, acceptable as history, and thus creating a precedent for other so-called 'chroniclers' to follow.[4] In

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[1]   On the date see Ian Short, *The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle of William de Briane*, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1973, p. 1; C. Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin* (Paris, 1936, reprint Slatkine, Geneva, 1972), pp. 36-37; Ronald Noel Walpole, *Philip Mouskés and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* (Berkeley, 1947), pp. 381-82. On its acceptance as history see Walpole, p. 368: 'Though the Pseudo-Turpin chronicle is almost entirely made up of these fables [Charlemagne legends in the chansons de geste] it claimed to be a true history of Charlemagne and its appeal was so persuasively made that it was generally esteemed throughout the Middle Ages as no less authentic than Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*.' Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: the rise of vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 55-56, looks at the French use of the 'historicity' of the *Pseudo-Turpin*; see p. 75 on the authority of the Latin text. The 'truth' of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* is a major theme of the chapter dedicated to that text, ibid., pp. 55-98. Meredith-Jones, *Historia*, pp. 35-36, looks at the acceptance of Turpin as the author and the recounted tales as fact.

[2]   Short, *The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin*, p. 1.

[3]   I.S. Short, 'The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*: some unnoticed versions and their sources', *Medium Aevum*, 38 (1969), pp. 1-22 (p. 1); Idem, *The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin*, p.1; André de Mandach *Naissance et Développement de la chanson de geste en Europe I: La geste de la chanson de Roland* (Geneva, 1961), lists some 300 MSS of the *Pseudo-Turpin* and of texts derived from it, pp. 364-98.

[4]   G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1905, reprint Slatkine, Geneva, 1974), p. 100, argues that monks and other chroniclers only accepted what they read in Latin as history, yet a significant minority of chronicles do include matter from the epics. It seems that once one chronicle, in

short, we have in the *Pseudo-Turpin* a text which claims to be an eye-witness account, a chronicle, but whose main source is an epic, and whose aim has been interpreted as propagandist.

It was, of course, more than a simple re-writing of the *Chanson de Roland*. It drew on other sources and on the fertile imagination of its own author.[5] This paper concentrates on one particular episode – the fight between Roland and Ferragut, a Saracen giant. The episode is not directly based on any known epic, although Gaston Paris suggests that it may have come from a lost epic.[6] There is some evidence, though not conclusive, to support this. Paris refers to a fabliau *Deux Troveors ribauz* in which one of the trouveurs lists, among the *chansons de geste* he knows, *Fernagu a la grant teste*.[7] This certainly suggests that a poem on the subject, or at least about a protagonist of the same name, existed at some point, but whether it inspired the *Pseudo-Turpin* or was inspired by it, is a moot point. The only other evidence cited by Paris is Otinel's reference to 'la mort mon oncle Fernagu' (1.420) in the early thirteenth-century *chanson de geste Otinel*.[8] We do know that the *Pseudo-Turpin* itself enjoyed enormous success, and it may well be that the chronicle is the source here, not the assumed lost *chanson de geste*.

Paris also points out that other analogous texts may have been a source.[9] He mentions in particular *Ogier* and *Fierabras*, as analogous. C. Meredith-Jones, the editor of the *Pseudo-Turpin*, refers to the 'ressemblances frappantes avec d'autres combats légendaires; par example, Olivier et Fierabras'.[10] The relative dating makes it impossible that either of these epics could be the direct source of the *Pseudo-Turpin*, although they could all be part of the same tradition. The influence is more likely to be in the other direction. The *Pseudo-Turpin* may be at least partly inspired by the two single combats in the *Roland*, the heroic combat between Charlemagne and Baligant, leader of the pagans, a combat which was the climax of the conflict between Christianity and Islam, and the judicial combat between Pinabel, champion of Ganelon the traitor, and Tierri, who challenged him.

Both of these were something of David and Goliath type combats. Baligant is clearly very large; his armour is described in hyperbolic terms. Nevertheless, like Fierabras, he is described, not as a giant, but in rather positive terms:

3152   Tient sun espiét, si l'apelet Maltét.
         La hanste [ad] grosse cume [est] uns tinels,
         De sul le fer fust uns mulez trussét.

3157   La forceüre ad asez grant li ber,
         Graisles [l]es flancs e larges les costez,
         Gros ad le piz, belement est mollét,
         Lees les espalles e le vis ad mult cler,

Latin, containing such apocryphal material is accepted then it is logical that others should include the same material.

5   H.M. Smyser, editor of *The Pseudo-Turpin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), wrote 'the individual [author of the *Pseudo-Turpin*] had many sources and sometimes dropped into them for whole passages verbatim' (p.4); see p. 5 on his use of folk-lore, *chanson de geste* and legend. Smyser continues 'there is no denying the possibility that a poem on Fernagu antedates and was a source of the *Pseudo-Turpin'* but Paris's grounds for positing it are rather slight.

6   Paris, *Histoire poétique*, pp.265-66.

7   Ibid., p. 266.

8   Ed. M.M.F. Guessard and H. Michelant, *Anciens poètes de la France* (Paris, 1859).

9   Paris, *Histoire poétique*, p. 266, 'L'auteur de *Pseudo-Turpin* a pu prendre ces traits dans d'autres récits et les attribuer à ce combat qu'il inventait: ils se retrouvent presque tous dans le combat d'Ogier le Danois contre Brehier ... le combat d'Olivier contre Fierabras offre aussi beaucoup d'analogie'.

10   Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli*, p. 305.

Fier le visage, le chef recercelét,
Tant par ert blancs cume flur en estét,
De vasselage est suvent esprovét.
Deus, quel baron, s'oüst chrestientét!

Charlemagne, on the other hand is, of course, no David in terms of size. In the judicial combat we are told that Tierri was of only average height while Pinabel was large and strong:

3822   N'est gueres granz, ne trop nen est petiz. (Tierri)
3839   Granz est e forz e vassals e isnel (Pinabel).

The David and Goliath aspect of the combat is more stressed in the *Pseudo-Turpin*, where it is explicitly referred to; Ferragut is in truth a giant 'de genere Goliath'.[11]

It is worth digressing here for a few moments on the problems of intertextual reference in early French literature. Dominique Boutet, in a recent book on the *chanson de geste*, distinguishes two types of intertextuality, the specific, where the 'new' text refers to another, specific, text and the general, where it refers to a tradition, the 'genre tout entier', but cannot be pinned down to a specific text.[12] It would certainly be difficult to pin combats in certain *chansons de geste* down to reference to a specific source text; they are part of a developing tradition. Occasionally, however, the specific intertextuality is clear. For example the combat in the *Chevalerie Ogier* between Ogier and Braier is modelled on that between Oliver and Fierabras in *Fierabras*. Elsewhere it may be a problem of missing texts or our ignorance, or more simply lack of research. Sometimes the relative dating is also difficult to establish, making it impossible to know which text is derived from which. However, in the case of *Fierabras* close parallels with the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* suggest that this is a specific source text for the combat between Olivier and Fierabras - not necessarily the only source but a source.

These parallels are narrative rather than verbal. The situation preceding the two combats is the same. In each the Saracen giant/man of large stature challenges any Christian knight to combat, having come out alone from the city (*Pseudo-Turpin*) or camp (*Fierabras*). Ferragut, having taken Ogier prisoner first, proceeds to fight the Christians two at a time. Fierabras merely challenges two, or up to six at a time. Ferragut takes his successive challengers prisoner by the simple means of picking them up. Ogier is the first of the peers to be taken in the *Pseudo-Turpin* and is also given prominence in *Fierabras* as the first, after Roland and Oliver and Tierri, to be challenged directly by Fierabras.

In the course of the combat between Roland and Ferragut, Roland and Ferragut both accidentally kill the other's horse. Roland also knocks Ferragut's sword out of his hand, then proceeds to kill him with his own sword. In the course of the combat between Oliver and Fierabras, Fierabras accidentally kills Oliver's horse. He knocks

[11] Ibid., p. 147.
[12] Dominique Boutet, *La Chanson de geste: Forme et signification d'une écriture épique du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1993), pp. 131-158. Boutet focuses on *Jehan de Lanson*, a late *chanson de geste* as an example of a text which 'pratique systématiquement l'emprunt direct aux oeuvres qui l'ont précédé, et qu'il fait tout pour que cela se voie, se reconnaisse' (p.157). *Jehan de Lanson* uses *Fierabras* extensively. *Fierabras* in turn uses the *Chanson de Roland*, and the significance of what the poet is doing is only apparent with reference to the original. On the whole question of 'models' see also Zumthor, 'Intertextualité et mouvance', *Littérature*, 41 (1981), pp. 8-29. On the *Chevalerie Ogier* and *Fierabras* see M.J. Ailes, 'A Comparative Study of the Medieval French and Middle English Verse texts of the *Fierabras* Legend', PhD thesis, University of Reading, 1989, pp. 77-80 and 'The Date of *Fierabras*', forthcoming in *Olifant*.

Oliver's sword out of his hand. Fierabras is then defeated by Oliver using his, that is Fierabras', own sword.

The aim in both texts is religious conversion, although the way the Christian protaganist goes about this is very different in each text. In *Fierabras* the Saracen is already fully conversant with the main tenets of the Christian faith, whereas in the *Pseudo-Turpin* Roland has to explain these to Ferragut. In both texts the combat episode includes lengthy discussions between the combatants, in *Fierabras* before the combat - in the *Pseudo-Turpin* after Ferragut has had a rest in mid-combat. In the *Pseudo-Turpin* the concerns are theological. In *Fierabras* the Saracen asks not about the faith but about the emperor, although the answer includes the latter's religious practices. The concept implicit in *Fierabras* (where Oliver prays for Fierabras' conversion (ll. 1401-10) while he seeks to defeat him) that defeat of the Saracen in battle would prove the righteousness of the Christian cause, is explicit in the *Pseudo-Turpin* where Ferragut says:

...si verax est haec fides quam asseris, ego victus sim, et si mendax est, quod tu victus sis. Et sit genti victi iugiter opprobrium, victoris autem laus et decus in aevum.[13]

In both texts the combat ends with the defeat of the Saracen and the arrival on the scene of other Saracens:

...Et statim ad hanc vocem occurrentes Sarraceni rapuerunt eum portantes manibus versus oppidum.[14]

In *Fierabras* the pagans have been in hiding and all come charging out when they see the defeat of Oliver:

1546   Du bruillet est issus Brulans de Monmirés ...
1550   Et bien. Lm. de Sarrazins armés.

The version which would have been known to the *Fierabras* poet is difficult to determine. There are so many different Latin manuscripts and the filiation has been the subject of much debate.[15] Of the French versions, only one is early enough for it to be a possible direct source. *Fierabras* dates from c.1200 and the earliest French *Turpin* can be dated between 1195 and 1205 and survives only as an interpolation in manuscripts of the *Chronique saintongeaise*.[16] There is one rather tenuous correspondence between this French version and *Fierabras*, which comes at the beginning of the discussion between Roland and Ferragut. In the Latin text (according to the published texts and variants) Ferragut asks Roland's name and the identity of the 'people' who are his opponents as an introduction to asking him about their religion.

Cuius generis, inquit gigas, es, qui tam fortiter me expugnas? ... Cuius legis sunt Franci?[17]

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13   Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli*, p. 161.
14   Ibid., p. 163.
15   Short, *The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin*, p. 6, and in idem, *The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, pp. 1, 6; Smyser, *The Pseudo-Turpin*, p. 52.
16   *Chronique dite Saintongeaise*, ed. A. de Mandach, Beihäfte ZRP (Tübingen, 1970).
17   Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli*, p. 153. In this context 'legis' is being used in the same way as 'loi' was used in medieval French, to denote 'religion', which was perceived of as a 'law'.

In the saintongeais interpolation 'generis' becomes 'lignee' and in the slightly later Anglo-Norman text by William de Briane it is translated as 'lignage'. In the Latin Ferragut asks first Roland's name:

Tu autem, quomodo vocaris?

then about the 'generis', the people (quoted above). In the saintongeais *Pseudo-Turpin* the first question is asked indirectly:

e si li demana coment it aveit nom (p. 304, ll.25-26)

and the second asked directly:

'De queu lignee', dist li jaianz, 'es tu qui tant fort te conbaz ot moi?' (p. 304, ll.26-27)

In the Anglo-Norman both questions are asked directly:

'Coment as tu a noun' (l.742)
E de quel linage es tu ke si combates a moy? (l.743)[18]

In *Fierabras* much is made of the 'parenté' of Oliver who presents himself to Fierabras initially as the newly-dubbed son of a vavassor, considered by Fierabras to be an unworthy opponent. The style of the *chanson de geste* and the nature of the exchange between the two combatants, with Olivier trying to hide his identity, dictates a great deal of repetition:

l.393   Que tu es, com as non, et de quel parenté;
396   Amis, Comment as non...
437   Car me di ki tu es, ki es tes parentés.

The words 'lignage' and 'parenté' are near cognates, but 'lignage' can refer, as it does in the French *Pseudo-Turpin*, to a wider group than 'parenté'. In *Fierabras*, however, it would not make any sense for Fierabras to ask who the French are, as he already knows that, so the question is developed in a different direction, towards the sense of honour displayed by Fierabras and part of his pattern of nobility.

The only other verbal correspondence I could find with any published version of the *Pseudo-Turpin* was with the Anglo-Norman William de Briane text, from the second decade of the thirteenth century and that is a rather formulaic description of the knights fighting like lions:

P-T l.828   Tauntost se corurent sure cum deux lyouns

Fier 1369   Lors e'en vienent plus fier que lion abrievé

Neither of these parallels with the French versions is close enough to be certain that either of these, or even a closely related text to either of them, was the text known to the *Fierabras* author. The 'lignage/parenté' connection may suggest a French source, but does no more than suggest it. In fact, the *Pseudo-Turpin* was so well known, and is so well represented in art and architecture as well as in the different written texts, that

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[18]   Ibid., p. 153; *Chronique dite Saintongeaise*, p.304; *The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, pp. 51-52.

visual memories of the Roland-Ferragut combat could be as much in the poet's mind as verbal ones.[19]

That the *Fierabras* poet knew a version of the *Pseudo-Turpin* however, does seem clear, but what makes this interesting is the use which the *Fierabras* poet makes of his model. Unlike Fierabras, Ferragut does not display any chivalric behaviour. His only concession to Roland is his revelation of his weak spot, the only point at which he can be killed. His Achilles' heel turns out to be his navel: Per nullum, inquit gigas vulnerari possum, nisi per umbilicum.[20] Rather it is, as one would expect, Roland who shows all the chivalry as he puts a pillow of stone under the giant's head when they agree to have a rest, so that his opponent might rest better. Indeed, the author of the chronicle draws attention to this chivalric behaviour in a short intervention about the *moeurs* of the period about which he is giving the account:

Rotolandus vero, ut erat iuvenis alacer, misit lapidem ad caput eius ut libencius dormiret. Nullus enim Christianorum illum tunc occidere audebat, nec ipse Rotolandus, quia talis erat inter illos institucio, quod si Christianus Sarraceno vel Sarracenus Christiano daret Trebam, nullus ei iniuriam faceret. Et si aliquis trebam datam ante diffidenciam frangeret, statim interficeretur.[21]

Ferragut has neither the chivalry of Fierabras nor his past record of barbarity against Christians. Gabrielle Spiegel in a recent study described the 'representation of Roland [in the *Pseudo-Turpin*] as a *somme* of chivalric and Christian virtues'.[22] By contrast Roland shows all the chivalry one would expect of a Christian knight, and it is Roland as much as Ferragut, who is the model for Fierabras. For it is Fierabras who accidentally kills Oliver's horse, and follows this up by dismounting in order to have no unfair advantage over his opponent. It is again Fierabras who knocks Oliver's sword out of his hand, and follows this up with the offer of his own sword; Oliver incidentally refuses this, but takes one of Fierabras' spare swords, hanging from the saddle of his horse. In *Fierabras* this is all part of a chivalric pattern. The way Fierabras takes on the role of the Christian in the model emphasises his chivalry and prefigures his conversion.

Ferragut also has a role to play in the development of the pagan Fierabras. The function of the two is the same, though only Fierabras realises through conversion that potential for nobility seemingly inherent in the Christian view of the pagan from the time of earliest literature of the Crusades. However, Fierabras is not a giant. He becomes one in the later tradition, but in the *chanson de geste* he is a very large man.[23] Ferragut, on the other hand, is a giant of hideous proportions:

[19] Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, *La Légende de Roland dans l'art du moyen âge*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 270-76, discuss representations of the *Pseudo-Turpin*. Nearly 10% of the black and white illustrations of vol. 2 concern depictions of Roland and Vernagu, in stone: plates 47, 48, 49, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, woodcuts: pls 473, 480, 484, 485, 488, or illuminations of MSS of the *Pseudo-Turpin* or related texts.

[20] Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli*, p.153.

[21] Ibid., p.153.

[22] Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p.89.

[23] The prose *Histoire de Charlemagne* by Jehan Bagnyon, ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Geneva, 1992), seems to be the earliest text to call him a giant, and it is probably from Bagnyon that he came to be considered as such; cf. his description in the Middle English text, *Sir Ferumbras*, ed. Sidney J. Herrtage, Early English Text Society, Extra series 34 (1879). *Sir Ferumbras* is a closely related text to the Bagnyon prose.

> Erat enim statura eius quasi cubitis XII, et facies eius longa quasi unius
> cubiti, et nasus unius palmi mensuratim, et brachia et crura eius IIII
> cubitis erant, et digiti III palmis.[24]

In the concentration here, not only on his height but also on the size of his fingers,
legs, arms, face and nose (these last two at least having no relevance to his fighting
ability), we are presented with an image that is hideous. Fierabras by contrast is a man,
albeit a *very* large man, of heroic proportions:

> 575   En son estant puet on .XV. piés mesurer;
> Se il vausist Jhesu croire ni aürer,
> Nul milleur chevalier ne péust on trouver.

Moreover he is human, even handsome:

> 578   Fierabras d'Alixandre fu moult de grant vertu;
> Il ot l'enfourcéure grant et plenier le bu.
> Vestu ot .I. bliaut à listés d'or batu.
> Onques nus ne vit homme chevalier si menbru;
> 582   Se il vausist créir le digne roi Jhesu,
> N'éust tel chevalier dusques à Montagu.

Even the terms used to describe his huge size are those used to measure normal stature.
He is measured in feet, not the more biblical-sounding cubits which define the size of
Ferragut. Ironically, Goliath, as he is described in the Bible, was rather smaller than
Fierabras. He stood six cubits and a span tall (1 Samuel 17:4) – some three metres or
nine and a half feet. Fierabras is fifteen feet, Ferragut twice the size of Goliath at twelve
cubits, about eighteen feet. The important element here though is the use of the term of
measurement; a cubit would have conveyed no more precise a measurement to the man
in the street in the Middle Ages than it would today, but it sounds more outsize than
feet, and recalls Goliath, with all the connotations of good triumphing over evil and
God being on the side of the 'ordinary' man against the 'giant'.[25] Fierabras is a man
with a human body. The regret implicit in the description, that this mighty man is not a
Christian, is expressed in similar terms to those used for potentially noble Saracens in
the *Chanson de Roland* and the late eleventh-century Crusade chronicle the *Gesta
Francorum*. Later in the text he is described in even more positive terms:

> 1822   Gros fu par les espaules, grailles par le baudré,
> Et ample ot le viaire, gentement figuré,
> Les ex vairs en la teste comme faucons mué:
> Tant conme dure li siucles n'ot homme mix formé.
> François communaument l'ont durement loé;
> Moult prisent Olivier quant en camp l'ot maté

> 1828   Fierabras fu moult biaus quant il fu desarmes;

The terrifying giant of the *Pseudo-Turpin* who carries Charlemagne's bravest knights
off to his castle two at a time, tucked under his arm, is thus humanised in the person of

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[24] Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli*, p.149.
[25] The Middle English version of the *Pseudo-Turpin, Roland and Vernagu*, ed. Sidney J.H. Herrtage,
Early English Text Society, Extra Series 39 (London, 1882), translates this as 40ft and describes him
as 'lopeliche' – loathsome, (1.474). The mistranslation of the height suggests that it conveyed no
specific size to the translator.

Fierabras. True, Fierabras challenges up to six knights at a time, but he only actually fights one.

The epic *Fierabras* then does not borrow directly from the chronicle, but rather uses it and exploits its possibilities. Thus the *Pseudo-Turpin* draws upon epic material from the *Roland* to become pseudo-history and is then itself a source of inspiration to the composers of further *chansons de geste*. Perhaps the final turn in the relationship between *Fierabras* and the *Pseudo-Turpin* comes in 1478, in the prose *Histoire de Charlemagne* written by a Jehan Bagnon for his patron, Henri Bolomier. In this 'History' a prose rendition of *Fierabras* forms Book II and a French *Pseudo-Turpin* Book III – both now part of the same pseudo-historical account of the life of Charlemagne.

Guildford Castle

Mary Alexander
Guildford Museum

The best known part of Guildford Castle, which many people think *is* the castle, is the keep. It is a ruined square stone tower keep on a motte, which once dominated the town, and is still a prominent feature. The whole castle once covered an area of five to six acres, but very little survives. The site has been built over in many places since about 1600 and a road has been cut through, making it difficult to envisage its medieval appearance.

There are, of course, eighteenth century views of it, but these do not help much as it was already in ruins then and engravings are not entirely reliable. An engraving of 1737 shows the keep and a fragment of the shell keep to the south, still to be seen today, but there is also a range of ruins further down the motte which leaves no trace today. Did the artist see them, or did he transpose them from further away to make a more pleasing composition, or indeed to indicate that there were more ruins which he could not fit into this view? A map of 1739 shows only the ruins which survive today.

Unfortunately there is no documentary evidence for the foundation of the castle, but I am convinced, for various reasons, that it was founded soon after the battle of Hastings in 1066. It has always been a royal castle but there are no references to it until well into Henry II's reign. We are not even certain of the extent of the castle, let alone the position of its buildings. What we do know, or think we know, comes from the study of maps, both old and new. There are the remains of a large thirteenth-century gateway in Quarry Street and on the maps there is an obvious line for the bailey walls along Quarry Street, then turning east up Castle Street, around the motte and across to Quarry Street again following a line marked by parish and borough boundaries. However, excavations have shown that it is more complicated than this. In 1990 an earlier bailey ditch was discovered running parallel to Quarry Street but further to the east. It was filled in in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. In 1995 excavations on the site of a presumed corner tower found no evidence for it: further research only makes things more difficult!

The remains on the ground contrast with the detailed descriptions of building work during Henry III's reign. We have the twelfth-century keep, a group of probably twelfth-and thirteenth-century walls, the gate and a further isolated group of walls, represented only by their rubble core. A few more traces of walls are known from builders' trenches in the area and yet Guildford castle was one of very few places referred to as a palace in the Middle Ages. This was not, of course, a unified structure such as Buckingham Palace: a reconstruction drawing of Clarendon Palace, which was contemporary with Guildford castle, shows an accumulation of separate buildings, added to as necessary and sometimes connected with covered passages.

The keep is still an impressive building. It has survived better than the other buildings because it was used as the county gaol until the late sixteenth century. The rest of the castle was abandoned in the later fourteenth century and gradually fell into ruins. Parts were deliberately taken away for use at Southampton and Portchester and other parts must have been removed unofficially by townspeople. There are many chalk walls nearby which must once have graced the royal palace.

The keep is of Bargate stone, a local sandstone, in contrast with the rest of the standing remains which are of chalk, though the excavated walls contained a mixture of chalk, Bargate and Reigate stones. The keep is square, with shallow pilaster buttresses at the corners and in the centre of each wall. The original entrance was on the first floor, probably approached by a wooden stair, as no trace of a stone one survives. The roof and floors have all gone but it is possible to see where they were. It is also possible to reconstruct the interior to some extent, though it is remarkably bare of distinguishing features, partly because of time and the elements and partly because the local stone does not encourage fine carving. The ground floor would have been a basement for storage, the first floor was apparently the lord's chamber as the more elaborate architecture is there and the second floor provided further accommodation. It is not known for certain when the keep was built but I suspect that it was in Henry II's reign, *c.*1160-80. By then it is possible that the king had moved into apartments in the bailey and the keep may have been used by the sheriff or constable.

We know more about the buildings in the bailey because there is more information available in the thirteenth-century royal records. Some of the buildings were built by Henry III but more seem to have been altered or extended by him. In either case, his instructions give us the names of many of the rooms or buildings there. He spent £1,800 on Guildford – sixth in order of expenditure on his castles. We can reconstruct the rooms of the castle in diagrammatic form, but without complete excavation it will be very difficult to be certain of the layout.

We know from the documents that the gateway, Castle Arch, was built in 1256, but it seems likely that there was an earlier gate on the opposite side of the castle, which has disappeared without trace. Castle Arch still has the grooves for the portcullis and enough remains of the northern part to suggest the size of the gatehouse. A house was built onto it in 1630, which now houses Guildford Museum. The cellar of this house is clearly part of the gatehouse, and traces of chalk walls among the seventeenth-century brickwork may be further gatehouse walls.

There is a curious terracing in this area north of the gate. The ground slopes naturally anyway, but at present is cut into three steps or terraces which must reflect medieval work. South of the gate are two terraces which are certainly medieval work: this was shown by excavation.

The excavations took place over five years as a training dig for the Surrey Archaeological Society. They revealed various walls, which accord well with the thirteenth-century records of additions and alterations, as well as the earlier bailey ditch, a roof tile kiln and a limekiln. The most impressive find was the corner of a finely worked chalk wall, with a sandstone door at the opposite end of the wall. This links up with a standing wall running parallel to the south and could well be the block of rooms built for Lord Edward in 1246. Another interesting discovery was a filled-in stone room at a lower level, which appeared dramatically when a hole in its filling opened up. Several carved blocks of chalk vaulting and pillars were found in it and the traces of a vaulted roof could be seen, but lack of funds prevented its excavation.

The castle buildings, even as excavated, give no hint of the glories of the thirteenth-century palace. We know that there were stained glass windows, wall paintings and marble embellishments. Parts of two Purbeck marble columns were found in a construction layer, perhaps from the new window of the queen's chamber, or the marble cloister in the king's garden. A single small piece of rare green porphyry found on the opposite side of Quarry Street gives a tantalising hint of what may have been a costly and luxurious decorative work created by the same Italian craftsmen who made the *cosmati* pavement in Westminister Abbey for Henry III in 1268.

Guildford Castle has not received the attention it deserves, probably because so little can be seen, but current research by the author is aimed at redressing the balance and finding out as much as possible about the medieval castle and town.

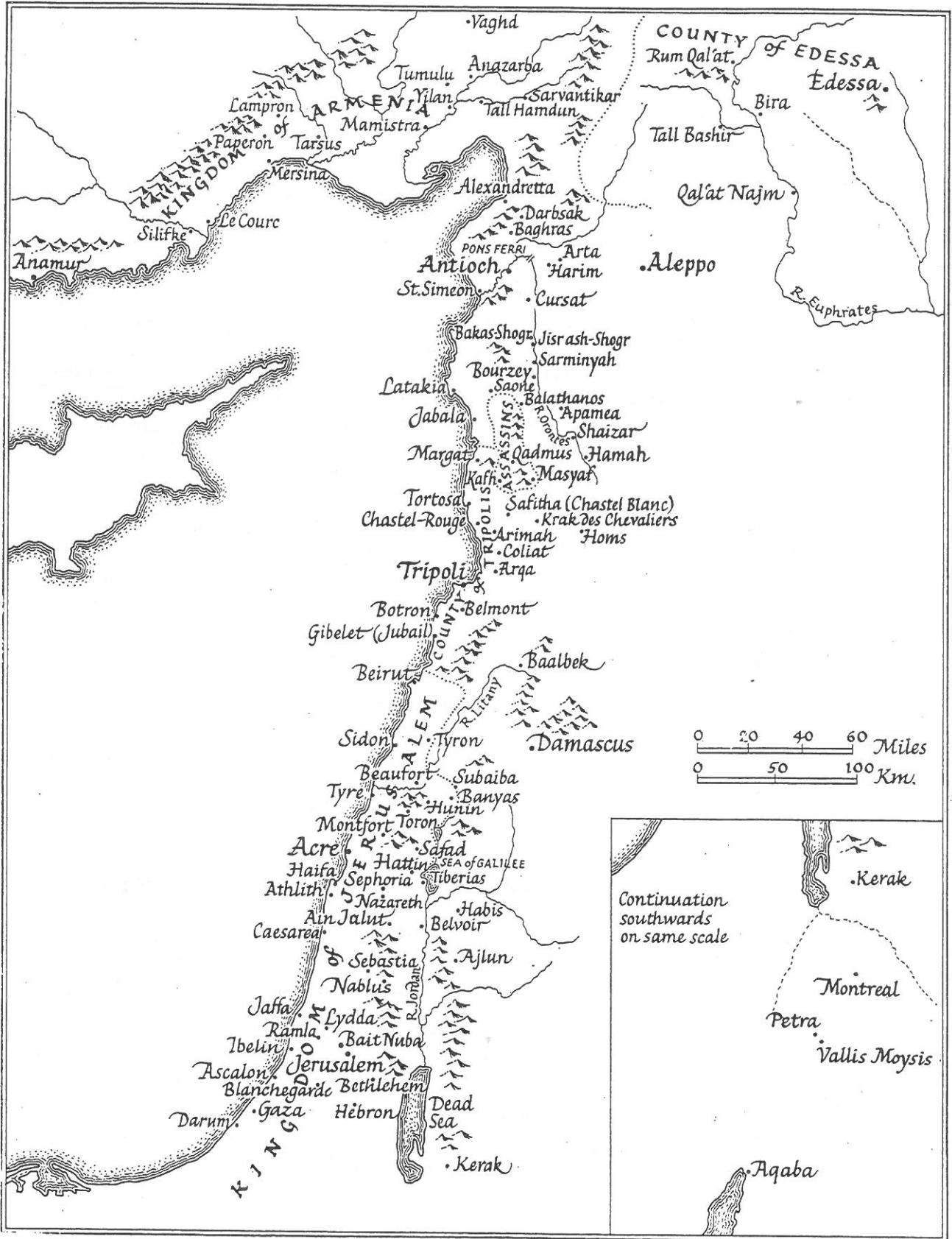# Visiting Crusader Sites in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

Malcolm Barber
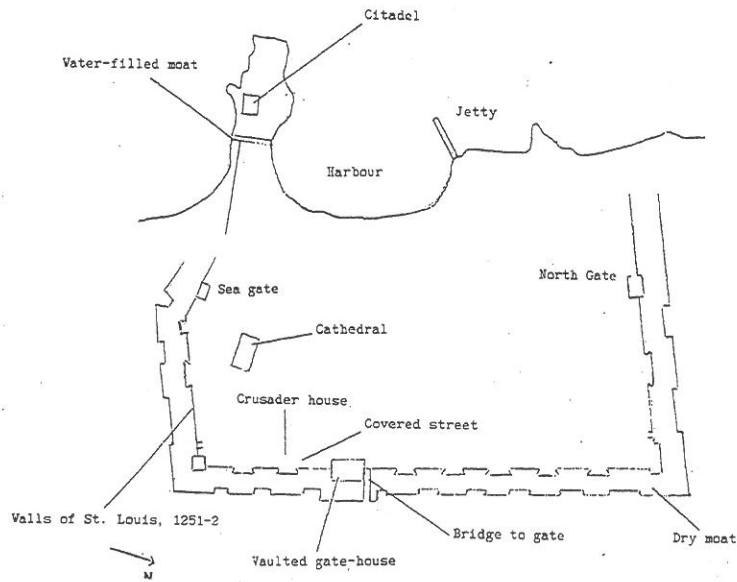Department of History, University of Reading

During and after the First Crusade at end of eleventh century, the Latin Christians established four states in the Middle East: three of these, the Principality of Antioch, the County of Tripoli, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, stretched out along the coast, while the other, the County of Edessa, extended inland around the middle reaches of the Euphrates (fig. 5). Edessa lasted only until 1144, but the other three survived, albeit in truncated form, through most of the thirteenth century until, in 1291, the Latins were finally pushed off the Palestinian mainland by the Egyptian Mamluks. In an occupation which continued for nearly two centuries, the Latins left enduring evidence of their presence, which can be visited in the present-day countries of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel. While it is not possible to provide comprehensive coverage in the space of a brief discussion, some idea of the scope and variety of the crusader remains can be gained by looking at a sample of the twelfth-century sites which exist within the former Kingdom of Jerusalem.

It is useful to survey first the geography of the region, for the crusaders needed to impose themselves on the coast, as contact with the West was vital and, as far as possible, on the hinterland as well. What they found was a remarkable variety of topography and climate within a relatively small area. It is perhaps simplest to make a vertical division. The coastal plain contained important cities, many of which, like Acre and Tyre, were great commercial emporia. However, the layout of a crusader port can best be seen today by visiting one of the smaller cities, Caesarea (between Haifa and Jaffa). Although in the twelfth century it had a population of only about 5,000 and its trade was not sufficient to attract the major maritime trading cities of Italy, it has been extensively excavated since 1960 and its plan is much clearer than those cities which have since been built over (see fig. 6). It had been a great city in the time of Herod the Great (d. 10 B.C.) but, despite a decline in the Islamic era, it was still a centre for surrounding agricultural produce, including dates, citrus fruits, and wheat. The enclosed area is clearly delineated by the walls, rebuilt by St Louis in the early 1250s; in the centre of the east wall is a typically crusader bent entrance, making a direct attack on the main gate all but impossible. Within the enclosure can be found the bare vaults of a covered street and the triple apses of the cathedral of St. Peter. On the far end of the promontory stood the citadel, guarding the small protected harbour on the other side of which the Latins built a mole constructed from reused Roman pillars.

Inland rise the Palestinian highlands, which can approach 950 metres in places. Jerusalem lies in these hills, bordering on the rocky desert lands going east to the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Pilgrims wishing to bathe in the Jordan and visit Jericho needed to cross this forbidding landscape where, from the 1120s, they were escorted by Templar patrols and refreshed in the small forts built by the Order along the route. Behind these hills lies the earthquake area and rift valley containing the Jordan River

5. The Crusader States in the Twelfth Century (after T.S.R.Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom* (OUP, 1967)

Citadel

Water-filled moat

Jetty

Harbour

North Gate

Sea gate

Cathedral

Crusader house

Covered street

Walls of St. Louis, 1251-2

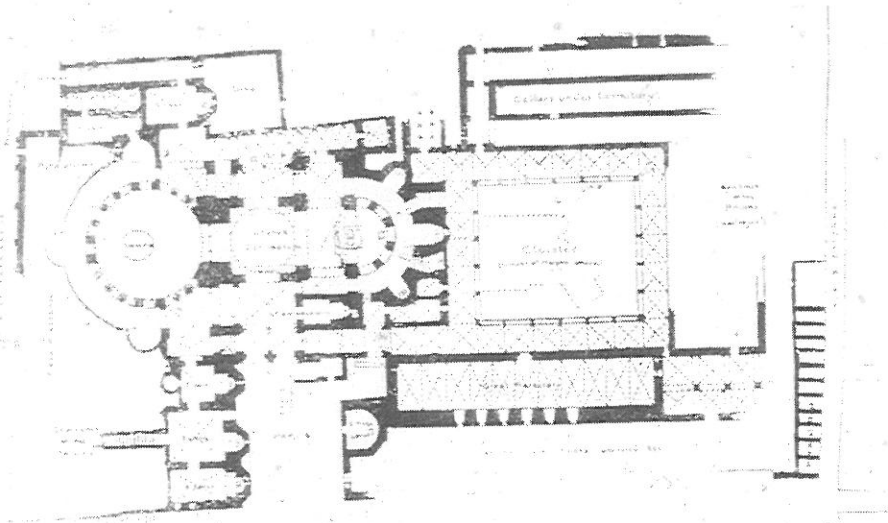Bridge to gate

Dry moat

Vaulted gate-house

N

6. Crusader Caesarea.

and the Dead Sea, although the latter was much larger in the crusader period for it has drastically retreated in recent years because of overuse of water further north.

A convenient way of visiting these regions today is to use two bases, Jerusalem in the south and Tiberias in the north on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. Jerusalem has the Roman city plan, divided into four quarters (see fig. 7). Its significance was as a religious centre (and therefore as a base for both the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities), but its commercial importance was negligible so, as with Caesarea, the Italian cities were not interested in establishing themselves there. However, every year several thousand western pilgrims visited sites in and around the city, which had two focal points – the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple area.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is in the Patriarch's quarter to the north-west; it was believed by Christians to encompass the sites of the Crucifixion and the rock tomb of Christ (see fig. 8). In 1048 the Byzantines rebuilt the damaged church of Constantine, that is the domed rotunda with its circle of eighteen piers, and the attached chapel of St. Mary the Virgin to the north, and the three chapels of St. John, the Trinity and St. James to the south, together with a separate chapel over Golgotha, the place of the Crucifixion. The crusaders brought these different elements together, as well as breaking down the east wall of the Byzantine rotunda and replacing it with an archway leading into a choir with an aisle and an ambulatory. This enabled them to build a curved apsidal east end. Beyond this they established the monastic complex of the Augustinian canons. At the same time access to the Chapel of Golgotha was achieved by a flight of steps from the south aisle of the church.

In the rebuilt version the main entrance was in the south transept, which has a double doorway originally with carved romanesque lintels (now in the Rockefeller Museum just outside the old city to the north-east). The right lintel has a vine with leaves and fruit, with various animals and figures interwoven with foliage, while the left (by a different sculptor) has six scenes showing the life of Christ, all of which are associated with Jerusalem and its surroundings. The rebuilding seems to have been largely achieved between 1114 and 1130, although it was not finally consecrated until 15 July 1149, on the fiftieth anniversary of capture of Jerusalem. The lintels were probably carved in the 1150s.

7. Plan of Crusader Jerusalem (after Abel and Vincent).

Scale 1:10,000

100   50   0   100   200   300
Metres

N

Farm of Belveer

Breach of 1099

Hospice of la Latine

Postern of St. Magdalene

St. Magdalene

St. Stephen's Gate

St. Agnes   Bakery

JEWRY OR SYRIAN QUARTER

St. Bartholomew

Bathing Pool

St. Anne's

Palace of la Latine

St. Abraham

St. Elias

Pilate's House

Gate of Jehosaphat

LEPERS' QUARTER

PATRIARCH'S QUARTER

JEHOSAPHAT STREET

Old Pool

Gate of Paradise

Postern of St. Lazarus

Hungarian Hospice

ST. STEPHEN'S ST.

SPANISH STREET

Baths

Le Repos

STREET OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

ST. COSMUS ST.

ST. ANASTASIAS STREET

Gates of Grief

Monastery of the Temple

Golden Gate

Postern Tancred's Tower

Palace of the Patriarch

Holy Sepulchre

Priory

Syrian Money Exchange

STREET OF THE FURRIERS

Templum Domini

Abandoned Pool

PATRIARCH STREET

Bakery

SYRIAN ST.

ST. OF THE MARSHAL

ST. JULIAN ST.

GRAIN MARKET

Chamber of Commerce

Pool of the Patriarch

St. Mary la Latine

St. Mary la Grande

MALQUISINAT ST.

COVERED ST.

BUTCHERS

Baths

Beautiful Gates

Gardens

Pig Styes

Hospitallers

Goldsmiths

STREET OF HERBS

TEMPLE STREET

Bridge

David's Gate

St. John's

FOWL MARKET

Latin Money Exchange

SKINNERS

Bakery

Templars

Templars' Stables

DAVID STREET

Jewish Dyers

Bakery

Teutonic Knights

Tower of David

St. James'

ST. OF THE ARMENIANS

GERMAN ST.

German Hospice St. Mary's

Postern of the Temple

Royal Palace

Greek Hospice of St. Sava

Baths

St Peter's ad Vincula

CATTLE MARKET

Postern

St. Thomas'

ST. MARTIN'S ST.

MT. ZION STREET

STREET OF JUDAS' ARCH

Postern of the Tannery

St. George's

St. James' Cathedral

Bakery

ARMENIAN QUARTER

Beaucaire Gate

Zion Gate

Germain's Pool

Cemetery

Chapel

St. Mary of Mt. Zion

St Peter's Gallicante

To Abu Tor & Bethlehem

To Burial Ground
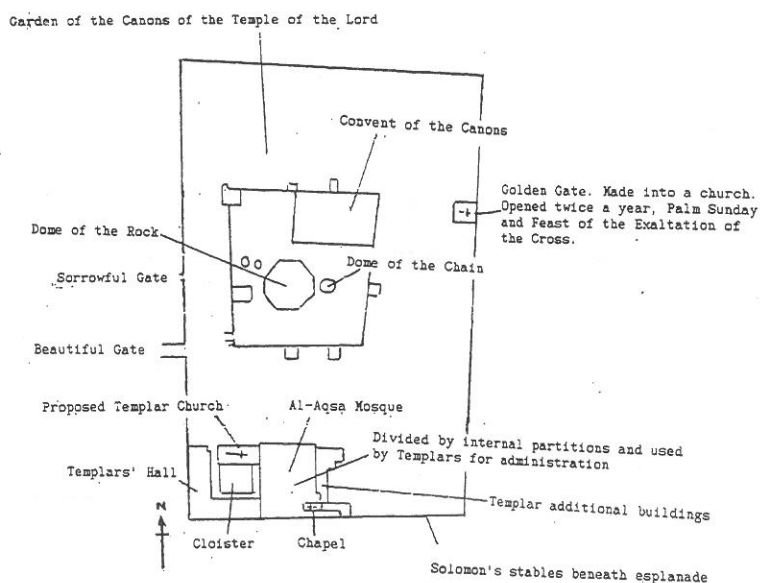300 metres

Pool of Siloam

30

8. Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (after Boase).

The second great focal point of the city is the Temple area, which encompasses the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa mosque, known to the crusaders as the Temple of the Lord and the Temple of Solomon respectively (see fig. 9). The Dome of the Rock covers a site sacred to three religions: here Abraham nearly sacrificed Isaac, Jesus drove out the money-lenders, and Mahomet ascended to Heaven with the Angel Gabriel. Building was begun by the Caliph Omar in 638 shortly after the first expansion of Islam, following the Prophet's death in 632, but most of the Dome was built in the late seventh century. In the 1530s the Ottomans rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, including those adjacent to Temple platform, and replaced mosaics on the building with Persian tiles. In the crusader era this area was occupied by regular canons known as the canons of the Temple of the Lord, who had their own cloister, garden, and associated buildings here. The Latins made no structural alterations, but as Saladin's secretary and chancellor, Imad ad-Din said, they did adorn the Rock with images, statues, and what he calls 'a monumental tabernacle'.

The Order of the Temple occupied the southern part of the platform, centred on the al-Aqsa mosque. There had been a mosque on the site by 680, although the basis of today's building dates from 715. The Templars were established here during the 1120s, when they had only a small membership devoted to defending pilgrim routes in the kingdom, but from the 1130s they expanded into a large international order which, together with the Hospital, became the major defender of the crusader states. The Templars took over this area when, during the 1120s, King Baldwin II moved from here to a palace adjacent to the Tower of David on the western side of the city. They divided the mosque by internal partitions and created a cloister to the west by means of halls along the southern and western sides (now a museum) with the al-Aqsa on the east. They intended to complete the quadrangle with an impressive new church,

31

a plan which was never fulfilled because the building was still under construction when Jerusalem fell to Saladin in October 1187. Under the platform is a vaulted area, which the Templars used as stables (which, for security reasons, is not usually accessible to the public without special permission).

Garden of the Canons of the Temple of the Lord

Convent of the Canons

Golden Gate. Made into a church. Opened twice a year, Palm Sunday and Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

Dome of the Rock

Sorrowful Gate

Dome of the Chain

Beautiful Gate

Proposed Templar Church

Al-Aqsa Mosque

Divided by internal partitions and used by Templars for administration

Templars' Hall

Templar additional buildings

N

Cloister   Chapel

Solomon's stables beneath esplanade

9. The Temple Area in the Twelfth Century.

As well as the military orders, the Latins established monasteries of the more traditional Benedictine type, especially on sites formerly occupied by the Greeks. There are a number of these in the vicinity of Jerusalem, including the monastery and church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives to the east, where the crusaders rebuilt the church on a circular plan with a high altar under a marble canopy. Although the roofs and sides of the church have since been filled in, they were originally open.

The traditional view that the great majority of the Franks lived in cities and towns either in Jerusalem or in the sea-ports remains true, but even so, archaeological and restoration work has shown that many more lived in rural areas than had once been thought. There were, for example, a number of 'planted' villages, inhabited by Frankish peasants. Typical of these were the group granted to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre by Godfrey of Bouillon, the first ruler of Jerusalem, in 1099-1100. These included al-Bira (Magna Mahumeria) and Qubeiba (Parva Mahumeria), the layouts of which can still be traced. Perhaps Parva Mahumeria is the most evocative, its peasant dwellings (of which about forty have been found) strung out along the main Jerusalem road, culminating at the west end in a square which contained the church, a defensive tower, and the *curia* or administrative building.
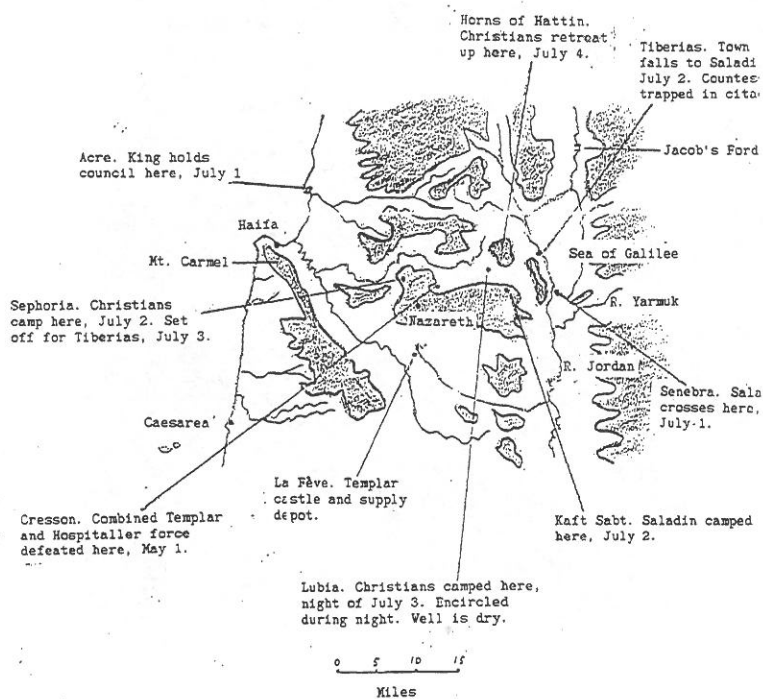
On occasion the Franks even lived in relative isolation. The courtyard building known as Dayr al-banat (Aqua Bella) seems to have been an infirmary belonging to the Hospitallers (see fig. 10). It is situated near the Jerusalem/Jaffa road to the west of Jerusalem on a site which is now administered by the Israel National Parks. There is ready access to a stream, in which can be seen the remains of a mill. It is a two-storied building, probably used for sick members of Hospitallers (rather than pilgrims); its position perhaps suggests that the nature of the illnesses demanded isolation. The lower floors were used for storage and agricultural processes while, on the first floor,

10. Aqua Bella. Upper vaulted room, which may have been a hospital ward with a small chapel at the east end.

11. Belvoir. South-west corner.

Horns of Hattin.
Christians retreat
up here, July 4.

Tiberias. Town
falls to Saladi
July 2. Countes
trapped in cita

Acre. King holds
council here, July 1

Jacob's Ford

Haifa

Sea of Galilee

Mt. Carmel

R. Yarmuk

Sephoria. Christians
camp here, July 2. Set
off for Tiberias, July 3.

Nazareth

R. Jordan

Senebra. Sala
crosses here,
July 1.

Caesarea

La Fève. Templar
castle and supply
depot.

Kaft Sabt. Saladin camped
here, July 2.

Cresson. Combined Templar
and Hospitaller force
defeated here, May 1.

Lubia. Christians camped here,
night of July 3. Encircled
during night. Well is dry.

0   5   10   15
Miles

12. The Hattin campaign, 1187.

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a vaulted room on the south side appears to have been a small ward with a chapel at the east end. It was protected by the nearby Hospitaller castle of Belmont (also undergoing archaeological investigation by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem). Aqua Bella is mentioned in only one surviving document, from which evidence it is thought to have been built between 1163 and 1169.

Tiberias is a useful second base for visits, for it is in reach of the northerly castles and pilgrim sites of Galilee, where there was another great concentration of shrines. Just to the south of Tiberias is the great Hospitaller castle of Belvoir, set in a magnificent position about 450 metres above the Jordan Valley (see fig. 11). It was sold to the Hospitallers by King Fulk in 1168 and completely rebuilt. It is nearly square (130 x 100 metres), with a double line of walls in the style of concentric defence favoured by the Hospitallers. The main living quarters, which are remarkably comprehensive, are contained in the two-storied halls around the inner bailey. It is protected by a ditch on three sides, with ground falling away on the eastern side towards the Jordan Valley. It was both a castle and a monastery; its isolated position is in keeping with the monastic reformation epitomised by the Cistercians in the first half of twelfth century.

Belvoir is a very prominent sign of the crusader occupation; much less obvious but equally important are the Nazareth capitals, carved by a visiting sculptor for the shrine grotto in the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth. The original site can be seen within the modern church, but the capitals themselves (usually ignored by the thousands of pilgrims who visit the church) are preserved in the nearby Franciscan museum. These capitals were found by chance during excavations in 1908. They are in almost perfect condition because they appear to have been deliberately hidden - probably in 1187 as the threat of Saladin became acute - for there is no evidence they were ever placed in position. They had lain untouched for over 700 years. They were probably intended for the shrine grotto on the north side of the Church of Annunciation, which Christians believed to have been not only the site of the Annunciation, but also the place where Mary brought up Jesus and where Joseph was buried.

They are carved from relatively soft local white/yellow limestone, and were intended to be placed on the exterior of a two-storied chapel. One is rectangular and four are polygonal. The former seems to have been one of several planned for the arcading of the lower storey. In its centre is the Virgin herself, holding the hand of an unidentified apostle as she leads him through the perils of Hell, represented by aggressive demons. The four polygonal capitals may have been part of an intended set of eight, which would have been around the upper storey. They all show episodes (real and apocryphal) from the ministry of the Apostles in the East. All are Galilean (i.e. local) apostles, Thomas, Peter, James the Greater and Matthew, which has led to the speculation that the set would have been completed by the inclusion of Andrew, John, Bartholomew, and Philip.

It is perhaps appropriate to finish as we began, with a landscape. On the Horns of Hattin, in July 1187, the greatest Frankish force since the First Crusade, was crushingly defeated by Saladin, bringing to an end what Sir Steven Runciman called 'the first kingdom' (see fig.12). On the bleak hills within sight of the Sea of Galilee, the Christian army was forced to make a stand; its defeat left the entire kingdom at Saladin's mercy.

Guides, Maps, and Academic Recent Work

Baedeker's Israel (with fold-out map) potted histories and practical information

Nagel's Encyclopedia Guide, Israel out-of-date in comparison with Baedeker, but full of historical and geographical information

K.Prag, *Jerusalem* (Blue Guide, 1989) largely architectural

J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti, *Crusader Palestine* (from *The Atlas of Israel*, sheet 12 (published by the Dept. of Surveys, Israel Government)

M. Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994) (pbk)

J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* (Philadelphia, 1986)

J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (New York, 1995)

B. Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *Catholic Historical Review*, 80 (1994)

B.Z. Kedar, 'The Battle of Hattin Revisited', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem and London, 1992)

H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994)

H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (rev.ed., Oxford, 1988) (pbk)

R.D. Pringle, 'Magna Mahumeria (al-Bira): the Archaeology of a Frankish New Town in Palestine', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P.W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985)

R.D. Pringle, 'Aqua Bella: The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building' in *The Horns of Hattin*

R.D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol.1, *A-K (excluding Acre and Jerusalem)* (Cambridge, 1993)

R.D. Pringle, 'Templar Castles on the Road to the Jordan', in *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994)

J.Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (London, 1987) (pbk)

J. Riley-Smith, ed., *The Atlas of the Crusades* (London, 1991)

J.Riley-Smith, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 1995)

J. Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*(London, 1988)

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The Supernatural Spiritual Guide in Islam, Judaism and Christianity

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This paper is taken from a much larger work, so that only the transcendental guide as developed from Greek philosophy, which occurred in philosophical and mystical writings in both Islam and Judaism, and the angelic guide which arose in Christianity and Judaism can be dealt with here. Other spiritual guides such as the 'Higher Selves' of earthly souls, for example, and spiritual guidance given to souls on earth by dead masters, sheykhs or rabbis will be excluded. Time and space, therefore, must limit this study to the personified 'divine mind' as guide, and the angel.

When I speak of the supernatural guide, I mean a celestial being, in contrast to the human spiritual guide which is encountered in different guises in all religious traditions. I am confining this study to the three monotheistic religions, though aspects of the supernatural guide can also be found in Hinduism and Buddhism. The geographical area of the study is the Hellenistic world of late antiquity, where much of this phenomena took root, and where it developed in the lands of medieval Islam, Judaism and Christianity, in Persia, North Africa, Spain and Western Europe.

The Spiritual guide

In the 1950s Henry Corbin translated a story called Hay ibn Yakzan from the Arabic into French.[1] It was originally written in the eleventh century by the Arab philosopher ibn Sinna, or Avicenna as he was known in the West. In this story a young man, who had set out on life's journey met, by chance, a venerable old sage. This sage was to change his life from one of trivia, to a life of wisdom, as he followed the sage on the journey to the Great King. However, the sage is not a human *sufi sheykh*, or spiritual guide, but is, in fact, a creature taken out of Aristotelian philosophy. How did that happen? As far as we know Aristotle was not given to visionary experience, but what Aristotle actually wrote, and what others thought he meant could be somewhat different.

Before turning to Aristotle, mention must be made of Hermes Trismegistus, the supposed teacher of Ancient Egyptian wisdom, whose works were translated into Latin by the Renaissance scholar Pico della Mirandola. On the 'Emerald Tablet' which was translated from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages, we are told that [Hermes] 'holds three parts of the wisdom of the whole world', and he is represented as such on the floor of Sienna Cathedral. It was not until 1614 that the Greek scholar in the West, Isaac Casaubon, doubted the ancient Egyptian beginnings of the Hermetic writings. They are, of course, like the name Hermes Trismegistus, a hybrid of Egyptian and Greek wisdom of late antiquity. The 'Trismegistus' or 'thrice greatest' is the form used to form the superlative in ancient Egyptian language, and Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes, is described in that manner on the walls of the Temple of Dendara.[2]

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[1]   *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, transl. Corbin and Trask (Dallas, Texas, 1980).
[2]   E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, transl. John Baines (London, 1982) p. 186.

It would seem that the Arabs had some knowledge of the Hermetic writings long before the West. This can be judged from their own alchemical works of the early Middle Ages, which show, not only some influence of the Greek alchemical texts of late Antiquity,[3] but that the key success in the great Art, is a visionary encounter with Hermes himself, the giver of wisdom. One particular book, 'Kitab al Focult',[4] which can be traced back to its Hermetic source, namely the first tract of the corpus called *Poimandres*, describes how Hermes has a vision of Nous the Divine Mind, and so Hermes becomes a guide to wisdom for humanity. There are several Arabic stories of mystical encounters with Hermes, father of wisdom and the science of alchemy, translated into German by Julius Ruska.[5]

So the supernatural guide entered into writings of the Arabic Hermeticists, an offshoot of popular Neo-Platonic philosophy. Alongside this, however, came the translations of Aristotle into the Arab world. However the Arab philosophers studied Aristotle through the third-century greek commentators namely Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius.[6] It was the greek commentators' paraphrases of Aristotle's 'De Anima' Book 3, and the subsequent translations from Greek to Arabic, which provided the evidence for the *transcendent* spiritual guide to be formulated. It was not entirely clear to them, whether Aristotle considered the Active Intellect to be an aspect of the human soul, or a transcendent entity existing outside the soul, but connected with it. It would seem that in the Eudemian Ethics, the Active Intellect appears to be a transcendent entity whereas in the Nichomachean Ethics, the guiding divine intellect could be seen as part of our being. Be that as it may, the Arabic translators of the Greek commentators, when considering what Aristotle meant by the immortal soul, seemed to envisage the Active Intellect as an incorporeal being.[7]

Al Kindi, one of the earliest Arabic commentators on Aristotle considered the First or Active Intellect to be a transcendent entity, or an angelic being.[8] In fact al Kindi's First Intellect is envisaged as the Neo-Platonic Nous. If we turn to Al Farabi and Avicenna, we find a world of emanating intelligences form the First Cause, terminating in the tenth intelligence, or angel, the Active Intellect. This, they consider, is the transcendent being, the Active Intellect of Aristotle's De Anima. Avicenna equates the Active Intellect with an angel in his 'Madina al Fadila' or 'the Perfect State' which is considered 'an intermediary between God most High and the man who receives revelation'.[9] From this point Avicenna writes his philosophic allegory of 'Hay ibn Yaczan' and the angelic guide, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper. From here the supernatural guide will appear in different forms, in the voluminous writings of ibn Arabi and the Persian Suhrawardi.

Greek /Arabic philosophy and the Jews

The philosophic writings of Al Farabi came into Judaism through translations into Hebrew. The most important translator in this respect was ibn Tibbon who lived in the twelfth century. Avicenna was mostly read in the original by Jews cognisant with Arabic. As in the Arab world, we find resistance to philosophy, and then accommodation, or harmonization with beliefs already held, which is a form of assimilation. An interesting case of 'resistance and assimilation' is Judah ha Levi's

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3   P.E. Berthelot and C.E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (Paris, 1887).
4   J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les Mages Helenesées* (Paris, 1938), vol. 2, pp. 347-352.
5   J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina* (Heidelberg, 1926) and *Arabische Alchemisten* (Heidelberg, 1924).
6   Themistius, *Paraphrasis eorum quae de Anima Aristotelis*, transl. Guillaume de Moerbeke (Louvain, 1957).
7   H. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna & Averroes on the Intellect* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 39-40.
8   *De Intellectu*, transl. J. Jolivet (Leiden, 1971).
9   *Madina el Fadila. The Perfect State*, ed. Richard Walzer (Oxford, 1985), p. 53.

'Sefer ha Kuzori'.[10] This is a dialogue between a supposedly Aristotelian philosopher and a rabbi. Though the rabbi rejects the emanating intelligences, and the Active Intellect, he puts in their place the Neo-Platonic Nous or Logos. The latter, no doubt, he found more acceptable, because Philo Judaeus, in late Antiquity, had formulated a 'logos doctrine'. The same position is adopted by the Provencal Rabbi, Levi ben Gershom, who believes in a guiding intellect as a Nous or Logos,[11] and who is critical of Averroes' account of the Active Intellect, for example, for much the same reason as the Christian Scholastics. He did not allow for diversity in human nature, nor the salvation of the individual soul.

Likewise, Ibn Gabriol followed the Neo-Platonic scheme of the One, Nous, Soul and Nature, but equated the Nous with the Active Intellect which he believed to be transcendent. In his book the 'Meqor Hayyim' or 'Fons Vitae', it was a question of 'raising one's intelligence... and with the necessary purification, apprehend the mightiest of knowledge from the Intelligence'.[12] Similarly Abraham ibn Daud, a twelfth-century Jew writing in Arabic, came to the same conclusion, that the soul, which is not one of the separate substances, is actualised by an intellect separate from human souls, a 'Nous' figure, which he also calls 'the breath of Al Shaddai'.[13] Maimonides, following Jewish tradition, considered the Intellect to be an angel, who played a part in prophecy.[14] It would seem that he followed Al Farabi, Avicenna, and ultimately the so-called 'Theology of Aristotle' by accepting the world of emanating intelligences in his Mishnah Torah.[15]

The Jewish writers, therefore, whether they be philosophers or mystics studying the Kaballah, accommodate the Nous or the Active Intellect by understanding it as an angel. The angel guide goes back a long way in Jewish mysticism. He was the righteous man Enoch, who became an angel,[16] and took the name of Metatron. So from late antiquity Metatron appears in Merkabah or Throne Mysticism, in the Hekhalot literature[17] and is still quite prevalent in philosophical/mystical writings of the Middle Ages where he is understood to be the same as the angel Nous or Active Intellect. This can be seen in Moses Narboni's commentary on Averroes' Middle Commentary on 'De Anima', where he follows the discourse of the Arab philosopher but then equates the Active Intellect responsible for the beneficial transformation of the soul with the 'Prince of this World' and the 'Prince of the Presence' who is none other than Metatron.[18] Similarly in the works of Joseph ben Judah ibn Iknin, writing in Arabic, the tenth Intellect or Active Intellect, becomes the Divine Lover of the Song of Songs.[19] Likewise in the Kabbalist Abulafia, the Active Intellect was equated with the angel Metatron,[20] and in the writings of the Rhineland mystics, Judah the Hasid and Eleazor, the Kavod, or God's manifested Glory, is seen both as an angel and as the Active Intellect.

[10]   *Sefer ha Kuzori*, transl. D. Cassel (Leipzig, 1869).
[11]   *Wars of the Lord*, transl. S. Feldman (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 147.
[12]   *Fons Vitae*, transl. H.E. Wedeck (London, 1963), p. 128.
[13]   *Exalted Faith*, transl. N.M. Samuelson (London, 1986), 64b: 13, 141b: 4-8, and p. 159.
[14]   *Guide for the Perplexed*, trans. M. Friedländer(New York, 1956), part II, ch. XLI, p. 235.
[15]   *Mishnah Torah*, ed.H.M. Russell and Rabbi J. Weinberg (Edinburgh, 1981), ch. 3.
[16]   *Hebrew Book of Enoch*, ed. and trans. G. Odeberg (Cambridge, 1927).
[17]   P. Schaefer, *Ubersetzung der Hekhalot Literatur* (Tubingen, 1989).
[18]   C. Sirat, *History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1985).
[19]   Ibid., p. 207.
[20]   Moshe Idel, *Mystical Experience of Abraham Abulafia* (New York, 1988), p. 118.

When we look at Christian writings, the transcendent guide as Nous or Active Intellect developed from Greek philosophy, never took root. Why was this? The Theologians, especially in the University of Paris, certainly opposed aspects of philosophical teaching, as might be expected. By 1200, ibn Sinna (Avicenna) was being read in Oxford and Paris, and thirty years later so was Averroes. By the twelfth century James of Venice, Henry Anstippus, Gerald of Cremona, the School of translaters at Toledo under Dominic Gundisalvo, had all made available in translation much of the Aristotelian corpus. The following century, during the years 1210-1215, scholars were forbidden to study Aristotle and his commentators.[21] However by 1255 the ban was removed. Then came the theological backlash in works written by Albert the Great `De Intellectu, De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas' (1975),[22] where Albert, who was not unsympathetic to philosophy, argued that there was not a separate intellect unless it was God himself, and that all parts of the soul were firmly in the body. In about 1270 Thomas Aquinas wrote on the unity of the intellect after reading the new Latin translation of Aristotle, where he argued that Aristotle had never said there had been a transcendent entity involved, that the intellect in man is a power in the soul, and that such powers are *in* the body, again using the analogy of the human eye and sight and also, like ibn Daud, he criticised the Averroistic idea of one intellect for all mankind.[23] Others like Bonaventura wrote in the same vein.

So the idea of the transcendent spiritual guide was strangled at birth by the Theologians in the Middle Ages, though a branch of Averroistic Aristotelianism was to flourish until the seventeenth century as a school of philosophy in Italian universities. However, it is true to say that the battle against the 'philosophical transcendental guide' had, in fact, been fought in the early years of Christianity, where Jesus who was both God and man, was equated with the Platonic Logos, as can be seen in the Prologue of St. John's Gospel, and the Christology of Justin and Origen. Jesus was not normally envisaged as 'Nous' except by Mani and Alexander of Lycopolis, neither of whom were orthodox Christians. However, among Gnostic Christians there arose the idea of the Angelic Christ, the post-resurrection Christ from the Other World leading his followers to salvation, as can be seen in several tracts from the Nag Hammadi Corpus, which were found in Upper Egypt this century.[24] This Angelic Christ from the other world was not strictly orthodox, but the idea was never completely lost. The angel-Christ, or gnostic Christ appears in Egyptian Christian or Coptic Art, on the walls of the early medieval Nubian Church of Abdallah Nirqi.[25] This motif is further carried on into Byzantine Christian Art, so that the Christ Angel appears in the eleventh-century church of St. Clement Ohrid, Macedonia,[26] and finally perhaps in the more well-known fourteenth-century mural of the Trinity in the Church of the Transfiguration in Novgorod, as the angel-Christ painted by Theophilus the Great, master of one of the finest icon painters, Andre Rublev. It is this gnostic inspired Angel Christ which is the nearest we have to the 'transcendental guide' in Christianity.

[21] H. Denifié, *Chartularium Universitatis*, 1, nos. 11 and 20.
[22] *De Unitate intellectus contra Averroistas*, Opera XVII; ed. Alfonsus Hufnagel (Aschendorff, 1975).
[23] *On the Unity of the Intellect*, transl. B.H. Zedler (Milwaukee, 1968), esp. 3.67 and 4.86.
[24] J. Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977); Bentley Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures* (London, 1987).
[25] P. Scholz, 'Gnostische Elemente in nubischen Wandmalereien', *Nubica*, 1, 11 (1990), pp. 565-84.
[26] S. der Nersessian, 'Notes sur quelques images se rattachant au thème du Christ-ange', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 13 (1962), pp. 206-16.

An Enduring Charter

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This example of a 'Short Charter' from MS Sloane 3292 fol 2, *Magna Carta de liberatibus Mundi*, reproduced in *The Middle English Charters of Christ* by Mary Caroline Spalding,[1] is the earliest dated example, being copied from a tombstone of 1400. Typically the poetry is poor despite the striking 'conceit', but unlike Rosemary Woolf (though its chief appeal is to the intellect rather than an affective one to the emotions), I find it moving, as 'metaphysical' conceits can be; the unexpected and apparently inappropriate imagery serving to catch the reader off-guard, and present its message in a new way.

The brevity of the 'Short Charter' increases the impact of the conceit, by remaining appropriate to its purported occasion, and their employment of features of standard wills is witty, topical and weighted with unexpected pathos. Echoes of contemporary romance can be heard as the commandments are a rent paid to true-love, and in the vernacular expansion of the *Datum* there is a curious immediacy in the rare mention of Calvary, while the date is calculated not by the years of a king's reign, or a great natural disaster, but as the first of the great mercy procured by Christ's death.

The wounds which are the subject of my research are referred to under the warrant that Christ would be willing to be 'to-torn' again, rather than any man be lost, and in the curious description of the seal with its iconographical image familiar to medieval christians from symbols of the wounds in church windows, manuscript illustrations and even rings. The charter ends in several versions with instructions that the seal attached be a 'heart within a circle', or, in Latin, *Cor charte appensum rosei vicecerne sigilli spreta morte tui solus id egit amor*, with, on the reverse, a pelican piercing her breast for her young.

The 'Long Charters' lose much of the metaphysical wit of the conceit in a welter of affective narrative and complaint as they explore the extraordinary image further. Many of these developments of the image are so graphic as to repel fastidious modern tastes, for instance Christ explains how his body came to be chosen for the document – it was the only parchment that would last long enough to keep the charter intact for future generations – and how his hide was cured – moistened in his blood it was stretched out on the cross to dry. Images from other established conceits of the passion wounds are also employed, for instance the idea of the five chief wounds as red paraphs, and the smaller, dried wounds from the scourging as the black characters of the script, a conceit taken from poems where Christ's crucified body is conceived of as a child's horn book, from which to learn the alphabet of the passion story.

As may be seen in the accompanying picture, charters were often crudely illustrated, and were found in largely vernacular manuscripts written for devotional use by those less educated than the clerks who must have devised them.[2] Despite this intended milieu of devotional contemplation however, they retain a primarily intellectual impact, and must have appealed to an intelligent, if less educated, audience with experience of legal documents.

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[1]   Published by J. H. Furst, Bryn Mawr 1914.
[2]   The picture is from BL Add. Mss 37049 (fol 23r), reproduced as plate 5 in D. Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval Religious Lyric* (Oxford, 1972). (By permission of the British Library.)

Others who have struggled with varying amounts of success and satisfaction through translation exercises in Margaret Gooder's *Latin for Local History* may recognise in this Middle English poem a curious 'parody' of the Latin wills we have come to know and love.

Nouerint presentes & futuri
Wat yee now all that be heere
and after shall be leif and deere
That I Ihesus of Nazareth
for Loue of Man haue suffered death
Uppon the Cross with wounds fyue
Whilest I was heere on Earth alyue
Dedi et Concessi
I haue geuen and made a graunte
to all people repentant
Heauens Bliss without ending
Habendum
As long as I am Heauens King
Redendo
Keap I no more for all my smart
but the true Loue of all thy hart
and that thou be in Charety
and Loue thy Neighbour as thyself
this is the Rent thou shalt giue me
as to the chief Lord of the ffee
Warrantizatio
And if any one shall say now
that I dyed not for mans prow
Rather then Man should be forlorn
Yet would I be eft all to-torne
In cuius rei testimonium
In wittnes of the which thinge
Myne owne seale there-to I hing
and for the more sikernes
the wounde on my syde is
Datum apud Hierusalem
This was geuen at Calluery
the first day of the great mercy
Hijs testibus
Wittnes the day that turned to night
the Sonn that then withdrew his light
Wittnes the Earth yat then did quake
and stones great yat in sonder brake
Witnes the Vaile that then did ryue
and men that rose from dead to lyue
Witnes ny Mother and St John
and other then their many one
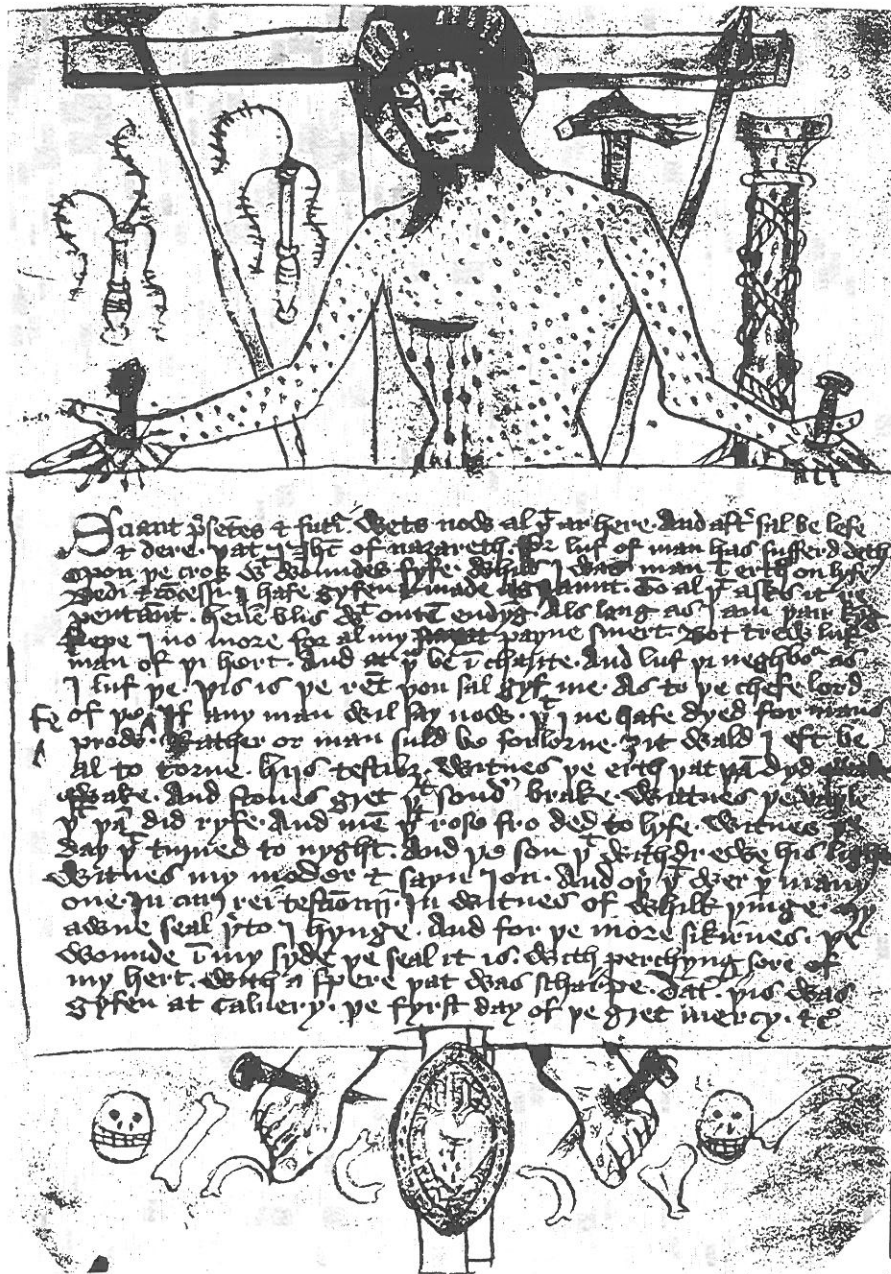
13. The Charter of Christ (British Library Add. Mss 37049, fol. 23r).
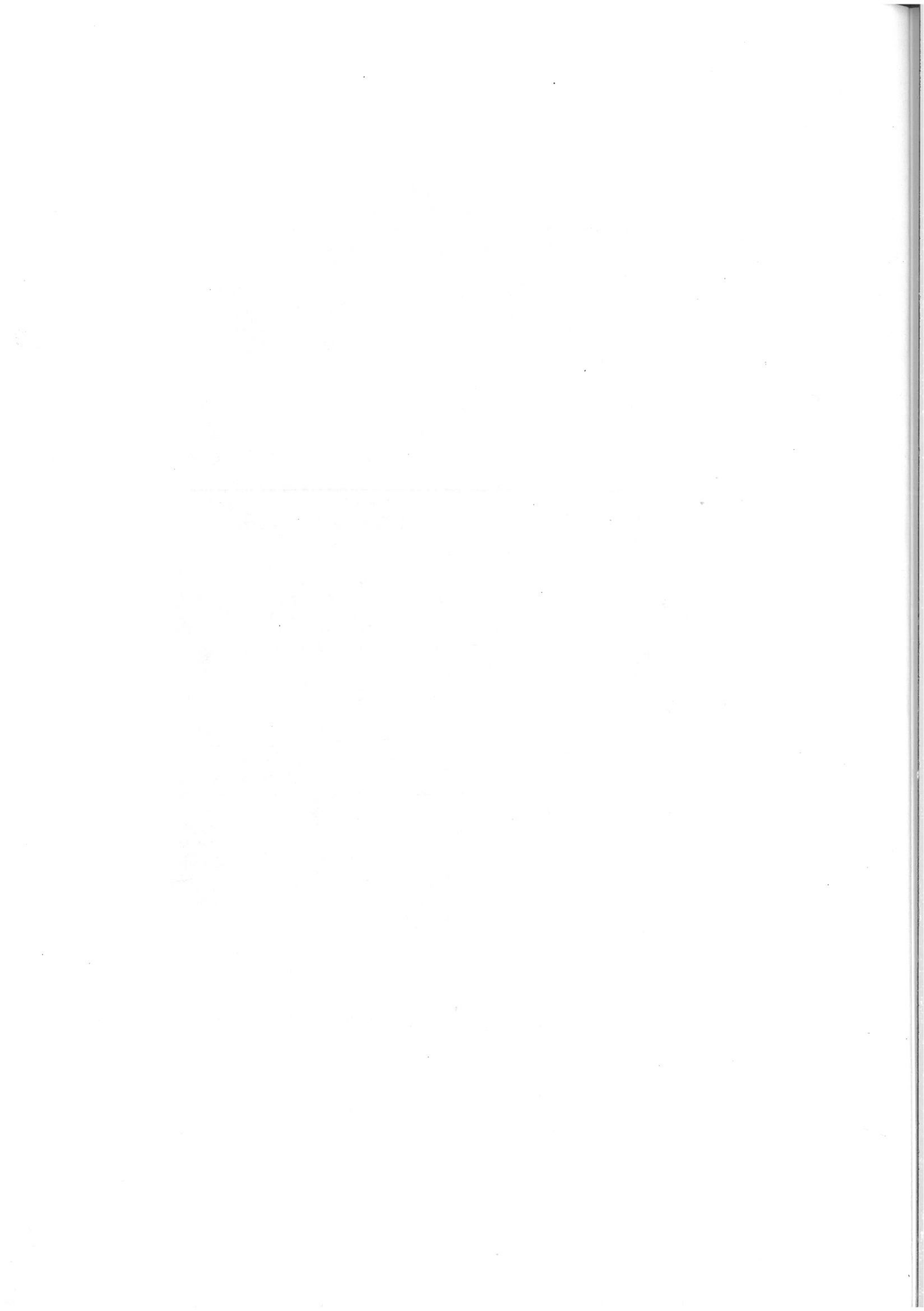
The earl of Arundel's expedition, 1388

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The reign of Richard II (1377-1399) saw eleven major military expeditions, six to France, one to Portugal, one to Castile, one to Scotland and two to Ireland. The beginning of his reign saw renewed hostilities in the Hundred Years War with France under the leadership of his uncles. However, when Richard managed to gain control of government his expeditions were led against Scotland and Ireland, as he preferred to pursue peace with France. The article by J.W. Sherborne covers the first three years of the reign and concentrates on the service of retinue captains and total numbers involved.[1] I am researching all personnel involved in the expeditions and I aim to cover systematically the whole of Richard's reign.

During my research into military organisation in the reign of Richard II, it became necessary to enter the names of each member of each expedition into a relational database. The muster rolls for this period have survived in sufficient number for the first time to enable this undertaking to be possible and to produce significant results. Before this date muster rolls do not survive in significant numbers. I have access, however, to around twenty documents. Using Microsoft Access 2.0 on a Pentium computer, I have collected the information provided by the sources into a user friendly and adaptable format.

The muster rolls provide highly detailed information about the military community in action. They show the expedition's framework of retinues and relationships. They also show the continually changing face of the expedition through death, desertion, promotion, late arrival and early departure of troops. The muster roll I will use to illustrate my essay is E101/41/5: this is a document catalogued in Exchequer Accounts Various at the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. This roll holds the names of those serving in the expedition of 1388 led by the earl of Arundel against the French.

To set this expedition in context, it is necessary to assess the political situation in England at this time. The earl of Arundel and the earl of Gloucester, the King's uncle, had just completed the Merciless Parliament, which was instigated to act against the king's advisors and favourites. The two Appellants, as they have been named by historians, had destroyed the King's support at the battle of Radcot Bridge on 20 December 1387 and used the Merciless Parliament to finish off their opposition. However, because of the length of time it took to finish the parliament, the expedition, which was planned for March did not leave England until June 1388. The dismal failure of this expedition, together with money problems, meant that Richard was able to assert his own plans, which included peace with France. Another background factor was the Scottish invasion, which the northern earls had to repel. Arundel refused to return to England with his army to help out. On the 5 August, English forces under Hotspur were beaten at Otterburn. The King prepared to lead an expedition, but the Scots dispersed. Parliament decided it could no longer afford an aggressive foreign policy and a truce with France was sought.

This was the last expedition to France of Richard's reign. The intended expedition was to be a lot more impressive than the actual event. Gloucester had envisaged a two-pronged attack on France, with John of Gaunt in Gascony and England's ally, John de Montford in Brittany. The intended force would have

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[1] 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', *English Historical Review*, 79 (1964).

numbered 6,000 men. However, Gaunt preferred talks on peace to warfare and did not go along with the plans of his brother, the duke of Gloucester. He did not receive any troops other than a small retinue under Thomas de Percy.[2] Because of Gaunt's refusal to take part and Arundel's late arrival in Brittany, de Montford broke off his alliance and went back over to the French. Arundel did not find out about the desertion of his ally until landing in Brittany. He lingered in north Brittany for a month, as he had lost all mobility on land (the horses were to be provided by de Montford). He then sailed towards La Rochelle, ignoring a recall from Westminster. He then plundered La Rochelle and the neighbouring islands. When de Montford returned to Brittany in August, he and Arundel again made a secret pact. However by this time, the Appellants had lost all their influence in England and Arundel had to return to England, having wasted his opportunity to gain a significant victory over the French.

The muster roll is made up of long lists written on parchment, up to a metre in length and around 15 cm. in width. E101/41/5 is a collection of 21 separate membranes, sewn together at the top. They are rolled up together and nowadays secured with a ribbon. The lists contain the names of the members of each retinue that accompanied the earl of Arundel on his expedition in 1388. The expedition consisted of a number of these retinues, each commanded by a separate captain. Each retinue consisted of captain, knights, esquires and archers. It is these retinues which are detailed in the muster roll. They are composed mainly in Latin; the forenames are latinised, the headings are in Latin, but there are some instances of French being used. The first retinue listed is that of Arundel himself and his name is written in bold at the top of the first membrane. His retinue is then listed in order of seniority - the man himself (that is how he is described in the source), baron, knight banneret, knight bachelor, esquire and archers. The rank of the soldier is written above each section and is sometimes bracketed to the names. Each subsequent membrane continuing his retinue has Arundel's name in bold at the top. All 41 retinues contained within the rolls follow this same format and all appear to have been compiled by the same hand.

From studying the lists, it is evident that they were used as a working document and that they were carried on the expedition. The number of men of each rank is stated after the list of men in the retinue. As an aid to counting, each name in the list is pointed (a mark made in the left margin) at least once (occasionally twice) and every 40 men are indicated by 'xl' in the left margin. If a man has departed, his name is crossed out; the date on which he left is indicated in the right margin. If he is replaced, the name of the replacement is written alongside. This process of muster and review was a continual process and movement amongst the soldiers can be seen to take place throughout the expedition. If a man has left the expedition and has not been replaced, a cross is placed at the side of his name and his name is crossed out. The numbers given at the end of each retinue generally take account of these omissions, implying that the men must have left the army prior to this count being made. It is also recorded if a soldier is knighted during the expedition. These rolls would then be used to verify the captains' accounts after the campaign.

What does the muster roll add to our knowledge of the expedition? There were 41 retinues, mostly commanded by a single captain. Seven retinues were commanded by two captains jointly and one retinue was commanded by three esquires. Three retinues were captained by nobles, i.e. earls and barons, five were captained by bannerets (a banneret meant carrying a banner but actually referred to a superior knight who qualified for a higher wage), 21 were captained by knights bachelor and 12 were captained by esquires. One knight bachelor commanded two retinues. The total number of combatants was 3583 soldiers, which breaks down into nine nobles, seven bannerets, 98 bachelors, 1456 esquires and 2012 archers. Therefore, the army consisted of 1570 men-at-arms and 2012 archers, a ratio of 1:1.3. This ratio is mirrored in the individual retinues and only one retinue has a

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2   See E101/40/39 for muster roll (incomplete due to damage by fire).

ratio of exactly one man-at-arms to one archer. The ideal tactical balance of an English army during the reign of Edward III was thought to be a ratio of men-at-arms to archers of 1:1. However, by the reign of Henry V the ratio had increased to 1 man-at-arms to around 3 archers, possibly because of the cost effectiveness of the mounted archer. It is interesting to note that a ratio of around 1:1 is being maintained at the time of this expedition, ten years into the reign of Richard II. The biggest retinue is that of Arundel himself and consists of 361 soldiers. Thirty five retinues have no more than 100 soldiers, showing that the army consisted mainly of a number of small units.

The roll gives us an image of how the army was mustered and reviewed because it was a document which was amended during the expedition. One can monitor manpower being replaced, men going missing, men being knighted and one can parallel this to information provided by contemporary sources. Froissart, the contemporary chronicler claimed that the army consisted of 1,000 men-at-arms and about 3,000 archers, which for Froissart seems to be a good estimate.[3] He also names five men who went on this expedition and who can also be identified in the rolls. Palmer points out that in the original indenture (the contract specifying the numbers of troops which the commander would be expected to provide) drawn up in March, Arundel contracted to take 3,500 men consisting of 1,500 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers.[4] The actual number of soldiers contained in the muster roll matches this contracted number with just a few extra, indicating that Arundel met his requirement in full. This suggests that plenty of men were willing to join this expedition against France, during a period when it appears that the English were beginning to think seriously about peace with the French. The Monk of Westminster provides the most accurately dated account of the expedition and it is possible to compare the account to the dates provided by the muster. He has the expedition leaving Southampton on 10 June.[5] The muster of troops appears to have been made on the 1 June, therefore prior to embarkation. The Monk of Westminster refers to Arundel conferring knighthood on Lord Despenser and other gentlemen on the island of Batz.[6] This is supported in the muster as seven men are noted as being knighted on 28 June, although Despenser in not one of them.[7] From the muster it seems that Arundel also knighted one man on the 16th July and two on the 27 July. The Monk does refer to one further case of knighting, prior to intended battle outside La Rochelle, thus accounting for this extra activity. He gives the date of return to Hastings of 2 September, therefore only one day out from their actual return on 3 September.[8] The muster roll is checked on a number of occasions, showing that the process of muster and review was ongoing. Firstly, the numbers are checked on 1 June when replacements are made to make up for those that are missing. Men are noted as not being present on the same day as the dubbings took place on the island of Batz. These men are not replaced, thus indicating either casualties or desertion at an early stage of the expedition. Large numbers of men are noted as being not present on both 29 August and 1 September, probably indicating an advance party leaving for England.

This preliminary examination suggests that the muster roll is a valuable source of information, which can increase our understanding of expeditions in this period, as well as providing factual detail concerning the dynamics of an army of the Hundred Years War.

3   J. Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed.T. Johnes (London, 1839), p. 346.

4   J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom* (London, 1972), p. 127.

5   L.C. Hector and B.F. Harvey (eds), *Westminster Chronicle* (Oxford, 1982), p. 351.

6   Ibid., p. 353.

7   Lord Despenser can probably be identified as Sire le Despenser, a member of Arundel's retinue. Also in this expedition Mons. Hugh le Despenser captained two retinues and Thomas le Despenser was an esquire in Arundel's retinue. However, none of these men are specifically noted as being knighted on the muster roll.

8   *Westminster Chronicle*, p. 353.
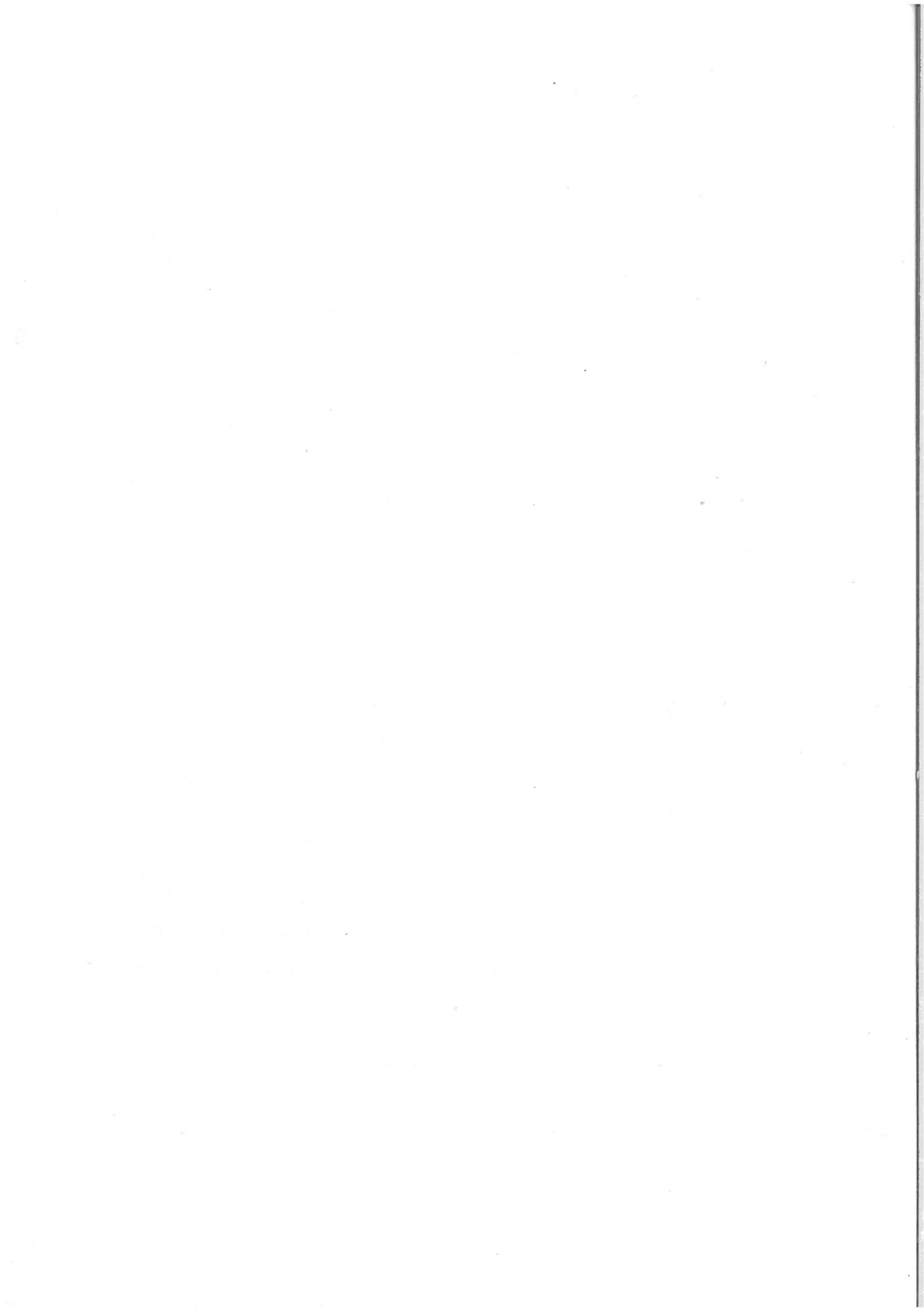
Computers in Medieval Studies

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I am currently working as Humanities Computing Development Officer at the University of Exeter. Part of my job is to advise staff as to how they can use Information Techonolgy (IT) in their teaching and research. The MA that I did here in 1991 has been a good preparation for this job as the interdisciplinary nature of the course has given me an insight into the different skills required in studying the humanities subjects. While some of my projects involve computer-aided language learning packages, others require, say, an understanding of the problems involved in designing historical databases. So how then can computers be applied to Medieval Studies? How would I advise staff and students of the Graduate Centre here in Reading as to what applications can be of benefit to their research and teaching? I am going to look at the elements of the MA as I studied it in 1991 and suggest how computer applications can be used in these areas. Then I am going to demonstrate how the results of these different applications can be stored and distributed through a computer network called the Internet.

First of all, what can you do with a computer in Medieval Studies? The MA that I took was divided into four basic elements: latin, palaeography, history and literature. When I studied here I would not have dreamt of using a computer except to type up an essay. Since them however the situation has changed enormously.

Let us start with latin. There are a number of computer aided language learning packages (CALL) on the market for teaching latin. There are grammar drillers which use a multiple choice format or force you to type the correct answer in the gap. Other packages use a flashcard approach to test vocabulary. Often score-keeping facilities are incorporated to monitor students' performance. A few packages are available which consist of translation exercises in which information has been incorporated about meanings, root words and grammar notes. So that by selecting a word or phrase, a commentary on that selection appears - one that aids the user in the translation.

What about palaeography? At first sight it does not seem that computers can really assist when it comes to the study of palaeography. However, with the developments in scanners, image manipulation software, and screen display, the examination of manuscripts has if anything been made easier. A text can be scanned in once in a process that is very similar to photocopying and then can be viewed many times without damaging the original manuscript. Images can be magnified greatly to investigate the properties of the script in detail. This can be used to investigate faded passages and palimpsests. Take for example a current British Library project with the damaged eleventh century Beowulf manuscript. By digitising the images and linking the files it is now possible to superimpose enhanced, back-lit, or ultraviolet images over covered or erased readings.[1] So a kind of electronic restoration takes place using the computer.

The use of computers in literature is a growing field, as more and more texts are put into a standard computer-readable form. While the computer is not doing anything particularly new, it is doing it very quickly. Procedures which could take days or weeks can now take seconds. For example, word frequency analysis can be carried out on a selection of texts so that comparative work can be carried out. Concordance programmes allow the user to reorganise words to show the contexts

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[1] K. Kiernan, 'The Electronic Beowulf', *Computers in Libraries*, February 1995, pp. 14-15.

in which they appear. Collocate analysis focuses on word combinations. In the field of medieval literature, all these tools help in literary analysis and in the study of language development.

I am also going to breeze through the uses of databases in the study of medieval history as their benefits are well established and documented already. An electronic database can be defined simply as a 'collection of related data ordained in a pre-determined manner according to a set of logical rules'.[2] A lot of medieval archival documents are already organised logically, for example parish records, charters, bishops registers all conform to standard formats. So to enter this information into a database programme is straightforward despite being time-consuming. The fun part comes in deciding what queries to run. For example, the British Academy's Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire based at King's College London contains fairly straightforward details about individuals such as names, dates, sex, career title and a short article about each person. But, the enquiries that have been possible include those that were not considered in its original design: 'it is possible, for example, to find all bishops whose brothers were also bishops, or the names of all individuals who appeared at the court of a particular emperor'.[3] So databases allow the researcher to investigate on a larger scale than would otherwise have been possible.

So far, I have just given a very quick summary of the uses of computers in the teaching and research of medieval studies. Many of these such as databases have long been recognised as useful and powerful tools. Other aspects, such as the digitisation of images, are just being discovered as the hardware and software involved are becoming easier to use and cheaper to buy.

At the moment, however, the number of academics and students who use these computer applications is very small. Although I have no figures to hand, I know from my work at Exeter that the majority of people see the computer simply as an advanced electronic typewriter, useful for bashing out articles and essays but not much else. As computers become more powerful, people get more frightened instead of less; and they are more embarrassed by their ignorance. The busy academic who has just mastered a basic word-processor is not going to give up lots of time to learn something new from scratch.

But in the last two years there have been a series of developments that have had important implications for the future of computers in the humanities. These developments have centred around the graphical user interface (for example, Microsoft Windows), where the computer is nicer to look at and easier to use, and the expansion of the Internet. The Internet can be briefly described as a standard way of linking computers. For many years now academics have been able to use the Joint Academic Network, (JANET) to do tasks like send messages and files electronically. But in the last two years, the protocols used have become more standardised and more specialised so different types of communication can occur between computers that are linked in a standard way. So now I can not only send a message to another British university but at the same time I can download files from a commercial organisation in America.

One of the most popular ways of using the Internet is known as the World Wide Web. It can be defined in one sentence as a distributed multimedia hypertext system and this lengthy definition means that the Web can be a range of things. It can mean a collection of information, spread on different machines around the world and this is accessible when computers are set up in a 'client-server' relationship. It can refer to a method of accessing this information using hypertext transfer protocol (HTTP). It can also be referred to as a method of storing information: text can be stored in a standard format, hypertext mark up language (HTML), which can be viewed through a range of clients or browsers.

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2   C. Harvey and J. Press, 'The Business Elite of Bristol: a Case Study in Database Design', *History and Computing*, 3, part 1 (1993), pp. 1-11.
3   *Information Technology in Humanities Scholarship* (BLRDD, 1993), p. 10.

What are the attractive features of WWW browsers for users assuming that all the right hardware and software is in place? It is simple to use. You can access a file by clicking on a hypertext link or entering the address of a file. It looks good, headings and paragraphs can be formatted in different ways and therefore are clear to read. If there is enough video memory in the computer, pictures look great.

What about the attractive features of putting information on WWW from the point of view of the busy academic who is does not consider himself or herself a computer specialist? Different kinds of information can be incorporated easily, text and images can be integrated using basic HTML. You do not have to be born a programmer to mark up a text in HTML and put a file on to a Web server. Because it is so easy, information can be easily changed - it is not as final as paper publishing.

What are the features of the World Wide Web that medievalists can benefit from? The ability to integrate text and images means that documents that would normally be very expensive for academics to provide can be made easily accessible. For example, photographs of medieval manuscripts can be scanned in once, put on a web server with accompanying text, and accessed many times, for the study of palaeography, book production, or illumination.

Access to primary and secondary source material is developing rapidly. Electronic texts are becoming increasingly popular. Forgotten texts in obscure languages can be accessed. Basic find commands of the web browser can be employed to carry out preliminary textual analysis. Or the electronic text can be loaded into another application (such as the Oxford Concordance Programme) or printed off for academics to work on.

The Web also contains links to Data Archives and datasets such as those provided by the ESRC and MIDAS (although these are directly accessed through 'telnet'. Historians can explore these facilities for their research needs. Students can use these services in dissertation type project work.

Institutions such as libraries, museums and galleries have foreseen the web to be a powerful new medium and have set up interesting informative and pretty pages. More and more academic projects are being thought up, such as searchable on-line bibles, hypertext editions of obscure literary texts, and electronic journals. Processing functions are currently being developed and refined so that the applications that I have mentioned already such as concordances, databases and computer aided language learning packages can be accessed remotely. The implications for distance learning are enormous as are those for publishing: groups of academics in different locations can start their own electronic journal going. These could be both draft articles by staff or student essays. They could make the most of HTML and incorporate links to relevant literature, primary sources, footnote information and sound and graphics. The field of publishing is one that is particularly interesting and it is difficult to see what lies in the future for paper academic journals. Issues of copyright, payment, and peer review hold academic publishers back from exploring possibilities of the Internet to the full.

There are still many problems: there is a lot of junk out there and finding something useful is a slow process. There are search facilities but these are not very sophisticated. Downloading information can be a slow if there are a lot of images to come through or if the load on the networks is particularly heavy (that is, if a lot of people are using the Internet at the same time). In spite of the fact that it looks very flash, the World Wide Web is still in at a very developmental and experimental stage

What lies in the future for computers and Medieval Studies? Computers are going to bring the student and the researcher to a lot more information than before: there will be more varied ways of learning Latin, closer examination of manuscripts, greater access to obscure little literary texts that nobody would bother to publish and easier access to historical datasets.

There has been a lot of hype about the information superhighway, virtual reality and cyberspace. While most of the debate remains in the realm of fantasy, it is important to realise that there are real changes taking place that can have real

benefits to the way we study a subject, store information and communicate with each other. It is important not to ignore or be afraid of the new technology – it has got something to offer us in the field of Medieval Studies.

Forgery and urban conflict: The role of forged charters in Coventry between 1267 and 1355[*]

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The struggle which took place in Coventry in the early fourteenth century between the prior of the cathedral monastery and the burgesses of that city was one which was repeated in many towns all over England in this period. It was a dispute filled, often, with bitter acrimony, which, at a time of widespread agricultural crisis, centred on control over the city's trade. An examination of the events of 1267-1355 has revealed a link between certain key forged documents and this dispute.

Several of the charters under consideration here were forged by the monks of Coventry cathedral priory and are associated either with the abbey's foundation in the mid-eleventh century or the area of the prior's lordship. It has long been known that all the documents relating to the abbey's foundation are forgeries,[1] and historians have often seen these as the product of an avaricious, harsh and inflexible overlord.[2] But are these impressions realistic? Does forgery necessarily imply greed and deceit on behalf of the monks or is the explanation more complex?

Any explanation must depend on the role these forgeries played in Coventry's urban conflicts of the early fourteenth century. What can be discovered about the motives behind the forging of these documents and the use to which they were put? Few documents are forged or altered without good reason. All royal confirmations have some purpose. But what was this purpose, and does this tell us anything about the effectiveness of Benedictine lordship in Coventry in the fourteenth century?

What I hope I will be able to show is that by examining the context in which these documents were forged some of these questions can be answered and a more realistic picture of the Coventry monks will emerge. Far from the greedy, land hungry, repressive lords of legend they will, I hope, emerge as men, slow to innovate, weakened by conflict and desperate to hold on to what land they could against powerful, and covetous, adversaries. Their actions against the burgesses of Coventry seem less like those of an all powerful lord bleeding his villeins dry, denying them their freedom, and stifling any attempt at communality, but more like the struggles of a proud but drowning man desperate to maintain hold of the last remaining lifebelt before the sharks finish him off!

There is no doubt that Coventry was a town of importance. In 1334 it was the eighth largest town in England,[3] the most important centre in the Midlands for both trade and manufacturing. One of the salient features of this important commercial centre was the fact that for the early part of its history – between 1043 and 1249) – the lordship of the town was divided between two lords: the monastery (properly

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[1] *Crawford charters*, ed. Napier and Stevenson (1895), pp 94-5 and 100; J. Tait, 'An alleged charter of William I' in *Essays in history presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 151-67; J. Lancaster, 'The Coventry forged charters: A reconsideration', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 27 (1954), pp. 113-130.

[2] See, for example Lancaster, 'Coventry forged charters', *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, vol viii; and A. and E. Gooder, 'Coventry before 1355: unity or division?', *Midland History*, 6 (1981).

[3] H.C. Darby, (ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England* (Cambridge 1973), p. 184.

called the priory on account of it being a cathedral as well) and the earls of Chester. The priory held the northern part of the city, known as the 'Prior's half', originally the most developed, and containing the market-place. The market had been planned and built by the abbey in the late eleventh century,[4] had always been on their land, and was a resource over which they traditionally had complete jurisdiction and from which they derived much economic benefit. Control over this area was a central feature of the dispute. The earls, on the other hand, had held the southern part, known as the 'Earl's half'.[5] By the mid-thirteenth century this situation had changed and the prior became lord over both halves. By the start of the fourteenth century Coventry was becoming an important centre of the English wool trade.[6] The earl's half had, by that time, also grown significantly, with a large increase in both population, much by migration, and wealth, as seen in the lay subsidy figures for Coventry.

It is necessary now to briefly examine the documents themselves, starting with those forged by the priory. The monastery at Coventry was probably founded in the late 1030s and dedicated in 1043 by Earl Leofric of Mercia, a powerful magnate, and his wife Godiva both of whom were buried at the abbey. The first of the forgeries under consideration here, the foundation charter of the abbey, is generally agreed to have been forged in the mid-twelfth century[7] and has subsequently been lost. What remains is the earliest surviving copy [document 1] of this original found in a thirteenth-century cartulary.[8] This cartulary contains:

> *The foundation charter* [1a]. In this document Earl Leofric founds the church in honour of St Mary, St Peter and St Osburg and grants to the monks twenty-four vills, which are named and confers many privileges which he held of King Edward as well as a comprehensively large number of exemptions.
> *The confirmation by Edward the Confessor* [1b]. This charter notes the Pope's encouragement of Leofric and the King then enumerates all the lands granted by Leofric and, importantly, adds in a further grant, missing from the foundation charter, of half the vill in which the house is built. In other words half the town of Coventry is granted to the monks. It was this grant which was so important in the conflict over lordship in the fourteenth century. It would take on an almost disproportionate significance. The King then grants a further long list of exemptions.[9]

It is clear that the main thrust of these twelfth-century documents, typical of many twelfth-century monastic forgeries,[10] was to exempt the monastery from any form

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4 K.D. Lilley, 'Coventry's topographical development: the impact of the priory' in G. Demidowics (ed.), *Coventry's First Cathedral* (Stamford, 1994).

5 It is important to stress that a divided administration does not mean two seperate communities. For instance, the Hundred Rolls of Coventry of 1280 show that many of the major burgesses held land in both halves. See P. Coss, 'Coventry before incorporation: a reinterpretation', *Midland History*, 11 (1974); R.C.H. Davis, 'The early history of Coventry', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers*, 24, 1976; P. Coss, *The Early Records of Medieval Coventry* (Oxford, 1986), pp. xxi-xxiii and p. 368.

6 R.A. Pelham, 'The early wool trade in Warwickshire and the rise of the merchant middle class', *Trans. Birmingham Archaeological Society*, 63 (1944), pp. 41-62.

7 Lancaster, 'Coventry forged charters', p. 129.

8 'Gregory-Hood Ledger book', Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford upon Avon (DR 10/1406,) fols. 19-22.

9 Most of these exemptions become common only in the Anglo-Norman period and are virtually unheard of pre-conquest. This, and an impressive list of chronologically impossible witnesses, further adds to the impression that these are thirteenth-century cartulary copies of an original Norman twelfth-century set of forgeries. For a fuller analysis of the forgeries see Lancaster, 'Coventry forged charters', pp. 115-130.

10 In general, twelfth-century monks spent much of their time forging their foundation documents. St Albans, Evesham, Westminster, Peterborough, Worcester, Canterbury, Malmesbury, Rochester and Durham can be cited with Coventry suggesting that this activity was

of episcopal control. If we are to look for a motive for the forging of the original foundation documents, then the conflict between the bishops of Coventry and the monks of the cathedral priory in the twelfth century must be the place to start. It is a conflict that has attracted little recent attention[11] and the details need not detain us here except to note that the conflict had always been about episcopal control over the monks resources. It is interesting to reflect that it was not the avarice of the monks that gave rise to the forgeries but their use as a protection against the actions of the bishops that resulted in the forgeries of the twelfth century.

There is, however, a second copy of the forged foundation charters which are based on the first. These are found in an early fifteenth-century priory rental [document 2][12] which contains copies of all of the above forgeries. Once again, as in the thirteenth-century cartulary, these include :

The foundation charter [2a].
The confirmation of Edward the Confessor (an abbreviated version) [2b].

By and large these documents are almost exact copies of the earlier charters mentioned above. There is, however, one sentence which seems to have been deliberately added to the fifteenth-century foundation charter which does not appear in the thirteenth-century copy. The extra phrase is, 'twenty-four vills with half the town in which the said church has been founded'. In other words the monks have added into the later foundation charter the fact that Earl Leofric granted to them, as part of the original pre-conquest endowment, half of the town of Coventry, a grant that was originally only found in the forged confirmation of Edward the Confessor [1b] and not in the foundation charter [1a]. Clearly, therefore, the monks felt the need to emphasise the fact of their lordship over the northern part of the town (the Prior's half) in this version of the foundation charter. This addition demonstrates how a forged charter was changed to fit the circumstances of a later age.

The authenticity of a second set of priory documents have only recently been challenged by Coss.[13] These include :

The 'Boundary Charter' [3] of Hugh II (1162-73)[14] which enumerates the line between the two fees, which is known to have existed in the thirteenth century, running from east to west and prohibits the earl's ministers and tenants from interfering in the fee or demesne of the monks.

Importantly, this document, like the foundation charters, contains inconsistencies that indicate that it too was a forgery, probably from the mid-fourteenth century, based probably, on an earlier legitimate statement of the bounds.

The final document used in this conflict is not strictly a forgery but more correctly a document in which clauses have been added or changed to the benefit of the recipient, in this case not the priory but the burgesses of Coventry. Furthermore, this document was not altered specifically for this dispute but at an earlier time. It is :

The confirmation of Henry II [4] of the liberties and customs granted by Ranulf II, earl of Chester. The privileges of burgage tenure, *portmannemot* court and a *justiciarius* to administer this court are included.[15]

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not at all unusual. This was particularly true of cathedral monasteries, like Coventry, as the above list demonstrates.

[11] See M.J. Franklin, 'The Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield' in Demidowics, *Coventry's First Cathedral*, pp. 118-139; Coss, *Early Records*, pp. xvi-xix.

[12] PRO. E164/21; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, p. 191.

[13] Coss, *Reinterpretation*, pp. 144-146.

[14] Coss, *Records*, document 7, p. 15.

[15] Ibid., document 11, p. 18.

How do these forgeries fit into the events of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century in Coventry? Jurisdiction over Coventry's lucrative trade was the key feature of the quarrel. In February 1267 Prior William had the forged foundation charter [1a] and Edward the Confessor's forged confirmation [1b] inspected and confirmed by Henry III.[16] Added to this the prior was granted by the King a coroner, a gild-merchant and other privileges, no doubt intended to bring trade and court profits firmly under his control throughout Coventry. This seems to have been a logical business extension of the prior's newly acquired lordship over the Earl's half since 1249. (By this agreement the prior had taken over the lordship of the Earl's half for £107 *per annum* from the descendants of the earls of Chester, thereby making him lord of the whole city.[17]) Clearly, what Prior William envisaged was a long term exploitation of the resources of the Earl's half.[18] Prior William's business acumen and the grant of the gild-merchant was to be one of the causes of tension in Coventry in the months to come.

This confirmation and grant were swiftly followed in January 1268 by a Royal confirmation[19] of another suspicious document. This was Henry II's confirmation [4] in 1182, of a charter of Earl Ranulf II of Chester, a previous lord of the Earl's half, in which he had granted to the earl's men, all the liberties of burgage tenure. The terms of Ranulf's document were very generous to his burgesses. As well as burgage tenure he also grants them a *Portmannemot* court for pleas between himself and the burgesses. Moreover they were allowed to choose from one of their number a *Justicia* who should know and administer the laws and customs in council with the earl. This official was clearly intended to function as a president of a court. This right to elect their own *Justicia* is quite extraordinary, virtually unheard of in England at the time of the lost original charter (1140s) or its confirmation by Henry II in 1182. It was a privilege not granted in any other urban charters of the twelfth-century earls of Chester.[20]

This situation appears to hint at a general methodology of forgery. With a great deal of supposition the course of events may have been something like this. In the 1140s Earl Ranulf II, lord of the Earl's half, granted to his tenants, probably at their request, a charter which gave them the privileges of burgage tenure, possibly to attract business to his, at the time less developed, half in order to compete with the prior's market. The burgesses clearly wanted, even at that early date, some form of self administration to run their own business affairs so, during the minority of Ranulf III, Ranulf II's grandson, they added in certain clauses, especially that of being allowed to run their own court and presented it to King Henry to be confirmed. This he did in 1182. It was this rendering, rather than a more recent, but watered-down, genuine grant of Ranulf III from about 1200,[21] that was presented by the burgesses to be reconfirmed in 1268.

This swift re-confirmation suggests that the burgesses of the Earl's half were intent on maintaining their own trading rights and administrative independence (however fraudulently achieved) in the face of the prior's newly purchased lordship. It is likely that the prior's gild-merchant resulted in some form of official confirmation of a monopoly for the market in the Prior's half. This would explain why the burgesses of the Earl's half, who already had some form of burgage tenure in their half granted and confirmed [document 4] in the twelfth century, went on to boycott the prior's market.

By March of 1268 the privileges of gild-merchant and coroner granted to the Prior in 1267 were being resisted and a commission was dispatched to inquire into a recent disturbance which had occurred there when the sheriff attempted to publish

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16   PRO C53/56, m. 9.
17   Coss, *Records*, document 22a and 22b, pp. 33-35.
18   One of the benefits of lordship must have been the capacity to exploit new economic resources.
19   *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. iii (London, 1906), p. 88.
20   Coss, *Records*, p. 7; *Reinterpretation*, p.144.
21   Coss, *Records*, document 15, p. 22.

these liberties in the town.[22] The scope of this disturbance and the extent of the burgesses boycott of the prior's market monopoly can be seen by a court case over market rights which followed these events in 1303. In that Prior Henry (Prior William's successor) took twenty-four defendants, who are described as merchants and inhabitants of Earl Street (in the Earl's half) to court. These towns people were accused of having traded from their houses since September of 1300, thereby avoiding the prior's market. The prior won the case two years later and was awarded £40 damages. The defendants were warned not to disregard the priory's rights.

However, despite being defeated in court and £40 poorer the inhabitants of Earl Street continued their business practices in the Earl's half. Consequently the prior brought another writ in January 1307,[23] this time against fifty-nine defendants. According to the prior his claim to a weekly market in his half meant that on market day no goods could be offered for sale in any other part of the town. Furthermore, the prior claimed that this Earl Street trading was a recent phenomenon unlike his own ancient market.

At this point we can see how the burgesses modified charter was used in the battle. The attorney for the defendants, in reply to the prior's charges, brought forward the confirmation by Henry II of Ranulf II's charter granting burgage tenure to the burgesses [4]. It was on account of this royal confirmation of their privileges that the burgesses of the Earl's half claimed the right to trade in Earl Street on market days regardless of the prior's apparent monopoly. The burgesses' attorney stated that because of the charter's age (1182, but stretching back into the early twelfth century) the trading there was a long standing feature of Earl Sreet. It can be seen, then, that the burgesses used the confirmation of an altered document in their defence in 1309 to claim the ancient rights of burgage tenure in the market case. Despite the production of this document the court found, once again in favour of the prior. In 1310 he was granted £60 damages.

By now the occupants of the Earl's half were more than slightly annoyed at having their business livelihoods threatened by the prior's market monopoly. By 1322 the situation had clearly deteriorated badly. Fifty-seven of the towns people proceeded to besiege the priory for six days.[24] The besiegers intention seems to have been to restrict the prior to his own precinct, literally to exclude him and his officers from the town. An attempt, perhaps, by a frustrated mercantile class to neutralise his lordship and monopoly, especially it must be suspected, over the market and trade in general. It was, perhaps, an attempt to make a reality the dreams encompassed in Ranulf II's original charter and the later additions to it [4]. Some of those merchants taken to court by the prior in his writ of trespass were the same as those in involved in the first of the disputes over market rights.

The conflict had by now spilled out of the courts and in 1324 took an almost comical turn. In that year it was claimed that twenty-seven burgesses of the Earl's half had hired a necromancer to kill the prior of Coventry, the King and two of his favourites by black magic.[25] The conspiracy was uncovered and the accused arrested but later acquitted. It is interesting to note that many of the defendants in the siege case were also accused in the necromancy case. By 1326, therefore, little had been gained by the burgesses.

It is now that the priory's forged foundation documents enter the frame. For in the same year as the acquittal of the necromancy conspirators the prior, in an attempt, no doubt, to secure the priory's ancient feudal rights and its legal position, had the original forged foundation documents [1a and b] re-confirmed by the King,

22   Ibid., document 32, p. 42.
23   For documents relating to this case see Ibid., document 33, pp. 43 and 45n.
24   See Gooder, 'Coventry before 1355', p. 15.
25   J. Röhrkasten, 'Conflict in a monastic borough: Coventry in the reign of Edward II', *Midland History,* 18 (1993), pp. 1-18. There is clearly a national political angle to this case which must have helped the prior, as a supporter of the king, in his other court cases. See Davis, 'Early History', pp. 7-8 and Coss, *Records*, p. xxvii.

Edward II.[26] Importantly, this time they are inspected and confirmed in a different order. The main subject of this confirmation, and the first copied into the *inpeximus*, is not the foundation document [1a] but the forged confirmation of Edward the Confessor [1b]. The effect of this reversal is to highlight, eleven lines from the top, that the monks have been granted half of Coventry. The foundation document [1a], which does not include this grant, is submerged fifty-six lines down and is unmistakably of only secondary importance. The ancient grant of half of Coventry by Leofric had obviously taken on a new significance because it had become central to the priory's defence. Clearly, with the climate in Coventry at its most heated the prior felt that he had to have his right to the lordship of the northern part of the town, as expressly stated in the Confessor's confirmation, confirmed by the King in the face of mounting pressure against him.

In 1332, however, the initiative passed to the prior's enemies. The towns folk secured the help of none other than the Queen of England: Queen Isabella.[27] This champion of their cause had recently inherited the Earl's half. The situation, and the balance of power, in the Earl's half had suddenly changed. Now the prior was little more than Isabella's chief tenant. From 1332, therefore, the prior simply rented the southern part of the town from the Queen who now took great interest in the administration of the urban fee.

In 1334, therefore, the burgesses went onto the offensive and started to harass the priory in the courts. This harassment included, at the Queen's instigation, an investigation into the priory's alleged contravention of the licence of mortmain and, as a result, a confiscation of many of the priory's properties in the Earl's half.[28] The priory rental [2], in which the later version of the foundation document [2a] occurs, and which was put together as a result of this inquiry, leaves no doubt as to who was really behind the seizure of their holdings. This 'false inquisition' was instigated at the 'malevolent instigation of the enemies [of the prior and convent] on the part of the communality of Coventry'.[29] In fact the charge against the priory was an absurd fabrication by the burgesses and eventually the escheator returned all the seized lands to the prior. However, the harassment of the priory did not stop there. Isabella's steward's proceeded take over jurisdiction in the Earl's half, the view of frankpledge and the fortnightly courts there. Just, in fact, what the burgesses had always wanted. They replaced the prior's officers with their own men, some of whom had been accused in both the siege case and the necromancy case. The prior's lordship of Coventry was now in a seriously weakened position.

It is quite clear that the motives of the burgesses, backed by the Queen, were commercial, pressing for the freedom to trade freely without constraint. This could not be achieved whilst the prior held onto his feudal jurisdictions. Throughout the early to mid-fourteenth century the prior complained bitterly that the actions of Isabella's ministers and the towns folk was leading to the destruction of his land.[30] It was as if the burgeoning corporation of Coventry wanted nothing less than control over large areas of the city and its thriving trading to which, to be fair, they had no historical rights.

With this in mind, the second version of the forged foundation charter [2a] can be put into context. It is a product of these struggles, rather than the clashes against the Bishops in the twelfth century, and uniquely tailored to them. Based on the original forgeries or the royal confirmations it was altered in order to help the priory protect its holdings. Clearly, in a similar way to the re-confirmation of 1326, the old version of the foundation document was deemed inadequate because it excluded the grant of half of Coventry by Leofric to the monks. In order to highlight the fact that the monastic lordship extended over the whole of the Prior's half, as stated in

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26   PRO C53/112, m. 3.
27   PRO A10947.
28   PRO E164/21 fols. 128b-130.
29   PRO E164/21 fol. 128b.
30   H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles (eds), *Rotuli Parliamentorum Anglie Hactenus Inediti: MCCLXXIX-MCCLXIII*, Camden Society 3rd. series, 51, 1935, pp. 240-66.

Edward the Confessor's confirmation [1b], the forger added in the grant of half of the town to the monks. This would have had the effect of stressing the ancient nature, and therefore, legality, of the priory's jurisdiction over the north of the city and especially over the market place. Clearly, in the battle with the burgesses, the wording of the old foundation document was not considered satisfactory so the new sentence was added in to bring it into line with, and therefore add validity and strength to, the grant found originally only in the Confessor's confirmation [1b]. With these two documents [2a and b] in the priory's possession it should have been impossible to dislodge the prior from his half of the town as it was now possible to prove that the prior held his half directly from the king and that, furthermore, this right had existed since before the Conquest. The addition of the grant of half of the town to the monks can only have been done if the forgers had thought that the prior's part of the town itself was under attack from the burgesses and the Queen.

By the mid 1330s the Priory's fears had been proved correct. The burgesses now went in for the kill. In 1337 the Queen had a sworn group of Coventry men dispute the boundaries between the two halves. The prior's petition forlornly describes the men of the Earl's half as conspiring to wrongfully dispossess the prior of all of his lands. They told Isabella that in the time of Ranulf III the ancient bounds of the Earl's lordship extended more widely than she, at present, occupied. The men of the inquisition 'quickly and maliciously gave up their false verdict', and said that all of the Prior's half, except a tiny area north of Radford Brook and the Sherbourne,[31] had previously belonged to the earl and should now, therefore, be under her jurisdiction. The Queen's men then joyously marked out the new boundary with stakes.[32]

At this point another of the documents, forged in the mid-fourteenth-century, can be seen in the context of the dispute. This was the so-called 'boundary charter' [3] of Hugh II (1162-73).[33] The 'boundary charter' describes the boundary between the fees of the priory and the earls of Chester which ran from east to west. Furthermore, it prohibits the earl's ministers and tenants from interfering in the prior's demesne. The effect of the 'Boundary Charter' is to, not only suggest that this boundary existed and was confirmed by a predecessor of Ranulf III, thereby confirming its ancientness, but that many of the disputed areas were, in fact, in the prior's original fee. The 'boundary charter' unequivocally confirmed the prior's lordship over his main asset: the market which it insists is on the soil of the foundation and which must not be hindered. This charter should have had the effect of making these areas less vulnerable to attack from the Queen and her allies.

Whatever its intended function it did not have the desired effect. It is quite clear what this annexation of the priory's land was meant to achieve. It was to bring the market area around Crosscheaping into the Earl's half and under Isabella's and the burgesses' control. By 1345 the Priory could do no more to fight off the encroachments of the Earl's half burgesses. In that year Edward III granted to Queen Isabella's tenants in Coventry the 'charter of incorporation' whereby they became a communality with a mayor and bailiffs. In 1346 she granted to the new corporation the rights to the recently annexed market. In 1348 the plague arrived and killed Prior Henry. In 1352 Isabella was still harassing his successor. By 1354 the two sides had begun to negotiate and the priory was guaranteed most of what they could manage to hold on to. In return the prior gave up his lordship and acknowledged the corporation's jurisdiction throughout the whole of Coventry. This was finalised in 1355 in the 'tripartite agreement'. In the end, despite the

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31   Gooder, 'Coventry before 1355', p. 21; *Historic Towns Atlas*, vol. 2.

32   *Burton's Book*, fols 110v-111, 112v-113; Gooder, 'Coventry before 1355', p. 20.

33   This document can be connected to two other spurious charters which were presumably forged (the language used is very similar) at the same time and served a similar purpose: to defend lands enclosed in the thirteenth century, to state the bounds of jurisdiction and to bind not only the earl's heirs but also his ministers and tenants for future generations. The re-statement of the bounds of lordship in the 'boundary charter' may have been included because the inadequacy of one of these earlier charters, in a similar way to the inadequate wording of the former foundation document.

priory's forged foundation documents, it all came to nothing. The 'tripartite agreement' was the fatal blow.

The events of 1267-1355 in Coventry demonstrate that forgery loomed large in the vocabulary of urban conflict and, in some small way, their use in the court pleas of the period, unlike those more brutal uprisings of places like Bury St Edmunds and St Albans, rendered violence less inevitable. The use of ancient documents and royal confirmations, however fraudulently acquired, by both sides was the key to a defensive strategy. The priory forgeries were not the product of avarice and greed on behalf of the monks but were used in the defence of their market place and their feudal rights.

For the burgesses the threat of losing the profits of a highly successful wool trade to the priory must have contributed to their desire for change and subsequently, their use of altered charters. The agricultural traumas of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century must have sharpened resentment and resistance to a priory[34] who had, in the late-thirteenth century, done its utmost to exploit the lands of the Earl's half. This opposition welled up from a social stratum of society who must have been feeling the tight squeeze of drought and sheep disease on their trade and for whom there was now a real sense of urgency. It was, after all, the ultra-modern, commercially based Coventry corporation that now best fitted the fast changing and sophisticated urban scene and who, in 1355, finally beat the old dinosaur into submission.

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34 P. Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the crisis of the knightly class in thirteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 68, 1975, pp. 29-31; M. Mate, 'The Estates of Canterbury Cathedral Priory before the Black Death, 1315-1348', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 8, 1986, pp. 1-33.

Medieval Studies as a Hobby

Margaret Harris
Petersfield

I was a student in the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies (GCMS) from 1967 to 1969, so I was not quite one of the first students, but almost. I came initially to do an M.A. but enjoyed it so much that I stayed on for a second year to do an M.Phil. Since leaving Reading my life has taken two divergent paths. The one path, the main one, has taken me far from Medieval Studies. At first I was teaching in a large comprehensive school in South-east London, but when there was no longer a requirement for the subjects I was teaching, for I was teaching mainly Latin, I moved out of teaching and came ultimately, as so many of us have done in the latter decades of the twentieth century, into the world of computers. For some years I worked with the Royal Navy as an analyst programmer and produced a small cash accounting system which is still, as far as I know, in use on warships today. I then moved on to become a Systems Analyst. I now work in the Information Systems division of GEC-Marconi and for the past few years have been part of a team developing a large integrated computer system for the Essex Police. The Wiltshire Constabulary are now also buying this system and a few weeks ago the first part of it, which happened to be the Custody Sub-system I was responsible for designing, went live for the first time in Salisbury. I am now writing the Help Text and User Guide for it.

The other path, however, little more than a hobby, arose directly out of my studies at Reading. One of the subjects I chose to do was palaeography. I chose it because I wanted to do something different, little realising what it would open up for me. For my M.Phil. dissertation, to continue this interest, David Farmer suggested I work on the British Library manuscript of the collection of the Thomas Becket letters put together by the Canterbury monk, Alan of Tewkesbury. It was while working on this, during a chance meeting with Professor Christopher Brooke in the British Library, that I learnt that there was a collection of Alan's own letters, as yet unpublished. Thus began what was to become a fascinating hobby.

For the sake of those who know little, if anything, about Alan of Tewkesbury, I should perhaps say something about him at this stage. One of the problems in dealing with the Middle Ages, as we all know, is lack of information. This is particularly true when dealing with a secondary figure like Alan. There is some evidence from his letters to suggest that he came from Canterbury, or the environs, and that, presumably as a child, he received help from the monastery of Christchurch when Kent was ravaged by famine in 1148. He must have gone on to become a student and teacher in the Schools, presumably in Paris, for he is referred to as 'Magister Alanus'. At some point he moved much further south, for we hear of him as a canon in the Cathedral Church of Benevento in southern Italy. The connection was probably the distinguished canonist, Lombard of Piacenza, who was archbishop there and had earlier been in the entourage of Thomas Becket. In 1174, three years after the murder of Thomas Becket, Alan turned his back on all this and returned to England to become a monk in the Benedictine monastery attached to the cathedral of Christchurch in Canterbury. About this time, John of Salisbury, one of Becket's clerks, was attempting to put together a collection of the letters relating to Becket's controversy with Henry II. He soon left to become Bishop of Chartres. It was perhaps natural that it should fall to the young scholar, who had recently joined the monastery, to complete this task. It was not an easy one. The impression is that John had done little towards it when he left. In the end Alan collected together more than five hundred letters. These had to be sorted and

put into chronological order. At the end he said he would not envy anyone who wanted to rearrange the letters in a better order. Those who have had experience of arranging a collection of medieval letters, when dates have often to be inferred from contents, can sympathise with him. His arrangement has some errors in it but only a few and, these apart, it was a remarkable achievement and his work has provided an invaluable source for the subsequent study of the controversy. One of the earliest manuscripts of this collections still surviving is the very beautiful manuscript I was working on, now in the British Library, Cotton Claudius Bii. It is an illuminated manuscript, probably produced at Canterbury under his own supervision, and includes what is thought to be the earliest depiction of the murder of Becket. Shortly after this, when he had only been in the monastery five years, Alan became prior. At Christchurch the Archbishop was the Abbot so in practice effective leadership of the community was in the hands of the prior. Thus this promotion made him head of the community, a great honour but one which was to cause him serious problems. The first clash was with the Bishops. They wanted to elect their Archbishop while the monks maintained their right to elect their Abbot. The King was also involved. The Canterbury chronicler, Gervase, relates how Alan fainted in the presence of the king during one of these confrontations and how Henry himself called for water and poured it over Alan. The next clash was with the new Archbishop. This is not the place to go into the rights and wrongs of the situation but the outcome was that the Archbishop rid himself of Alan by promoting him to become Abbot of Tewkesbury. Everyone, including Alan, saw this as a demotion, for St Mary's, Tewkesbury, was a smaller monastery on the outskirts of the realm. It is clear from Alan's letters that he was very homesick for Canterbury during his first few months at Tewkesbury but that he was received by the monks there with great warmth and respect.

The collection of his own letters is in a small manuscript in Douai in northern France. These mostly date from his time as Abbot of Tewkesbury. Many of them concern the controversy between the monks of Christchurch and the Archbishop which continued long after Alan left and in which he continued to take a keen interest. Some are concerned with the administration of Tewkesbury Abbey. One is in response to a query on questions of Canon Law. Others are written to scholars, like Alexander Neckham who would have been teaching at Oxford at the time, challenging aspects of their teaching. Several are letters of friendship.

I was able to get a microfilm of the manuscript from Paris and my father, who was a keen photographer, produced enlargements for me so that I could work on the transcripts at home. Trying to do this on top of a full time job was not easy but I enjoyed doing it and eventually, thanks to the help and encouragement of David Farmer, the letters were published by the monks of Montserrat in their periodical, *Studia Monastica*.[1] Soon after this I was invited by a former fellow student in the GCMS, Mark Davie, who was by then lecturing in Italian at Liverpool University, to give a talk to the Medieval Society there. I had wanted to look into the influences on Alan's thought, so far as they could be deduced from his letters, and this gave me an incentive to do so. Giving the talk was a rather daunting experience for one unaccustomed to reading academic papers but the audience was very receptive and as a result of their encouragement the little paper, slightly modified, was published in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*.[2]

When Alan died in 1202 he was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey. His tomb is still to be seen there. For this reason I thought the Friends of Tewkesbury Abbey might be interested to know about him and I sent them an off-print of the Introduction to the Letters. That was the start of a long friendship. They invited me to their next annual meeting and the President, who grew orchids as a hobby, presented me with a beautiful black orchid. A few years later I wrote a small booklet about Alan for them to sell on their bookstall in the Abbey. The first thousand copies have been sold and a second edition produced.

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[1]   'Alan of Tewkesbury and His Letters', *Studia Monastica*, 18 (1976), pp. 77-94, 299-345.
[2]   'Influences on the Thought of Alan of Tewkesbury', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), pp. 1-14.

Since then the occasional letter 'out of the blue' has revived my interest in Alan. Some seven or eight years ago I was invited to give a talk on him to the Medieval Society at Canterbury and more recently I was invited to contribute to the volume of essays published in honour of David Farmer.[3] It has been a fascinating hobby, which has added a great deal of interest to my life, and I am very grateful both for the two very happy years I spent at Reading and for all that they have led to subsequently. As a postscript to the paper I read at the Summer Symposium on 1 July 1995, I can add that I am now embarking on a new interest, again thanks to a suggestion from David Farmer, moving back from the twelfth century to the eighth to do some work on St. Boniface and the Anglo-Saxon mission in Germany. GEC-Marconi have kindly agreed to change my terms of employment to a four-day week to enable me to do this.

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[3]   'Alan of Tewkesbury and St Thomas of Canterbury', in *Saints and Saints' Lives:Essays in honour of David Farmer*, *Reading Medieval Studies*, 16 (1990), pp. 39-53.
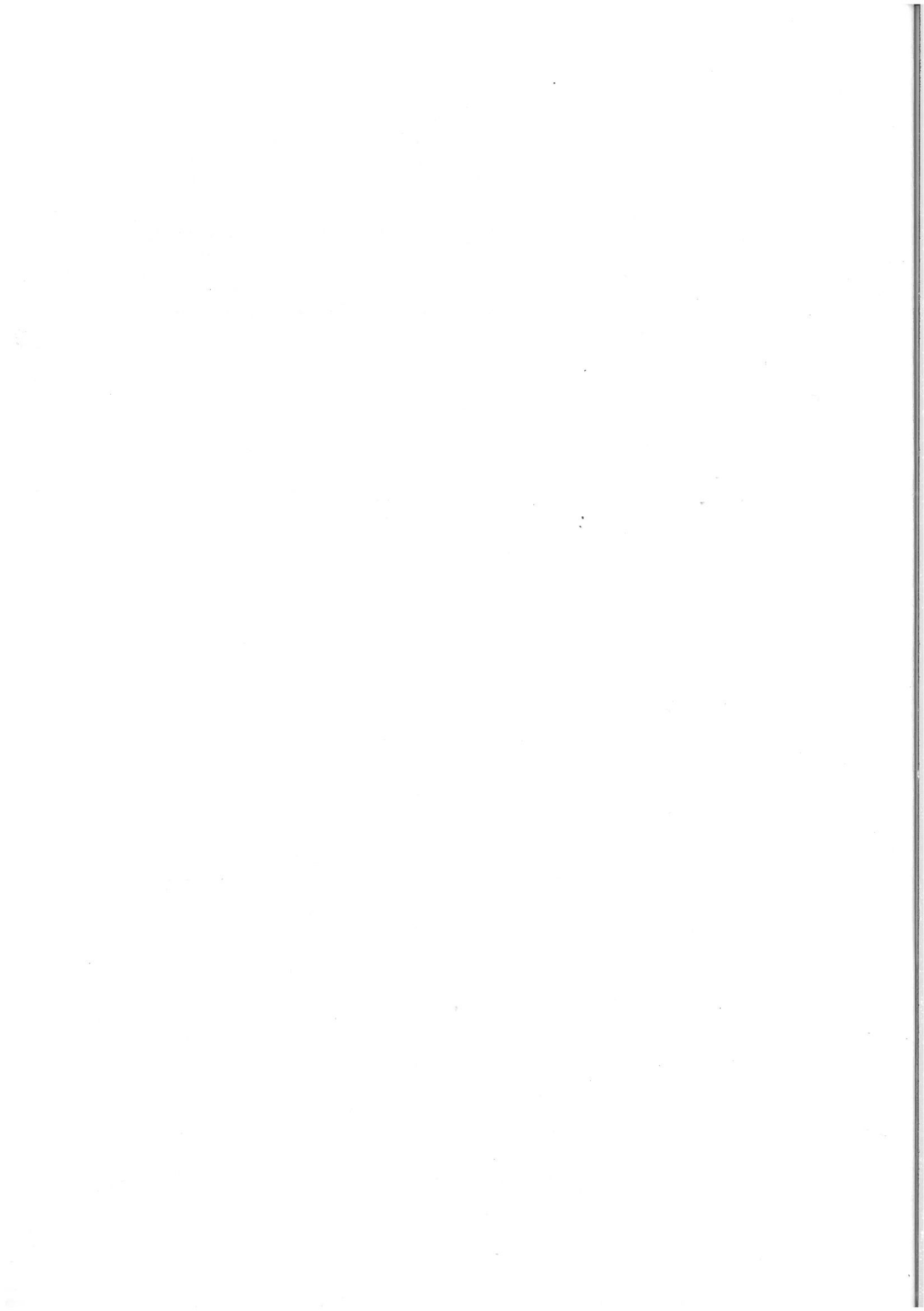
Medieval Influences: Some Churches of the 'Stockbrokers' Tudor' Period

Joseph Peachey
English Heritage

This paper considers the influence of medieval religious architecture on English churchbuilding in the 1930s. Five churches built in this decade will be examined to illustrate some contemporary interpretations of medieval Gothic architectural forms and decorations, and attitudes to the medieval church plan. The title of this essay is taken from Osbert Lancaster's lampoons of the styles of domestic architecture then fashionable, including 'Stockbrokers' Tudor', 'Bankers' Georgian', and 'Wimbledon Transitional'.[1] Houses built in these and other styles were erected in great numbers in London's 'Metroland' and in the suburbs which spread around other towns and cities in the interwar period. It was at this time that England's last great campaign of churchbuilding took place, overwhelmingly to serve these new suburban populations. Small by comparison with the vast wave of foundations speculated for the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, or that which took place in the nineteenth, this effort was nevertheless impressive. Two hundred and seventy-three new Anglican churches were provided between 1930 and 1945, about seventy of these in Greater London.[2] Churches were also built to accomodate a growing Roman Catholic population and to serve new Nonconformist congregations in Southern England.[3] In these years, 'earth's white robe of the church' was woven from brick, reinforced concrete, and steel.

Although other styles such as Classical, Byzantine and Baroque were used for ecclesiastical purposes, most churches built during the interwar years were influenced directly or indirectly by medieval buildings.[4] The familiar sight of medieval village churches, or nineteenth-century Gothic Revival edifices in towns and cities must have made the choice of Gothic architecture for religious buildings seem natural for the majority of Englishmen. Firms of architects specializing in ecclesiastical buildings would have had long experience of using Gothic, sometimes stretching back over a century.[5] Of the styles of Gothic architecture used, the Perpendicular was perhaps the most popular.[6] Reasons for this include the fact that many church architects of the early twentieth century had been the pupils of late Victorian and Edwardian masters such as G. F. Bodley, who had developed a refined and austere version of this style.[7] Use of Perpendicular marked a continuing revolt against the revived Decorated and earlier forms of Gothic revived during the mid-nineteenth century, later seen as being fussy and over ornate. Perpendicular

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[1]   O. Lancaster, *A Cartoon History of Architecture* (London, 1975) pp. 142-145, 146, 138.

[2]   Incorporated Church Building Society (Hereafter ICBS) *Fifty Modern Churches* (London, 1947), pp. 8-14.

[3]   A. Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985* (London, 1986), pp. 265, 275-6; B. Little, *Catholic Churches since 1623* (London, 1966) pp. 183, 188; M. Briggs, *Puritan Architecture and its Future* (London, 1946), pp. 52-54 (most of his examples are located in Southern England).

[4]   Initial conclusions drawn from an inspection of a computerized version of N. Pevsner's *Buildings of England* series, copyright M. Good and Penguin Books, 1994.

[5]   For example, J. Price, 'Paley and Austin, Architects of Lancaster', *Lancaster Museum Local Studies*, 19 (1994).

[6]   See note 4.

[7]   J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style* (London, 1989), pp. 148-153; 155.

was also more appropriate to the plain, simple lines imposed on interwar churches by architectural fashion and restricted building funds.[8]

While Gothic was accepted for the components and ornamentation of interwar churches, the suitability of what is perceived to be the 'medieval' church ground plan was being questioned by some liturgical scholars, churchmen and architects. It is possible here to give only the briefest outline of this issue and its background. From the 1840s, what was believed to be the ideal form for English churchbuilding, the Decorated Gothic of the fourteenth century, was revived.[9] The typical large parish church of this period had an aisled rectangular plan with a long chancel, a design derived originally from monastic cathedrals.[10] The revived version of this plan demanded a separate nave and chancel, accentuated by more splendid ornamentation in the chancel and articulated by different roof heights. The chancel was to be at least one-third the length of the nave, with seating for a surpliced choir, and divided from the nave by chancel arch, rood screen and three steps rising from nave to chancel.[11] Finally, the altar was placed against the easternmost wall of the church. By the 1870s thousands of Anglican churches had been built or altered in accordance with these 'procrustean rules'.[12] Thereafter there were reinterpretations and departures from these principles, most notably in the 1870s when Perpendicular became acceptable again, and a number of churches with single-room, hall-like interiors inspired by Albi Cathedral were built. In some instances the division between nave and chancel was made less distinct, for example by using a single roof height, by having a chancel arch so high it became almost vestigial, or by having shorter and wider chancels. By the 1930s, however, the 'traditional' long narrow plan was still the most commonly used, and this situation continued until the 1950s.[13]

Despite its widespread use, the rectangular nave and chancel plan was not universally accepted. It was argued that the very pronounced separation of the laity in the nave from the ceremonies of the altar being carried out at the distant end of the church is inappropriate for congregational forms of worship, including that required by the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, where the laity are required to witness or participate in the liturgy.[14] The search for alternatives to the medieval plan was given impetus by the Liturgical Reform Movement. This became a force within the Roman Catholic Church on the Continent after the First World War, and its influence has subsequently spread to Protestant denominations, including the Anglican.[15] Its most important effect on church architecture has been its emphasis on corporate worship, and in particular lay involvement in the Eucharist. This requires that the altar and its rituals be visible and accessible to the congregation in all parts of the church.[16] In practical terms, this has meant the creation of church designs that bring the altar forward to, or even into the midst of, the congregation. On the Continent, architects of the Modern Movement, with their emphasis on

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[8] The Archbishop of Canterbury condemned elaborate ornamentation in churchbuilding, though somewhat less fiercely than St Bernard of Clairvaux (*ICBS Report* 1929).

[9] R. Dixon and S. Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture* (London, 1978), pp. 185-195; Mordaunt Crook, *Dilemma of Style*, pp. 61-62.

[10] G.W.O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London, 1948), pp. 15-18.

[11] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 194; Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, pp. 205-207, 223-224.
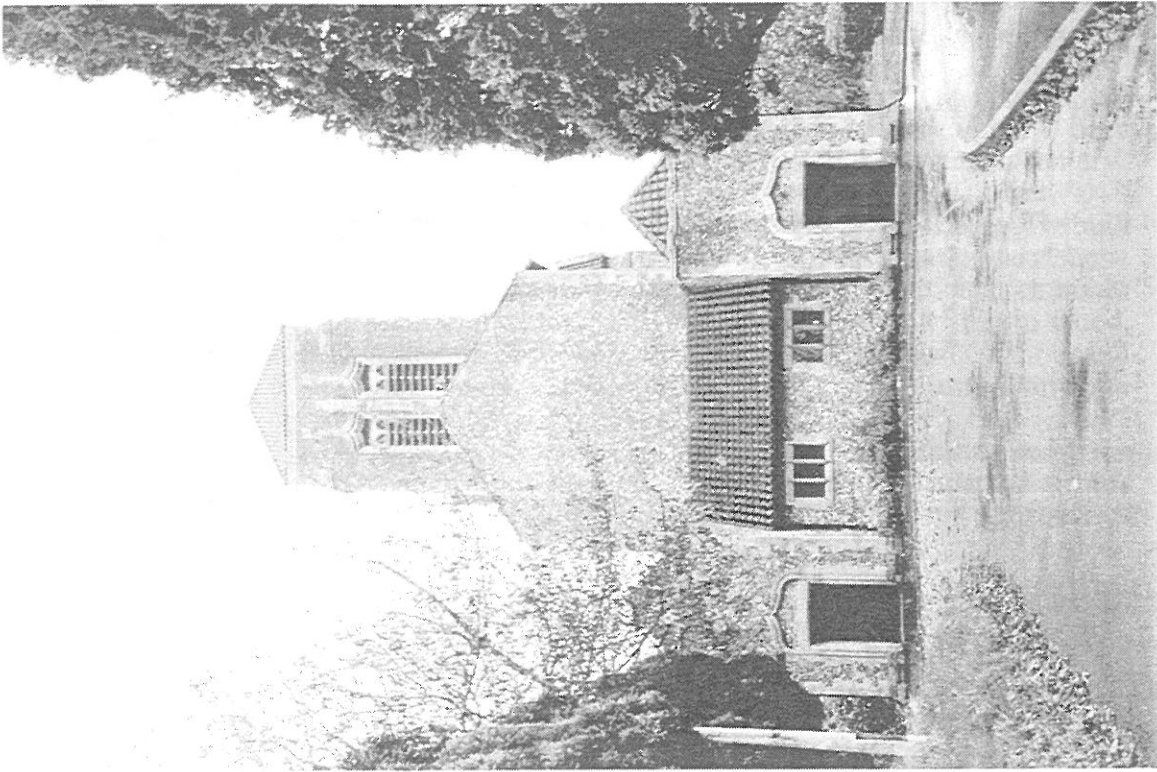
[12] Mordaunt Crook, *Dilemma of Style*, p. 63.

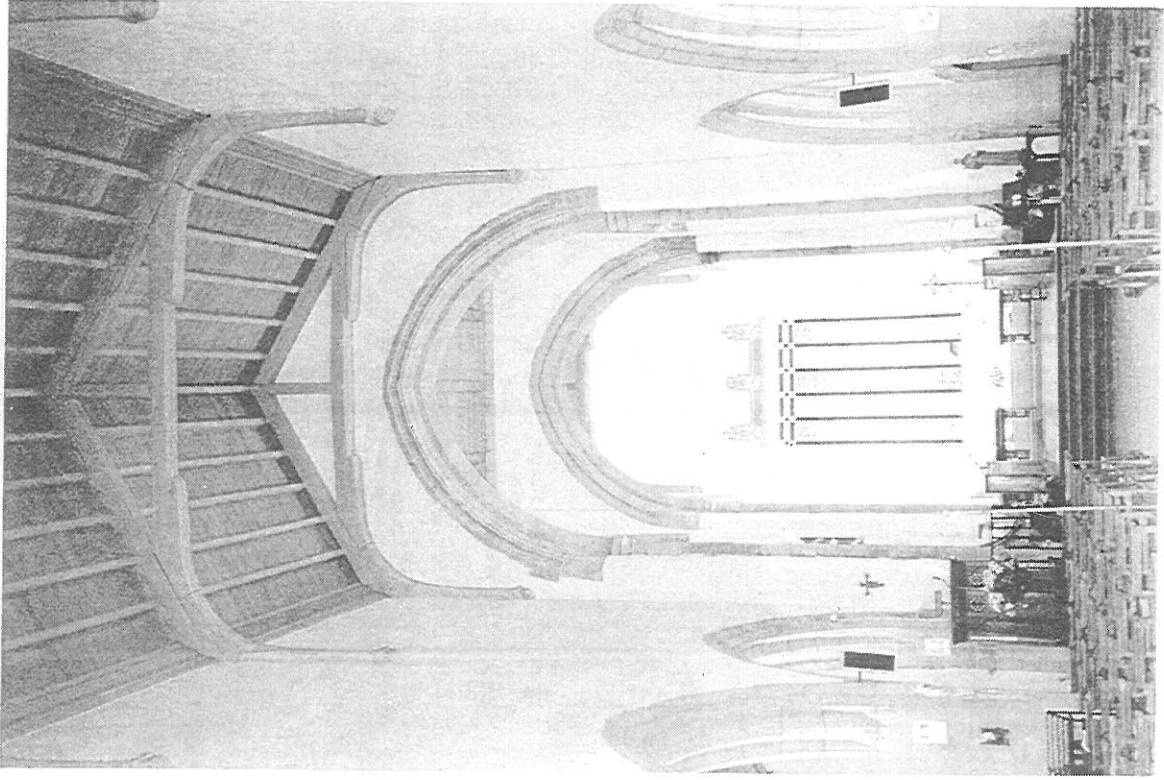[13] P. Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture* (London, 1960), pp. 67-68, 3-4.

[14] Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, pp. 221-224; H. Heathcote Statham, 'The Future of Our Church Architecture', *Royal Institute of British Architecture Journal*, 3rd Ser., 27, no. 9 (March 1920), pp. 185-188.

[15] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, pp. 50-51; Hastings, *History of English Christianity*, pp. 259-261, 484.
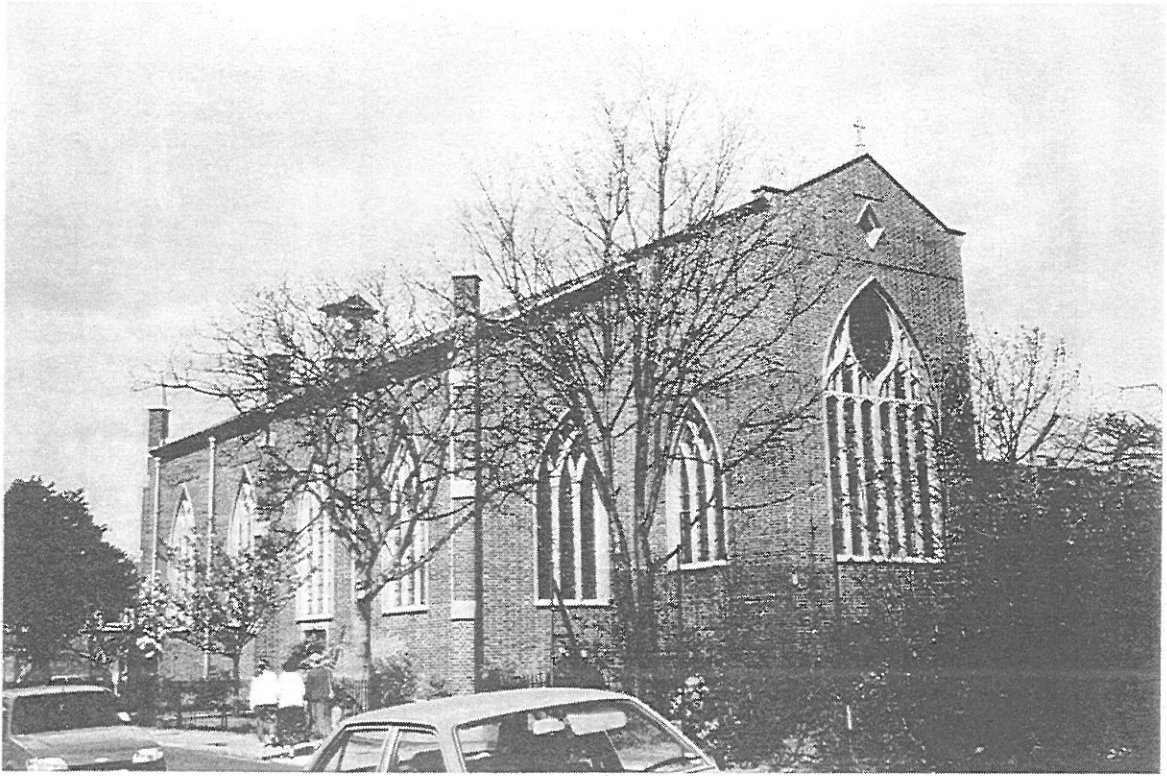
[16] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, pp. 37-40. Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, p. 222, makes the same point, reminding us that making the altar visible to the whole congregation is in the *best* Victorian tradition.
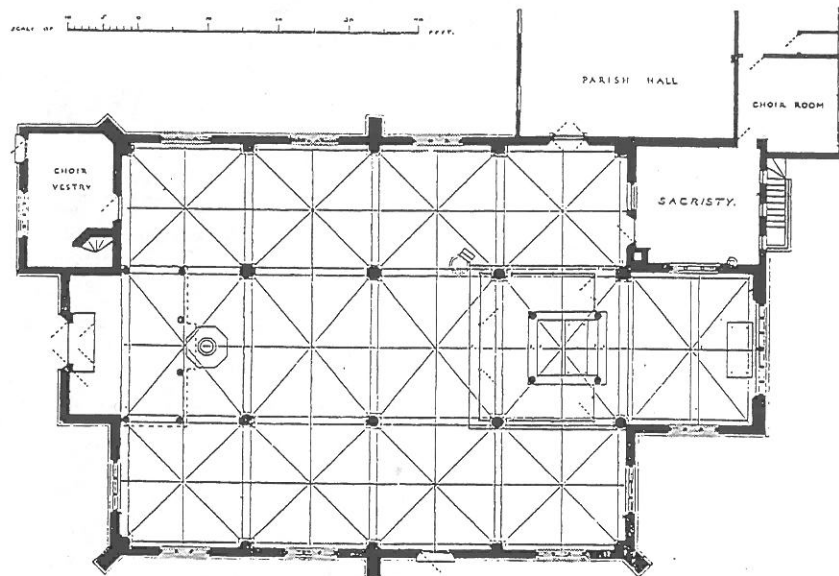
15. St Francis Terriers. Nave.

14. St Francis Terriers, High Wycombe (Bucks.), 1929-230. Sir G.G. Scott.

16. St Philip, Cosham, Portsmouth (Hants.), 1936-38. Sir N.G. Comper. Exterior from E.

18. St Philip, Cosham. Ground plan.

structural honesty and often daring use of new materials, co-operated with theologians of the Liturgical Movement to create buildings which sought to answer these new liturgical needs.[17] Two results of this collaboration are Auguste Perret's innovative reinforced concrete edifice at Notre Dame de Raincy (1923), reminiscent of early christian hall churches, or Dominikus Bohm's exciting centrally-planned St Englebert, Riehl (1932).[18] The Liturgical Movement and the fundamental changes to churchbuilding associated with it had little effect in England until the 1950s; there were, however, some departures from the traditional plan during the interwar years, and signs of Continental influence are present in certain buildings of this period. These trends were manifest in a typically English way: restrained, blending with the traditional, uneven in their advance, and meeting reaction.

St Francis, an Anglican church at Terriers, a suburb of High Wycombe, is an excellent example of the modern use of Perpendicular Gothic by a leading architect, in this case Sir Giles Gilbert Scott (1880-1960).[19] Scott was one of the great twentieth-century British architects. He designed Liverpool Anglican cathedral (from 1903) Oban cathedral (1931-1952), a number of noteworthy churches, libraries at Oxford and Cambridge universities, and the great power stations at Battersea and Bankside. St Francis was built in 1929-30, of flint with stone dressings. It has a western baptistry with paired flanking chapels, a nave, a tall tower toward the east end, vestigial transepts and a short chancel (fig.14). Scott's severe version of Perpendicular decoration in the window mouldings is embelished only at the eastern end of the church by restrained carving. The interior demonstrates Scott's masterly use of natural light (fig.15). There are no windows in its east and west ends, and no clerestory. Light floods in through the aisle windows and from the tower to dramatically light the nave and altar. In a way reminiscent of some late nineteenth-century churches, the chancel arch is very high and provides only a minimal division between nave and chancel. Like other architects of his time, Scott admired the simple and efficient appearance of machines such as aircraft and motor cars, and this is seen in his treatment of the nave. The piers have 'streamlined' rounded corners, and the mouldings of the arches die into them cleanly, without the interposition of capitals. The sharp ridges of the mouldings and their smooth junction with the piers are reminiscent of the cowling of high performance aeroplanes and racing cars.

St Philip, Cosham, on the outskirts of Portsmouth, is an Anglican church built in 1936-8. Its architect was Sir John Ninian Comper (1864-1960) who has been called 'the most influential church architect of the first half of the twentieth century', 'the last Gothic Revivalist', and 'a pioneer of the modern liturgical revival'.[20] Comper was a formidable scholar of medieval art, architecture and liturgy. He built fifteen churches, perhaps the finest being St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate, Marylebone (1901-3) for which he drew inspiration from the medieval Perpendicular churches of East Anglia. He is perhaps best known for his church craftmanship in wood, textiles and especially painted glass.[21] He designed the windows of abbots and kings in Westminster Abbey (from 1909) and is believed to have carried out up to 800 other commissions for decorated windows.

St Philip, which looks on the outside a modest and rather unexciting red brick structure (fig.16), has brought forth the highest praise from architects and writers on modern church architecture. One of the latter, not noted for his approval of

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[17] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, pp. 51-66; R. Maguire and K. Murray, *Modern Churches of the World* (London, 1965), pp. 13-14.

[18] Ibid., pp. 33-37.

[19] On St Francis, Terriers: ICBS: *New Churches Illustrated* (London, 1938), pp. 103-105; on Scott: G. Stamp (ed), *Britain in the Thirties*, Architectural Design Profile 24 (London, n.d.), pp. 72-83.

[20] On St Philip, Cosham: ICBS (1947), pp. 74-77; on Comper: A. Symondson, *The Life and Work of Sir Ninian Comper 1864-1960* (London, 1988), p. 3; A. Symondson, 'John Betjeman and the Cult of JN Comper', *Thirties Society Journal* , 7 (1991), p. 3.

[21] Symondson, *Life*, pp. 30-33.

interwar English church planing, said in 1960 of St Philip 'there is no church built in this country since the beginning of this century that is so perfectly fitted to its purpose – it is an authentic *domus ecclesiae*'.[22] The reason for this enthusiasm is obvious when one sees the interior, which gives a great impression of openness and light (fig.17). It appears almost square, being actually four bays long and three wide, with a small chapel to the east (fig.18). The altar, under a baldachino, is brought into the body of the church. The choir and organ are placed in a gallery over the west entrance. The interior is painted white, with decoration in gold and blue concentrated upon the altar and baldachino. The width of the church and the abscence of choirstalls allows the congregation to gather on three sides of the altar, and the use of chairs instead of fixed pews gives further flexibility in seating arrangements.

The church is built in the eclectic manner Comper called 'unity by inclusion', which he developed after a tour which included visits to southern Italy and Sicily.[23] Medievalists might speculate that the inspiration for this combining of different styles was derived at least in part by his seeing the blendings of Norman, Byzantine, and Islamic architecture in the buildings of this region. The aisle windows of St Philip's have Gothic intersecting tracery, while the large east window is in a version of the Perpendicular style. The ceiling has Gothic vaulting, of plaster over steel and concrete. The capitals of the pillars have a curious mixture of medieval water-leaf and classical decoration. Columns of classical type are used on the baldachino and to support the organ loft.

Comper's use of a baldachino in this church is of great interest to any study of modern interpretations of medieval churchbuilding. His investigations of the art and liturgy of the middle ages had led him initially to revive the kind of altar he believed had been in use in English churches before the Reformation. This 'English Altar' with its riddel posts at each corner and its side curtains, reminiscent of a four-poster bed, was first installed by Comper in St Wilfrid's, Cantley, near Doncaster, in 1893, and its design was subsequently imitated by thousands of altars elsewhere.[24] Further study convinced Comper that the medieval altar was in fact a reduced version of the early Christian type, and that riddel posts were the truncated vestiges of the columns which had supported the baldachinos covering such altars. He designed his first baldachino for St Mary's, Wellingborough, in 1915.[25]

We will next consider the influence of the thirteenth-century cathedral of St Cecil, Albi, in south-western France.[26] Since the early medieval period there had been a southern French tradition of constructing wide aisleless naves. This was taken up and developed in the churches built in this region by the Mendicant Orders, who appreciated the usefullness of such vast unobstructed spaces for preaching and accommodating the large crowds this attracted. The Dominicans built a number of churches with vaulted versions of this type of nave in the Lanquedoc and Catalonia, the first of which was Santa Catalina, Barcelona (1247). Albi is said to be 'the supreme expression of the huge Lanquedocian aisleless nave'. It was begun in 1282 by the Dominican Bishop, Bernard de Castenet, head of the Inquisition in the Lanquedoc. The presence of the Inquisition and the powerful, fortress-like appearance of this cathedral reflect the recent upheavals in this area of the Albigensian wars. Its exterior presents sheer walls of red brick. Its buttresses are internal, and even the footings of the walls are splayed like those of a castle. The chapels which surround the building are carried to full height inside and out, terminating on the roof in turret-like structures. In the wall between the chapels are

22 Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, pp. 74-76.
23 Symondson, *Life*, pp. 17-18.
24 Ibid., pp. 11-12; P.F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishing 1840-1940* (London, 1960), pp. 279-280.
25 Symondson, *Life*, pp. 11-12.
26 For Albi and the school of the Languedoc and Catalonia, this article relies heavily on J. Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (University of California Press, 1983), pp. 446-451.
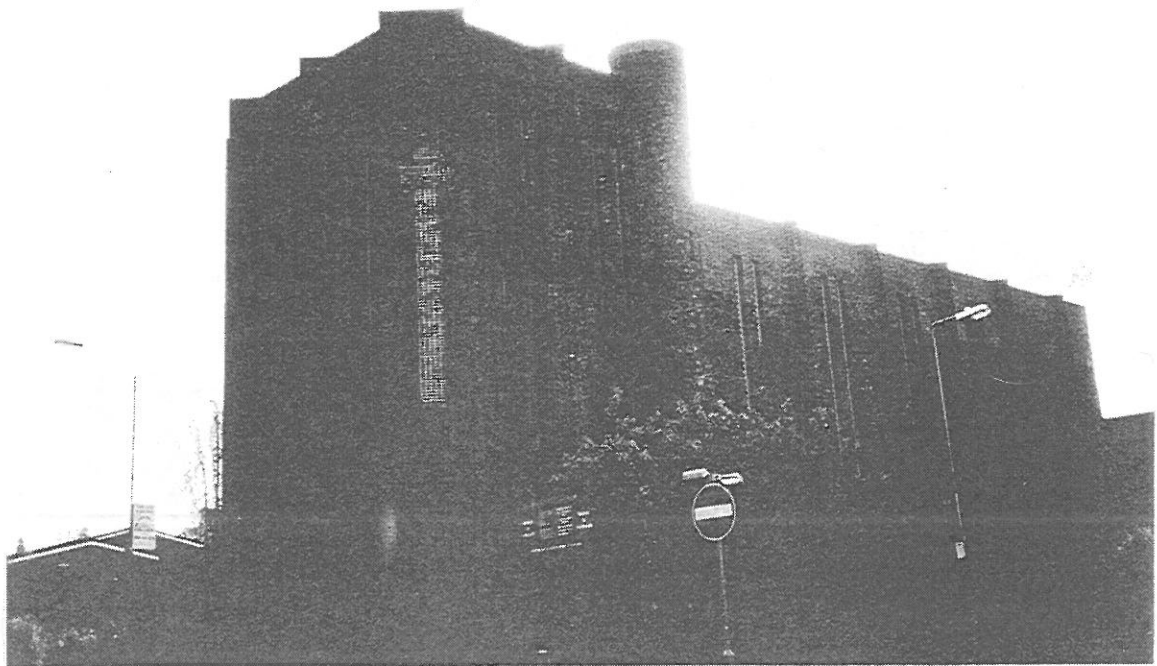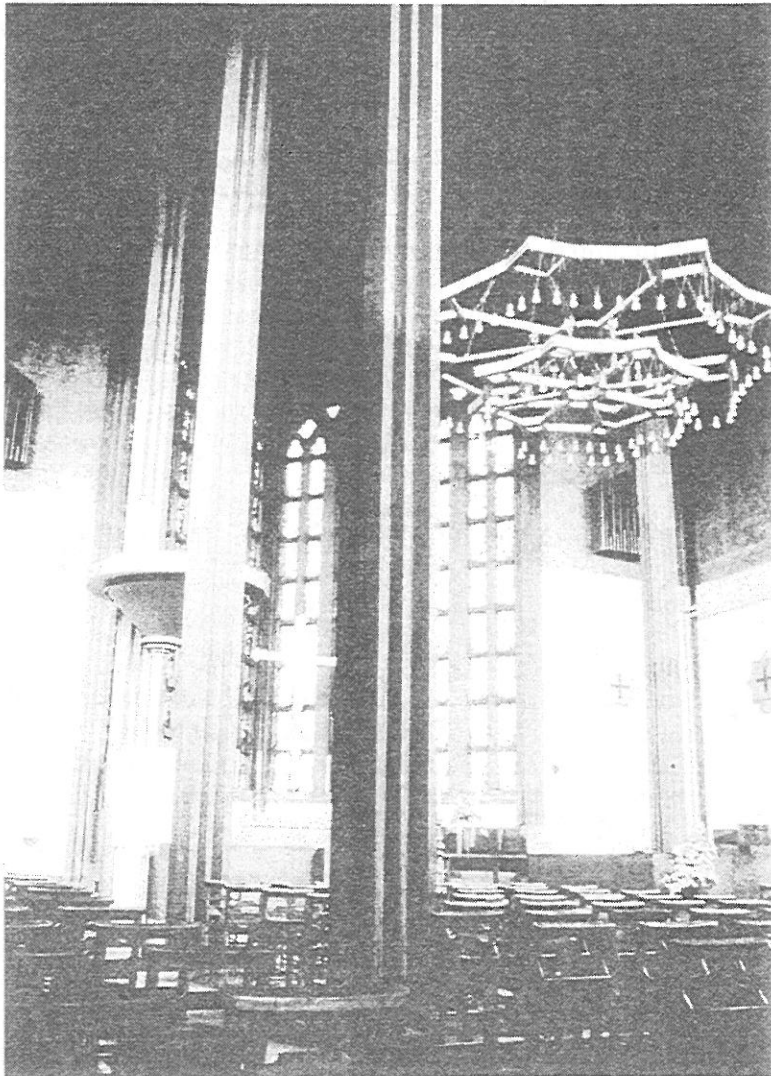
19. St Saviour, Eltham (Greenwich), 1932-34. N.F. Cachemaille-Day.
Exterior from E.
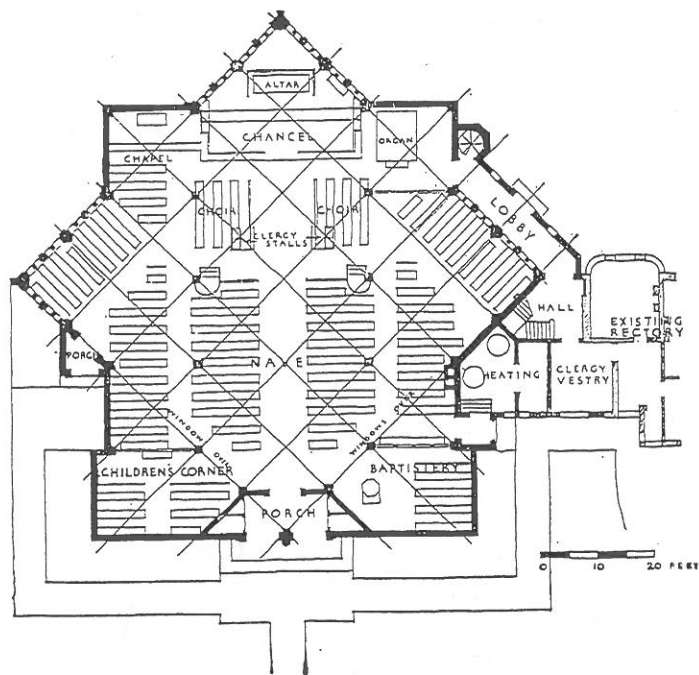
21. St Michael and All Angels, Wythenshawe (Manchester), 1937.
N.F. Cachemaille-Day. Ground plan.
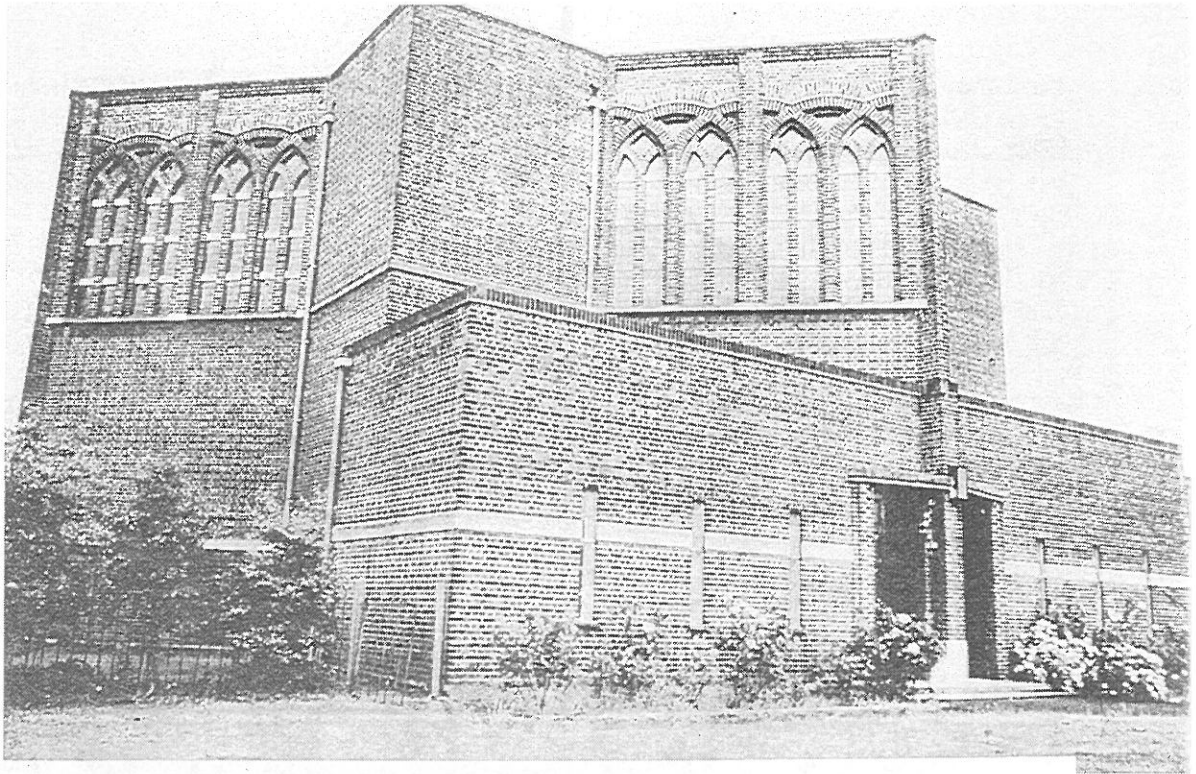
22. St Michael and All Angels, Wythenshawe. Exterior from W.

23. St Michael and All Angels, Wythenshawe. Interior.

tall narrow lanceolate windows. Inside the nave is 60 feet wide, said to be the widest vaulted space in France.[27] The internal buttresses are pierced by passage aisles.

This French medieval cathedral has had a profound influence on English church architecture in the late nineteeth and twentieth centuries. From the mid-1850s, when English architects became interested in building churches in brick, they turned to Albi, and were impressed by its abstract mass and huge internal space. Late Victorian masters, notably Bodley and J.L. Pearson, built churches with hall-like interiors and internal buttresses.[28] In more recent years, Sir Basil Spence has claimed that he was 'strongly influenced' by Albi when he designed the new cathedral at Coventry (1962).[29]

One of the most striking interwar versions of Albi is St Saviour's, an Anglican church at Eltham, Greenwich (1932-34) by N.F. Cachmaille-Day, perhaps the most exciting and original church architect of this period.[30] St Saviour is a brick structure with a massive, brooding appearance (fig.19). The squat tower (here placed at the liturgical east end) and the tall narrow windows between triangular-section buttresses, are reminiscent of Albi. The fortress-like appearance of this church causes the inhabitants of the 1930s suburb in which it stands to call it 'Colditz'. Inside, there is a large western gallery. The brick buttress/piers, like the buttresses at Albi, are placed along the internal walls, and are pierced by passage aisles, allowing for a wide, hall-like nave (fig.20). The bricks of the piers and window mullions have been diagonally set, to appear as a modern version of medieval mouldings. The chancel is shallow, giving those seated in the nave an unobstructed view of the altar. The altar and concrete reredos with its stone statue of Christ are lit by blue light coming through the tall windows of the tower in which they stand. This church, though inspired by a thirteenth-century cathedral, is yet a thoroughly modern building, with Expressionist characteristics.

We leave the influence of Albi to pass on to another Anglican church by Cachmaille-Day. This architect was in touch with developments in liturgical theory and its effects on church building on the Continent, and this contributed to his design for St Michael and All Angels, Wythenshawe, Manchester.[31] This church was built in 1937 using the then novel 'diagrid' roofing system, which employs reinforced concrete to create a flat roof strengthened by a grid of ribs. Cachemaille-Day arranged two such panels at 45 degrees to form a star-shaped pattern (fig.21). This structure stands on reinforced concrete walls, which are sheathed in brick. A long rectangular narthex was placed on the west of this ingenious structure (fig.22). The tracery of the tall windows, executed in brick, is reminiscent of Romanesque intersecting arcading. Inside, the ribs of the roof seem a modern version of Gothic vaulting (fig.23). The slender reinforced concrete columns give minimal obstruction to one's view of the altar, while supporting the roof and acting as piles, going fifteen feet into marshy ground. The delicate wooden chandelier echoes the shape of this internal space. Cachmaille-Day claimed two sources of inspiration for this building – the crossing of Ely Cathedral, with its great octagon (c.1322) and the Henry VII Chapel at Westminster Abbey (1503-1512).[32] He had originally intended that the altar be brought forward into the body of the church and the choir placed at the west end. This would have allowed the congregation to have gathered on three sides of the altar. The bishop of Manchester, however, thought this idea too

27   John Musgrove (ed), *Banister Fletcher's 'A History of Architecture'*, 19th edn. (London, 1987), p. 407.
28   Mordaunt Crook, *Dilemma of Style*, pp. 150, 154.
29   B. Spence, *Phoenix at Coventry* (London, 1964), pp. 23-24.
30   On St Saviour's, Eltham: Architecture Club, *Recent English Architecture 1920-1940* (London, 1946), pp. 38-39; on Cachmaille-Day: A. Hill, 'N.F. Cachmaille-Day: a Search for Something More', *Thirties Society Journal*, 7 (1991), pp. 20-27.
31   On St. Michael and All Angels, Wythenshawe: *The Architect and Building News*, 153 (14 Jan. 1938), pp. 41-44.
32   Hill, 'Cachemaille-Day', p 23.

revolutionary, and insisted the altar be placed in the easternmost extremity of the building, with the choirstalls placed between it and the congregation.[33]

Cachmaille-Day was influenced by German Expressionism. Although a product of the twentieth century in its materials and designs, the theorists and practitioners of Expressionist Architecture yet acknowledged an artistic debt to, and had a rather idealistic admiration of, the medieval period.[34] Sutton Baptist Church, built by Cachmaille-Day in partnership with Welch and Lander, in 1934 is actually a complex comprising church, hall, and Sunday school. Here we are concerned only with the influences of Expressionism on the Gothic features of this building. This is seen on the exterior in the design of the highly stylized Gothic windows, and V-shaped buttresses (fig.24). Inside, these windows are framed by great arches of pointed arcading which stride along the north and south walls, then down to meet the pulpit and lectern, to form a frame for the choir and baptistry to the east. The medieval-looking 'torch-holders' are actually mountings for electric lights (fig.25). In this church we see the vehicle of Expressionism taking Gothic forms to new limits.

This brief examination of five of the most outstanding churches of the 1930s has shown that although the direct inspiration of medieval buildings was by no means absent, the Gothic church architecture of the early twentieth century was very much a continuation and development of that of the late nineteenth, for example in its use of Perpendicular and the inspiration of Albi. The principal contributions of the early twentieth century came from the Modern Movement in architecture and the Liturgical Reform Movement.

The Englishman of the 1930s in his mock-Tudor home appreciated the reassuringly ancient appearance of the exterior of his house, while expecting the latest amenities inside. This age had an admiration for technology and an optimistic view in its possibilities for the betterment of mankind that present-day heirs of Chernobyl and acid rain might find excessive. This affection and need for the old, coupled with a desire for the new, does much to explain the survival and interpretations of medieval forms in the early twentieth century. St Francis Terriers was built in the Perpendicular style in the decade of the Schneider Trophy by a latter-day Yevele who roared between golf courses and his commissions in a large Buick. St Philip's Cosham was designed by a man steeped in medievalism but responding to changing theories of liturgical worship. St Saviour's Eltham acknowledges a debt to medieval cathedral builders in a new manner. Perhaps the persistence and nature of medieval influences on the churchbuilding of the 1930s is best illlustrated by St Michael's Wythenshawe. The architect used an innovative technique to construct a startling new shape for this building, yet gave it medieval-looking windows. The interior was indeed revolutionary, yet he acknowledged the influence of two great medieval churches on its design. Aware of current thinking on congregational worship and church building on the Continent, he planned to have the altar brought forward into the body of the church, but this was foiled by its bishop, who enforced an arrangement which has its origin in medieval monastic cathedrals.

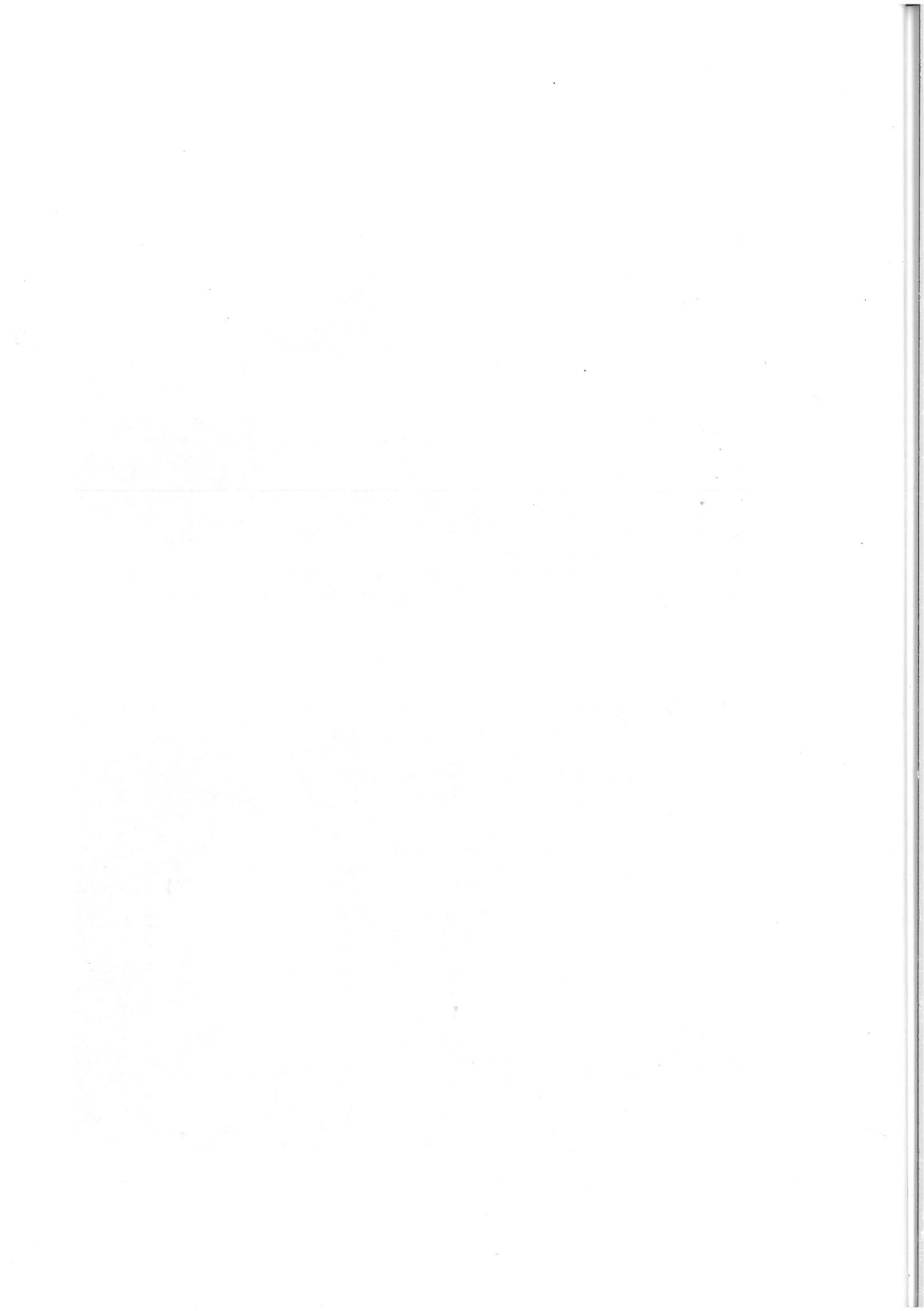
[33] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, pp. 73-74.
[34] W. Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture* (London, 1973), pp. 50-53.
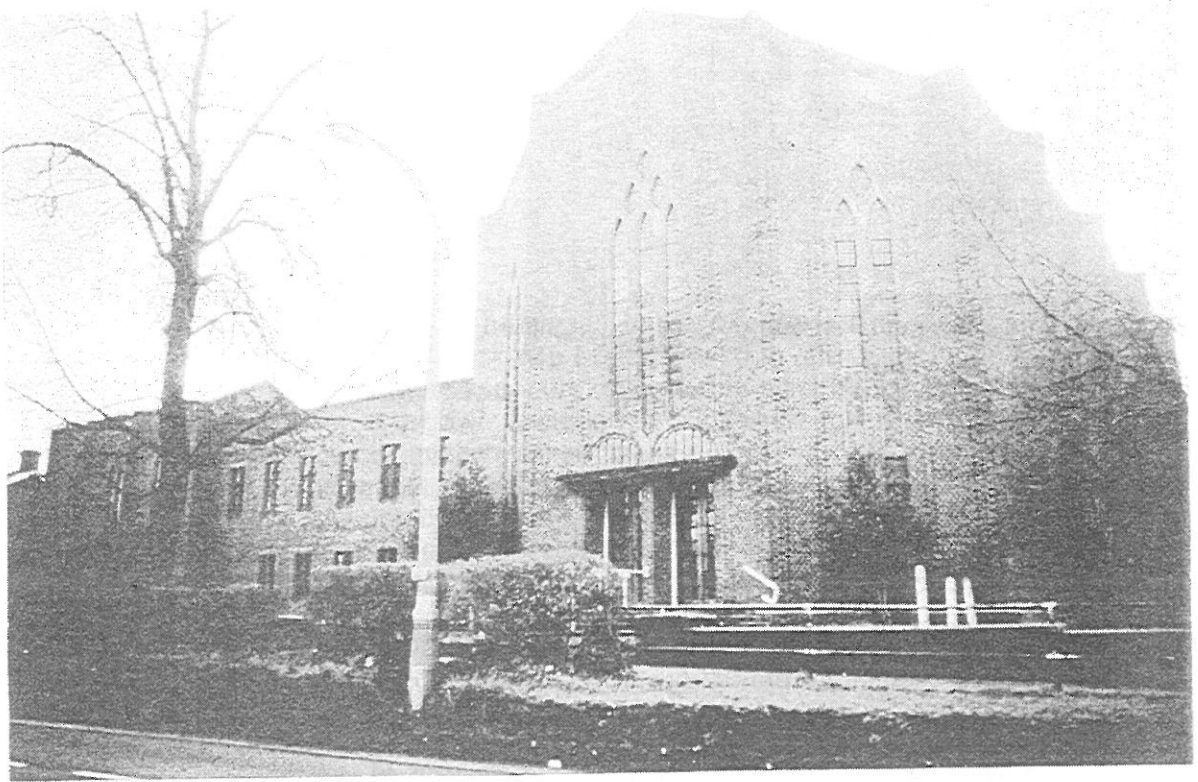
24. Sutton Baptist Church, Sutton and Cheam, 1934. Welch, Cachemaille-Day and Lander. Exterior.
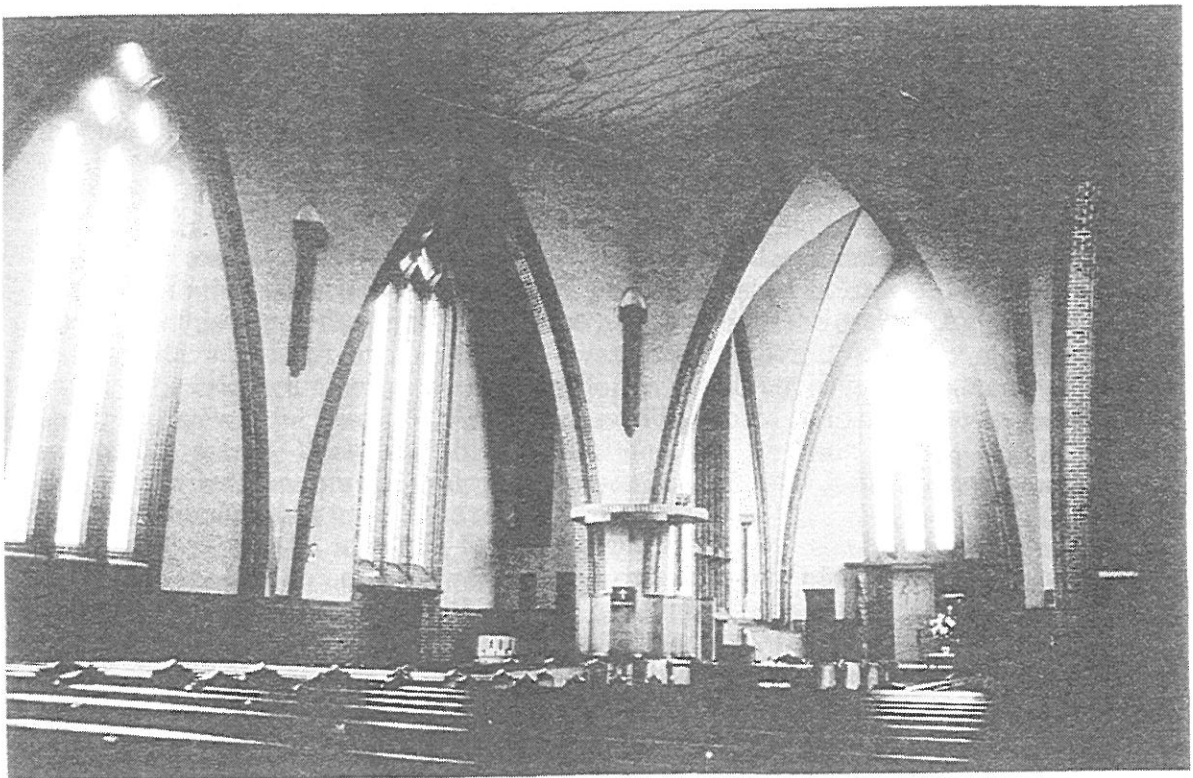
25. Sutton Baptist Church. Interior.

Lectio divina: Reading under the Benedictine Rule

Judith Sherwood
Somerton

Two and a half years ago I was immersed in the *Regularis Concordia* and the *Constitutions of Lanfranc*. At every step I felt the need to refer back to the *Rule of St. Benedict* and I became more and more interested in what Benedict himself had said. I now want to look at the *Rule* itself and, leaving aside special positions, such as that of abbot, concentrate on the ordinary monk.

Lectio divina. What was it, or rather, what did Benedict mean by it? The phrase has been translated in a number of ways. 'Sacred' or 'holy reading' seems only to refer to the reading matter, and to limit this to the scriptures. 'Spiritual' indicates the type of reading matter and suggests an attitude to the task. 'Meditative' or 'contemplative', while leaving the content wide open, offers the clearest guidance to the nature of the activity. But what was it for? Did it have a purpose or was it an end in itself? What books were read and how did the monks acquire them? How much time did they spend on reading?

I will deal first with the practical question of what provision of time was made for individual reading. In writing his 'little Rule ... for beginners', Benedict required his monks to divide their time, fairly evenly, between three occupations: liturgical prayer, manual work and reading. The reading periods are indicated by reference to the daily services, with the result that everything is relative and nothing certain except the office, and then only its starting time. Actual times are rarely given and the duration of services is difficult to gauge. Reading through the offices and the specified psalms gives the impression that they would have occupied a large part of the day. However, when listening to modern recordings of Gregorian chant one is impressed by the smoothness of the proceedings.[1] It is clear from the *Rule* that the office began without waiting for stragglers and of course everyone knew what he was doing.

One further point requires consideration. One of the periods mentioned in the *Rule* for, 'the study of the psalms'[2] is that between the night office and dawn. How could they read in the dark? The cost of individual candles or lanterns would have been prohibitive, as well as being a fire risk in an unglazed cloister. What then did they do in this hour? They might of course have practised the psalms, for they had to know them by heart, and perhaps this was done by novices or newly professed monks. Experienced monks, surely the majority, would not have needed to do this and this time was for everyone. Another possibility would be to meditate on recent reading. It seems likely that this is what they did, for their reading was of a different order from ours as will be discussed below. After some consideration I decided to include this hour in the reading time.

With these factors in mind I looked for clues to the amount of time allotted to individual reading on ordinary weekdays. A detailed study of the liturgy would be inappropriate here but as everything else depends upon it I set out to produce a rough time-scale, basing it on the content of services, recordings of Gregorian chant, the timing of modern services and of reading aloud various psalms, and some common sense.

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[1]   For instance, Gregorian Chant, The Benedictine Nuns of St Cecilia's Abbey, Isle of Wight.
[2]   *Rule of St Benedict,* translated by Justin McCann (London, 1952), Ch. 8, p. 49.

Under the *Rule* Matins is likely to have lasted about an hour and each of the other services at least half an hour. This suggests four and a half hours of services. In winter there appears to be provision for four hours of reading, an hour before dawn, one and a half hours between Prime and Terce and one and a half hours between dinner and Vespers. In summer two hours only are set, between work and dinner, but the monks 'may' read while resting on their beds after dinner provided they could do so silently. If they did, and we will give them the benefit of the doubt, there is a total of three hours a day set aside for reading in summer and four hours in winter.[3] This is surprising, one would expect to find the longer period in the summer. There is, however, another factor which complicates the picture, the whole way of life of the monastery was geared to using daylight, hence the custom of dividing the daylight and the darkness each into twelve equal 'hours'. This of course produced 'long hours' during the day in summer with 'short hours' at night and the reverse in the winter. The services would occupy much the same length of time regardless of season, although there is some provision in the *Rule* for shorter psalms in the winter. The 'hours' between, however, would expand and contract gradually around the year. An 'hour' of daylight in midsummer would have yielded about seventy minutes and one in midwinter about fifty minutes. I don't know whether Benedict worked this all out but the end result is that the monks had about three and a half real hours a day for reading whatever the season.

What did the monk read during this time and where did his books come from? The list looks short for the only books specifically mentioned in the *Rule* are the Bible, the Rule of St Basil and, a vague category, the writings of the Catholic Fathers with Cassian singled out by name. This heading covers an extensive literature so the list is not really brief and in fact there is no suggestion of its being exclusive. Simply, Benedict saw no need to mention anything else, for with this library the monk could achieve his objective of serving God.

The monk is forbidden to own personal property. Books, particularly the Bible, might be considered reasonable possessions for one devoting his life to God but Benedict is emphatic on this point. He says, 'Let no one .... have anything as his own, anything whatever, whether book or tablet or pen.'[4] It feels as if he is saying not even a book and Benedict's ethos is, for me, summed up by the old man who said, 'Reading books is good but possessing nothing is more than all.'[5] Benedict says that at the beginning of Lent each monk is to be given a book from the library which he is to read through completely. They may not own but they may use. To depart from Benedict for a moment, Lanfranc describes in detail how this procedure was interpreted in eleventh-century England, and presumably in Bec, and is worth quoting for the evocative picture produced.

> Before the brethren go in to chapter, the librarian should have all the books save those that were given out for reading the previous year collected on a carpet in the chapter-house; last year's books should be carried in by those who have had them, and they are to be warned by the librarian in chapter the previous day of this. The passage from the Rule of St Benedict concerning the observance of Lent shall be read, and when a sermon has been made on this the librarian shall read out a list of the books which the brethren had the previous year. When each hears his name read out he shall return the book which was given to him to read, and anyone who is conscious that he has not read in full the book he received shall confess his fault prostrate and ask for pardon. Then the aforesaid librarian shall give to each of the brethren another book to read, and when the books have been distributed in order he

3   *Rule*, ch. 48, pp. 111-113.
4   *Rule*, ch. 33, p. 85.
5   B. Ward, *The Venerable Bede* (London, 1990), p. 20.

shall at that same chapter write a list of the books and those who have received them.[6]

There are some delightful touches here, the carpet, for example, and the picture conjured up of the piles of books being carried in by the younger monks before the start of the proceedings. The phrases that stand out, however, for a modern reader are 'a book' and 'the book'. To have only one book for a whole year, to only ever have one book at a time seems unbearable to us, accustomed as we are to comparing and cross-checking, to going back to a previously read book with new understanding gleaned from a new one. Surely it could not take a year to read even a book by Augustine. Or could it? Firstly the reading was not in the vernacular; care and concentration were needed to gather the meaning of the words in the simple sense of their equivalence in the reader's mother tongue. There then followed the effort to understand the sense, the theology, of the words, a process with further subdivisions. The third step in this process was to relate this particular reading to other reading from the past, and to store it so that it could be related to reading in the future. Doubtless many fell short but this was the ideal, and it was a massive undertaking. Seen in this light it certainly required all the time devoted to it.

As for its purpose, in the most direct statement made about reading Benedict says that it will prevent idleness. This is reinforced by the fact that those who can't or won't read are to be given some work to occupy them. However a more positive view is implicit throughout the *Rule*. Was it for education? The *Rule* is liberally sprinkled with quotations from the Bible, many from Psalms and the Gospels but also from a wide range of books throughout both Old and New Testaments. Benedict clearly had an intimate knowledge of the entire Bible, how did he acquire it? St Gregory tells us in his second book of *Dialogues* that Benedict was sent from his home in Nursia to school in Rome, a distance of about seventy miles. It is not clear whether this was for the secondary stage of his education or for advanced study as a young adult. It was clearly a secular education however and he left without finishing his course because of the riotous lifestyle of those around him. We are told that, 'He withdrew "knowingly ignorant and wisely unlearned" and abandoning his studies set out to seek the monastic life.'[7] Before he left, however, Benedict had received enough education to enable him to study on his own the subjects he was drawn to.

This was one extreme, what of the other? Many of the elementary schools of the Roman Empire had been lost in the disruptions of the fifth century, and although the church continued to provide education this was aimed at children destined for the priesthood.[8] That priests were rare among Benedict's monks is clear from the preferential treatment they receive in the order of seniority, for a priest is to stand next after the abbot. Also they are dealt with after adult novices and oblates, presumably the usual recruits. There would naturally have been a school for the children but what sort of education were the adults likely to have had before their arrival? Two things come over very clearly from the seniority and admission sections of the *Rule*. The monastery was open to serfs and within it they were equal with free-born men. Education was not a necessary qualification for entry; in fact Benedict arranges for illiterate recruits to set their mark to a profession document written for them. Adding their mark seems to point to real illiteracy in the modern sense rather than the usual medieval meaning of not knowing Latin, although the ability to write was rarer than the ability to read. This suggests that some teaching must have been offered to those novices who required it in order that they could make use of their reading time. *Lectio* offered the most suitable, indeed the only, time this could take place.

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[6]   *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc,* translated by David Knowles (London, 1951), Lent and its observances, p. 19.

[7]   J. McCann, *Saint Benedict* (London, 1938), p. 54.

[8]   The second Council of Toledo in 527 ordered all bishops to provide a school on church premises to educate children for the priesthood.

Another use for this time, certainly during the novitiate, would be to master the routine and the basic skills involved. All novices would have needed to learn the psalms and how to conduct themselves in the monastic life generally and in church in particular. Benedict firmly insists that no one is to sing unless he does it well, and the same applies to reading aloud both in church and in the refectory. This leads one to suppose that the inexperienced reader practised his passages during *lectio* time.

For the professed monk the real object of this time was for reading the scriptures and the patristic writings. Was there an end product or was it purely to make the individual more worthy of salvation? The monk's purpose in life was the service of God and for this he had to know God. He wanted therefore to get to know the scriptures thoroughly, to think about them himself and to find out how others had interpreted them. This process would have often moved imperceptibly from reading to thinking to prayer and back again as he tried to understand the deepest layers of meaning. There was no outside end in view, whatever books and teaching may have been produced, the raison d'être was to bring the monk closer to God. However, no matter how immersed he was in his contemplation, he must stop immediately on hearing the signal for Divine Office, and hasten, but with gravity, to church. This instruction, which occurs more than once, is a clue to the thinking behind the whole *Rule*. It is not a declaration that the *Opus Dei* is the most important aspect of the life, however true that may have been. For Benedict everything that perfected the monk's life was important, therefore learning to read in order to read the scriptures was a valid use of *lectio* time and obedience was as valuable to God as meditation.

Benedict says in his Prologue that he is setting up a school for the service of God and sets out everything he sees to be necessary, but not everything receives equal detail. The instructions on *lectio* seem vague compared with the detail and clarity of the majority of the *Rule*, and the space it occupies is small. It is clear that this does not reflect its importance for the scriptures pervade the precepts for every part of the regular life. Benedict could not have written the *Rule* as it stands without his detailed knowledge of the Bible and a thorough knowledge and understanding of it was required to enter fully into the life he describes. He must therefore have aimed to give every monk that knowledge.

Was the vagueness unintentional, was it a happy accident that has helped to make the *Rule* so adaptable and long-lived? Or did Benedict leave provision for *lectio* vague deliberately and if so why? The arrangements for the services and the work are comprehensive as are those for food and drink. It is, of course, much more difficult to give specific instructions for an individual, spiritual activity than for a communal, practical one. He may have been vague because he would be there to fill in the detail, but this would have applied to the rest of the *Rule*. Also he talks of varying conditions in communities, for example of clothes for warm or cold regions, so surely he was not just thinking of his own time and place. He may have deliberately left room for changes and additions, for after organising the psalms for the week he says it can be changed if anyone can suggest a better way. In his last chapter he says he is writing for beginners and that a monk who follows his *Rule* will then be in a position to receive God's guidance which will take him to 'the lofty heights'.

Perhaps he had in fact said all there is to say. The monks had no possessions and so the contents of the library dictated what they could read. Apart from the Bible this would be the writings of the Holy Catholic Fathers. Is this deliberate vagueness to encompass not only those known to Benedict but those yet to come? Whether deliberate or happy accident the result is the same. The library would also, of course, contain the Bible and the Bible is virtually all they needed. They would spend their lives reading and meditating on it more and more deeply until they arrived at the point where God took over from man the task of directing their thoughts.

Manuscripts and new Technology: some recent developments at the British Library

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British Library

When I was a student in the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies at the beginning of the 1970s, manuscript studies were firmly grounded on paper and parchment. No matter whether our interests lay in text and content, in palaeography or iconography, we had generally to seek out original documents wherever they were preserved, although surrogates in the form of published editions and facsimiles, photocopies and microfilms did play their part in our training and allowed us to examine sources which might otherwise have been inaccessible. Research in those days often meant travelling to various libraries and repositories to consult local finding aids, a multiplicity of handwritten lists, dog-eared index cards and printed catalogues a couple of centuries old in order to locate and identify the manuscripts we needed to consult. Over the last twenty years, the so-called 'new technology' has made a vast difference to the resources available to scholars and to their expectations and methods of research. The British Library has been actively involved in innovative developments, most recently with a series of over twenty projects called 'Initiatives for Access', with particular emphasis on digitised imaging of the collections and electronic delivery of catalogue information. A few of these 'Initiatives' which may be of special interest to medievalists are described here.[1]

The project which has enjoyed, perhaps, the highest public profile is the digitisation of the only known manuscript of the one-thousand-year-old epic Beowulf, held by the British Library as Cotton MS. Vitellius A xv. This joint venture between the British Library and the University of Kentucky, directed by two American scholars, Professor Kevin S. Kiernan of Kentucky and Paul Szarmach of the State University of New York, and organised in this country by Dr Andrew Prescott, was the winner of the 1995 Library Association / Mecklermedia award for innovation through information technology. The idea of applying imaging technology to manuscript studies was first raised in the early 1980s, and some experiments were carried out at that time with equipment designed for medical purposes. In Spring 1993, the present team began systematically to photograph and digitise on computer the eleventh-century Beowulf manuscript. Using a ProgRes 3012 digital camera and illuminating each page with different kinds of light, ordinary white, ultra-violet and fibre optic, they were able to capture high-resolution colour images at 300 dots-per-inch. Beowulf was one of the manuscripts damaged in the Cotton Library fire of 1731, when the edges of its pages were burnt away and the parchment embrittled. Sir Frederic Madden, the Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum from 1837 to 1866, devised a method of treating the affected volumes by mounting each leaf in a shaped paper frame. These paper folios were subsequently bound together between covers. Digitisation has revealed and recorded information about the nineteenth-century repairs as well as scribal features of

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the text which could not have been seen in the original manuscript under ordinary conditions.

In the first place, where a word or phrase was erased or deleted by the scribe, special lighting may render the deletion quite legible. By examining scraped portions of vellum where ink has failed to adhere, it is possible to identify portions of text added later than the rest. High resolution scanning enables the text to be examined at very high magnification to help with difficult or disputed readings and alterations, and even to distinguish the flesh side of the vellum from the hair side, giving clues about the make-up of the original volume. The post-fire repairs designed to prevent more fragments flaking away from the edge were not entirely successful and have introduced new strains on the leaves, but pencil tracings now revealed on the mounts show how the inlays were originally aligned. The overlap of approximately 2mm. where the paper frame was pasted and taped into position may itself conceal parts of letters which have now been noticed and recorded with the help of fibre-optic backlighting.

However, the facility to uncover, copy and move pieces of text at will on the computer screen gives an unprecedented opportunity for forgery of a sophisticated kind. Interlinear text, for example, can be copied into the blank space left by an erasure so that it no longer looks like a correction or afterthought, as can any other portion of text which happens to fit the space or any combination of single letters copied individually from other parts of the document. The results of such tampering can be very difficult to detect. For this reason, the on-screen image can therefore never be accepted as 'authoritative' unless it is compared directly with the original manuscript.

In the case of Beowulf, over one hundred and fifty genuine portions of text previously obscured in various ways have been revealed in the course of digitisation. Further textual evidence can be found in the notes and tracings made from the manuscript in its mid nineteenth-century state by Madden himself, and in the Thorkelin transcripts, written in the 1780s, which contain readings afterwards lost as the burnt edges crumbled. The transcripts were scanned at the Royal Library in Copenhagen in June 1994. The Project Team intends to add these supplementary sources for the textual tradition to the full colour electronic facsimile which it hopes soon to make available for consultation in the Manuscripts Students' Room, and in a marketed version on CD ROM.[2]

Sample images from Beowulf, together with other 'treasures' from the British Library's collections can currently be seen on Portico, the Library's own online information server accessible via the Internet and JANET. After initial experiments with a gopher version which gave basic details of the Library's resources, an enhanced version has been launched on the World Wide Web taking full advantage of the facilities for hypertext links, high quality graphics, colour photographic images and sound. This offers comprehensive, up-to-date information about all the Library's services, with names of contacts, opening times etc. There is even a 'virtual tour' of the new building at St Pancras.[3]

Many of the images displayed on Portico have been digitised directly from master copies of colour transparencies and are intended to widen public knowledge of the collections rather than break new scholarly ground. Such publicity is timely and relatively simple and cheap to implement, and offers no threat to the security and preservation of the manuscripts themselves. The Magna Carta, for example, went online soon after the Americans mounted the Declaration of Independence on the Internet, and it was exciting to be able to beam John Evelyn's diaries round the world on the very day that their purchase for the nation was announced.

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[2]   In the interim, selected test images are displayed in the Department, and can be accessed on the Internet by anonymous ftp from othello.bl.uk in the directory sys/pub/mss/beowulf. A paper by Professor Kiernan is also available on the Internet and is published in *Scholarly Publishing on the Electronic Networks: Proceedings of the Third Symposium*, edited by A. Okerson (Washington, Association of Research Libraries, 1994).

[3]   Portico can be accessed via the World Wide Web URL http://portico.bl.uk.

Digitisation of manuscripts for scholars on demand still lies in the future, for complex issues of storage, copyright and authorised use of material transmitted over the networks must first be resolved. Nevertheless there are a variety of ways in which the British Library itself is seeking to exploit images of items in its own collections. In the new exhibition galleries at St Pancras, the sometimes conflicting interests of the serious academic and the casual visitor will both be served by technology. 'Heritage items' will seen more often on display if the scholarly editor is content to do most of his work from a digital surrogate and not demand their frequent removal from exhibition. An electronic screen beside the showcase will enable schoolchildren to view a series of images in succession and so 'turn the pages' of fragile manuscripts which they could not otherwise handle, and it will be possible to highlight and enlarge details not easily visible under glass or indeed with the naked eye.

For those who cannot visit the Library or who want to use a compilation of sources, publications on CD ROM are a significant recent development. Medievalists and teachers have welcomed the British Library's *Medieval Realms* which appeared in August 1994. The CD ROM includes nearly 1,500 images of original source material ranging from manuscripts to artefacts and printed pages (far exceeding the scope of a conventional textbook), with commentary, glossary and introduction compiled by specialists within the Library. Information is easily accessed via Windows-based software developed for the project by the Open University. Teachers can build up their own 'lists' for classwork or pupils of secondary school age can explore by themselves using topics, dates and keywords to find relevant text, pictures and even sounds.

Another application for digitised images is the British Library Electronic Photoviewing System (also known as the PIX Project) which aims through indexing and image display to increase access to visual materials from all departments of the Library, whilst protecting fragile originals from excessive handling. Starting late in 1993, a prototype was set up using images made from existing negatives. These negatives were scanned up to six times at different resolutions on to Photo CD and written to the system hard disk. Indexing was subsequently added. By the end of 1995, about 12,000 images had been captured (but the number increases by the week). The user can browse either by looking at screenfuls of reduced 'thumbnail' images or by searching verbal hypertext links to the captions. Although image processing is generally very slow, most images on the system are displayed within a second or two, making the system ideal for picture research. Images can be magnified or compared on screen and prints can be downloaded to order.

Computers have been used in the routine cataloguing of manuscripts at the British Library since 1986, and curators have fully mastered the techniques of entering details directly to an automated system which produces traditional hard-copy catalogues for publication as well as data which is destined for the online catalogue of the future. We have not found it necessary to abandon the cataloguing model of a narrative description of each manuscript volume or item, supported by detailed indexing, which has proved its validity over nearly two hundred years at the British Museum/Library and has been widely adopted in other manuscript collections. We have merely automated this model, using word-processing (Microsoft Word) for the blocks of narrative text, and a customised database package (Advanced Revelation) for the indexes.

Regular readers will have noticed in recent years the increased output of published Catalogues of Additions, now that these can be produced as camera-ready copy on the departmental laser printer. So far, there has been no online access for the general user, but work on mounting current manuscripts cataloguing on the Library's Online Public Access Catalogue (OPAC) is well advanced. The OPAC system, which offers retrieval from various indexed fields as well as full text searching by keyword, promises to provide a powerful finding aid for manuscripts. For example, searches need no longer be confined to terms which the cataloguer saw fit to include in the predominently name-based index. Palaeographical terms, subjects of miniatures, watermarks, binding characteristics etc., can all be retrieved from the catalogue text. It will no longer be necessary to remember the manuscript numbers in order to find descriptions of the

Bedford Hours or the Rutland Psalter – the popular name as keyword will suffice. It will be possible to search across catalogues too (consecutively, but not simultaneously), so that facsimiles which for historical reasons were allocated apparently haphazardly to the Manuscripts or Printed Books Departments can be traced more easily. Literally at one sitting, the user can move from searching for editions of Hugh of Lincoln, for example, to checking whether we have any of his works in manuscript. Further development and testing remains to be done to make the system as easy as possible to use for manuscript searches, but when our data goes live on the in-house OPAC, it is planned that it will also become available on the networked version, which can be accessed from many university libraries via JANET.

For the user who wishes to identify thirteenth-century French books of hours in our collections, it is immaterial whether they were acquired by the Library in 1995 or in 1795, though at present the date of accession determines which of over thirty printed catalogues should be consulted. The prospect of sophisticated online retrieval requires all the catalogues of manuscripts to be converted to automated format and combined in a single database. To this end, a project is in progress to scan as many as possible of the printed catalogues and parse the contents automatically to create MARC format index records for mounting on the OPAC together with the current cataloguing. Admittedly, some of the older catalogues will require considerable updating, even reworking, to conform to modern standards, but automation, with opportunities to update, amend, insert and copy, renders such an undertaking feasible in the longer term. Apart from the mainstream catalogues, it is hoped that in future more resources can be devoted to special subject catalogues and databases. A 'Survey of Illuminated Manuscripts', for example, has been started during 1995.

New developments which might offer even better ways of handling information about manuscripts are closely monitored. The British Library has conducted some experiments with a retrieval system called PixTex/EFS produced by Excalibur Technologies, notably on the unindexed Catalogue of Seals and the Catalogue of Manuscript Music. EFS uses Adaptive Pattern Recognition Technology, which means that it can recognise by binary structure a name in variant spellings or a word which has become scrambled during scanning. 'Fuzzy matching' allows retrieval on related terms instead of the strict keyword matching, so that, for example, a search on 'heraldry' finds also the words herald, heraldic, and heraldica. Images of catalogue pages can be displayed on screen as well as the processed text, showing, like the printed version, divisions within volumes, hierarchical structures of large collections and adjacent entries. Images can also of course display handwriting, non-standard letter forms, diagrams and even pictures.

It may be unwise to predict the future, but long before the Graduate Centre meets to celebrate its next milestone, I hope it will be possible for you to perform a single online search across more than thirty catalogues of manuscripts in the British Library from the comfort of your own study, to order a surrogate for delivery to your home, call up digitised images on screen or request directly that the original manuscript be waiting for you on a given day in the new fully automated Reading Room at St Pancras.

What difference does language make? The example of Roger Frugardi's *Chirurgia*

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The period *c.* 1200 to *c.* 1450 is one of especial significance in the history of the medical book for during this time dozens upon dozens of Latin medical works were put into the medieval vernaculars. This process of vernacularisation was instrumental in making Latin medical ideas and practice accessible in written form to a wider audience and it is a measure of the authority of Latin medicine that the number of translated works far outweighs the number of medical works composed directly in the vernacular. At the heart of much modern scholarship on this large corpus of texts are issues of translation as the nature of the modifications vis-à-vis the Latin source are analysed in detail. This necessary and useful concern with specifically textual changes as a work passes from Latin into the vernacular may be profitably complemented by consideration of the physical presentation of the translated work, in particular the layout of the page, format of the manuscript and presence of illustration. It would be tendentious to presume that the differences in these areas between a Latin work and its vernacular counterpart result from the shift in language, since many other issues also come into play in the production of a manuscript, but do translations into the vernacular bring a new richness to, or experimentation with these formal aspects of the medical book? It is a difficult topic to address and I will restrict my remarks to the medical illustrations in three richly illustrated copies of the *Chirurgia* of Roger Frugardi, first written down *c.* 1180, but copied, translated and occasionally illustrated for well over 200 years.[1] In cases of texts such as the *Chirurgia* which do not regularly receive illustration, direct pictorial models are rarely to be found and the text itself and nature of the manuscript volume acquire more importance in the analysis of the illustrative programme. One Latin manuscript (Montpellier, Bibl. Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine MS H-89) from the last years of the thirteenth century has an extensive programme of 115 illustrations, 100 of which depict scenes of medical treatment or a consultation between doctor and patient.[2] A second, early fourteenth-century manuscript (London, Brit. Lib. MS Sloane 1977) has 16 pages of illumination. Each full page is divided into three registers of three compartments each and all but the upper register contain scenes related to medical practice. This set of illuminations prefaces the translation of the *Chirurgia* into French and another lavish series of 48 scenes accompanies a translation of the *Circa instans* in the same manuscript. The level and quality of execution of illustration throughout place it squarely into the category of a de luxe manuscript. The third manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.1.20 (1044)) from the mid-thirteenth century transmits the Anglo-Norman translation which is accompanied by 49 line drawings, occasionally washed in colour, placed in the margins and not necessarily executed at the same time as the text. Unlike the other two manuscripts, the illustrations do

1   On Roger, see A. Pazzini, *Ruggero di Giovanni Frugardo maestro di chirurgia a Parma e l'opera sua*, (Rome, 1966); G. Keil, 'Roger Frugardi', *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, eds. K. Ruh et al., 2 ed., (Berlin, 1990), vol. 8, cols. 140-153. The *Chirurgia* is edited in K. Sudhoff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chirurgie im Mittelalter*, I-II, Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin im Mittelalter, 10, 11-12, (Leipzig, 1914-1918), II, pp. 148-236.
2   I am grateful to the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine at Montpellier for permission to reproduce the illustrations.

not accompany the entire text but cease midway through the text.[3] The lengthy cycle of illustrations in each of these manuscripts distinguishes them from the numerous other Latin and vernacular manuscripts of the text. As a group the illustrated manuscripts are not homogeneous and differ more than they concur in many respects. This may be significant and we will examine these differences and points of contact in the light of the division into Latin and vernacular.

1. Manuscript design

The only manuscript to incorporate the illustrations into the body of the text is the Latin one. Here each illustration precedes the text to which it is clearly and directly related, and the sheer number of illustrations means that, with one exception, every page contains between one and four illuminations. Consultation of this manuscript is a very rich visual experience, underscored by the use of bright colours and their contrasting juxtaposition. In itself this layout is not uncommon in religious or secular texts where the illustration serves to summarise or introduce the portion of text which follows, and may owe little to the language of that text, but the fact that this manuscript is entirely devoid of rubrics suggests that the design is not as innocuous as appears at first sight. Indeed, in the near total absence of visual markers to divide up the 28 folios of text into manageable units, the illustrations perform a highly useful function and act as a form of visual rubric. The manuscript was clearly conceived with illustrations as an integral part of its design and they, moreover, have a very tight physical and iconographic relationship to the text, suggestive of a very practical working guide to the contents. Only further comparison of such illuminated manuscripts may reveal whether such integration and practical role is at all a function of language.

The illustrations in the Sloane manuscript preface the text, which is rare in medical manuscripts, but the manuscript is all the more unusual for the extended conjunction of religious and secular images. The upper register of the illuminated folios contains a Christological sequence of 48 scenes narrating events in the life of Christ and as such is without parallel in a medical manuscript, although there are occasional illustrations which have a religious component. It is possible that the inclusion of a Christological sequence suggested a design comparable to that found in medieval Psalters where illustrations are commonly grouped together before the text and which compartmentalise the page in similar fashion. Questions of workshop practice may also have come into play allowing execution of text and illustration simultaneously. It is worthy of note that the workshop to which this manuscript is localised, near Amiens, produced secular and religious manuscripts and may even have specialised in the production of vernacular manuscripts.[4] So does this unusual and highly individual design owe something to the manuscript being written in the vernacular? Possibly, but it may be the fact that it is a luxury volume which takes precedence and that as such is more liable to depart from standard practices. The fact that it is in the vernacular may be of secondary importance here but the combination of the two – luxury and vernacular – may be symptomatic of a growing trend in this period towards owning medical and scientific books in the vernacular, some of which required illustration.

3   The medical illustrations in the vernacular manuscripts are reproduced in Sudhoff, *Beiträge*, I, pp. 19-42, Plates II-VII. The illustrations to the Trinity manuscript are reproduced with commentary in T. Hunt, *The Medieval Surgery* (Woodbridge, 1992). The Anglo-Norman translation is edited in T. Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine. I. Roger Frugard's 'Chirurgia' and the 'Practica brevis' of Platearius* (Cambridge, 1994). The illustrations to the French *Chirurgia* are reproduced and the accompanying text edited in H. Valls, Studies on Roger Frugardi's 'Chirurgia', PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1995. This work also reproduces a selection from all three manuscripts as does P. Huard and M.D. Grmek, *Mille ans de chirurgie en Occident: Ve-XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966). See also L.C. Mackinney, *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 1965).

4   See E.S. Greenhill, 'A fourteenth-century workshop of manuscript illuminators and its localization', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 40 (1977), pp. 1-25.

The suggestion that some vernacular manuscripts may testify to innovation in manuscript design raises the possibility that some also experiment with different relationships between the text and the image. This is not clearly borne out by the manuscripts under consideration but we may note that the illustrations in each manuscript relate directly and literally to their accompanying text but differ in artistic approach and iconography. This difference would seem to be related more to the role of the illustrations rather than to a different way of conceptualising the task of illustration according to language. The illustrations in the Montpellier manuscript function as visual rubrics, guiding the reader through the text and summarising the contents of the following chapter. The illustrations are therefore based on a relatively thorough reading of the text and a conscious selection of specific elements from it which receive illustrative treatment. This contrasts with the method in the Sloane manuscript where, in all but a few instances at the beginning, the artist derived the illustration from the details found in the opening lines of a chapter. These illustrations form a very selective guide to the contents of the manuscript and there is no consistent pattern in the selection of chapters which receive illustration. The illustrations in the Trinity manuscript are derived from a reading of more than the opening lines. They are certainly the most decorative of the illustrations and include unusual non-medical details such as a lap dog and onlooker.

Both vernacular translations of the *Chirurgia* add and omit a few details with respect to the Montpellier manuscript or other Latin versions. However, the nature of the translated text, which could assume a role in determining the presence or function of illustrations, seems not to have played any part. The Latin and vernacular texts remain highly practical works and there are, for instance, in the Latin no extended theoretical discussions which might have been edited out in translation or thought to require illustration. The Latin text makes no reference to illustration and there is no sense in which the text requires illustrations in order to be comprehensible. Indeed, the illustrations in the Latin manuscript are not at all didactic and reveal little about actual surgical practice. The vernacular illustrations, for their part, likewise seem to have no didactic role and, if there is a difference between the two languages, the vernacular illustrations are the more decorative with a less clear role.

2. Iconography

The iconography of a certain number of conditions and of treatments was relatively fixed, while still others did not lend themselves to wide variations. There are, after all, only a limited number of ways of depicting or alluding to an ulcer on the leg. The depiction of haemorrhoids was often shown by depicting the patient in a seated position with his bottom bare. To this could be added various details: the patient emits blood or is seated over fumes, the one detailing the diagnosis, the other the treatment. Such minor variants occur in Latin and vernacular texts alike and without a study of the evolution of specific images little can be advanced about the influence of language or of regional variations.

None of the three illustrated manuscripts of Roger provided the direct model for another and all evidence points to their being independently conceived and of their being executed on the basis of the accompanying text. In view of the high level of illustration there are a number of chapters which are illustrated in all three manuscripts, but few of these illustrations reproduce the very same iconography despite their being derived from the same text. One chapter which receives similar illustrative treatment in Latin and French is that dealing with the treatment of a fractured rib. This requires the patient to take a bath and the doctor to rub his hand in a viscous liquid prior to manipulating the rib back into position. Fig.26 reproduces the illustration from the Latin manuscript and clearly shows the patient, arm raised to afford a better view, while the doctor touches the afflicted area and points to the jar of lubricant. The equivalent scene in the French manuscript is similar in composition and depicts the patient in a bath, hand on his head, while the doctor touches the same affected area. Since the one is not derived from the other

we cannot argue that the French has been adapted to a vernacular context, but we may note the absence of a jar and that the scene focusses on a single element. This is in keeping with the technique found in other illustrations in the French manuscript which rarely allude to other details of treatment, except for the occasional presence of an ointment jar. This contrasts with the Montpellier artist whose illustrations are visually full and frequently allude to several aspects of treatment in a single illustration. Although some illustrations may owe differences in iconography to the overall conception of the programme, in others the differences have a clear textual basis and can be ascribed to the language of the manuscript. These commonly take the form of misunderstandings and mistakes and result in the inadvertent creation of new images. A typical example is the depiction of treatment for toothache in which the patient is to inhale fumes via a tube. The illustration in the Latin manuscript of Roger portrays the patient bending over a fire to receive the fumes through a tube (fig.27) but the Anglo-Norman illustration omits the tube and simply depicts the patient leaning forward over some fumes. The omission may be explained by the Anglo-Norman text in which the Latin word 'embottum', left untranslated, was presumably not understood by the artist.

3. Creation of new images

The creation of new images may result from misinterpreting text or from working from a faulty manuscript; the artist of a vernacular manuscript may also find himself obliged to create a new programme of illustrations if a Latin text is not traditionally illustrated. The Latin *Chirurgia* of Roger does not have a fixed illustrative cycle and the vernacular manuscripts differ considerably in the iconography and in the artistic approach to the task. Both French and Anglo-Norman illuminated manuscripts have created extensive new cycles of illustration derived directly from the manuscript at hand while occasionally drawing upon certain standard iconographic representations. The artist of the French manuscript bases his illustration on a reading of the opening lines of each chapter and, importantly, illustrates a few chapters with a series of scenes to convey the contents of the chapter, while in others a single scene relates to a single chapter. The artist of the Anglo-Norman manuscript bases his illustrations on a more thorough reading of the text and also adds details extraneous to the text. The exploration of artistic possibilities, the switching between single scene and a series in the Sloane manuscript, is increasingly seen in manuscript illustration in the fourteenth century. The fact that it appears here in a vernacular context is worthy of note. After all, vernacular manuscripts do create new programmes of illustration for translated texts and seem to explore new ways of presenting text and illustration as evidenced by the manuscript design. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the illustrations in the Sloane manuscript preface the text and offer a rare example of the juxtaposition of medical and religious illustrations. The more lavish a programme, the more liable it is to offer new relationships between text and image, to vary layout and iconography.

If the origin of some of the many illustrations in vernacular manuscripts lies with Latin models, vernacular manuscripts display no less a capability for adapting and inventing new images. The analysis of illustrations in the move from Latin to the vernacular may indeed chronicle changing attitudes towards the design of manuscripts and indicate the shifting concerns of a new group of readers. The role of a patron is almost certainly influential in this respect in the capacity to cause a new picture cycle to be invented for a previously unillustrated text or cause a shift in the length and nature of a pre-existing one. A study of illustrated manuscripts of other medical authors which are more frequently illustrated and which have fixed illustrative traditions might well reveal more clearly the effect of linguistic context on illumination in medical texts.

Repaying a debt of friendship: Aelred of Rievaulx and his *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*

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Between the Treaty of Winchester of November 1153 and the death of King Stephen in October 1154, Aelred of Rievaulx composed his *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* which he addressed to Henry duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, shortly to be Henry II of England.[1] The work is intended to appeal to Henry since it refutes one of the implications of the Treaty that he was Stephen's heir by adoption.[2] Aelred greets Henry as heir to England and also as head and guardian of a kingroup which includes his brothers Geoffrey and William, Stephen's surviving son William and King David of Scotland's two eldest grandsons Malcolm and William. The work comprises the life of David in the form of a eulogy; the genealogy of the kings of the English and of David's same English ancestors back to Adam; portraits of the English kings from Aethelwulf to Edward the Confessor; the events of 1066, after which the English and Scottish houses are united through the marriage of Edgar the Aetheling's sister Margaret to King Malcolm III of Scotland, of whom there are exemplary accounts and also of their sons Kings Edgar, Alexander and David, and daughters Mary wife of Eustace of Bologne and Matilda wife of Henry I of England. The combined effect of the abridged eulogy incorporated into the printed *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, which is a later title, and the propensity of historians to consider this work with Aelred's other historical works, the *Vita Edwardi* and the *de bello Standardii*, in terms of national or ethnic identity in England, shifts the focus from Scotland. If the full version of the eulogy is brought back into the frame, it reveals Aelred's concern for the Scottish succession. The *Genealogia* should be considered in the light of the premature death of David's only son and heir Henry earl of Northumbria in June 1152, of David himself in May 1153 and of Eustace, which affected the succession both in England and Scotland and which changed the balance of power between the two kingdoms.[3] David and his son Henry had worked closely together and the latter's death was a severe blow. Aelred's early life in David's household is well recorded.[4] The relationship was not severed when Aelred entered Rievaulx, and his last visit to the Scottish court took place during Lent 1153, shortly before the king's death.[5] This background gave him a unique insight into the problems of ruling the large and diverse Scottish kingdom. David's

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[1] This paper is based on two printed texts. The *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* is in J-Migne, *Patrologia Latina* CXCV, cols. 711-38, with an abridged eulogy to King David I of Scotland. The full version of the *Eulogium Davidis Regis Scotorum* is in J. Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish Saints*, revised by W. M Metcalfe (Paisley, 1889), 2 vols, ii, pp. 269-85. Hereafter *PL* cited by column number, and Metcalfe cited by page number.

[2] D. C. Douglas, ed., *English Historical Documents*, 2nd edition, ii (London, 1981), p. 437. The *terminus a quo* could be the death of Stephen's eldest son and heir Eustace in August 1153, since it refers to his brother William as count of Bologne, which had been Eustace's inheritance from their mother Matilda. For the purpose of this paper, whether Aelred is praising Henry for accepting the Treaty or urging him to do so, it is the spirit of compromise which is relevant here.

[3] A key issue is Northumbria which for most of Stephen's reign was held by David's son Henry, and which David designated to his second grandson William. This should be borne in mind, although it cannot be addressed in this short paper.

[4] For Aelred's life and work, see Aelred Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx* (London, 1969).

[5] Metcalfe, p. 278.

dynasty had faced several challenges, one of which is recorded in the eulogy.[6] David's accession was similar to that of Henry I. They were both youngest sons who had a nephew, the son of an older brother, who by right of primogeniture had a claim to the patrimony.[7] Thus, whilst the *Genealogia* is concerned with who had the right to be king of the English, as importantly it is concerned with who had the right to be king of the Scots, for in May 1153 on David's death, his grandson, the twelve year old Malcolm became the first child to accede to the throne of Scotland. Malcolm had been designated heir by his grandfather, on whose death 'all the people of the land raised up Malcolm son of Earl Henry son of David...and at Scone...appointed the boy king, though he was still only twelve years old, in the place of his grandfather David'.[8]

The ceremony of inauguration of Scottish kings involved neither crowning nor anointing, but included the recitation of the genealogy of their Scottish ancestors, their blood lineage or licence to rule. It is perhaps paradoxical that Aelred should chose as a defence of the young king's rights a vehicle which extolled the deeds of Malcolm's English ancestors. One might say that he was playing the right tune, but with the wrong words. But if Duke Henry were anxious to reassert his own blood right by direct lineal descent from his grandfather Henry I, then Aelred's point is that Malcolm IV had the same right through his grandfather David I.[9] To deny one is to deny the other. The subtlety of the *Genealogia* lies in the suggestion of this similarity of representational succession and on the common ancestry of Henry and Malcolm. Here the inference could be drawn that Aelred saw no difference between Henry's rights through his mother the Empress Matilda and Malcolm's rights through his father Earl Henry.[10] Alternatively, it could be argued that Margaret's sanctity made her the vehicle of transmission. Duke Henry is lauded as 'the son of the most glorious Empress Matilda whose mother was the most Christian and most excellent Matilda queen of the English, daughter of the most sainted Margaret queen of the Scots, whose father was Edward son of Edmund...[back to] Adam.[11] However, the physical act of transmission is through David, the youngest son of the sainted Margaret. He is singled out for his justice, chastity and humility. He had not sought the kingship, but hated it and received it from outside necessity rather than to have usurped it by the desire to rule.[12] The occasion was the knighting of Henry at Carlisle in 1149 and Aelred rejoices that in him 'rests the spirit of the most Christian king David. From whom I consider that, through an act of divine providence, the purity of his hands girded you with the belt of knighthood that through them the grace of Christ might pour into you the virtue of his chastity, humility and piety.'[13]

The criterion might be blood right [*jure haereditario*], but a Christian king must display all the usual attributes of good kingship and is expected to walk in the way of his fathers.[14] Aelred tells Henry: 'It is the greatest incentive to retaining the highest moral character to know that one has sprung from most noble blood, as were all the greatest men, as the natural mind is always ashamed to be found degenerate in a glorious lineage and it is against the law of nature that bad fruit should grow from a good root.'[15] He extols the fame of Henry's shining virtues. It is praiseworthy in such a young man and especially in one who is in a position

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6   Metcalfe, p. 275.
7   William Clito, son of Robert duke of Normandy, and William fitzDuncan, son of David's half-brother King Duncan II.
8   T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis Historia Regum et Continuata per Joh. Hagustaldensem, Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols, ii, RS (1885), pp. 327 and 331.
9   Before his accession Henry styled himself 'Henry son of the daughter of King Henry and right heir of England and Normandy'. W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), pp. 18-19.
10   I am grateful to Professor Sir James Holt for drawing my attention to this point.
11   *PL*, col. 716. Margaret was not canonised until 1250.
12   *PL*, col 713-4.
13   *PL*, col. 713.
14   *PL*, cols. 724, 725, 734.
15   *PL*, col. 716.

to abuse his authority and to oppress and kill, that whilst contesting for the kingdom, he has exercised wisdom and restraint, preserving the peace and avoiding bloodshed.[16] Because of this Henry has not unworthily been proclaimed by all the glory of the Angevins, the protector of the Normans, the hope of the English, the pride of the Aquitanians.[17]

Once an heir is recognised and he has displayed these attributes, his inheritance should be defended by all his people, laity and clergy alike. This includes the rights of children who often possess ability beyond their years, but if a child does succeed peace might be jeopardised by the conflicting interests of its advisers. Thus a king's age depends on the loyalty of his knights.[18] The child Joash was raised to the throne by the high priest Jehoiada with the consent of all the clergy and people. He reigned better in his younger years with the advice of the high priest and chiefs than in adulthood in his own wisdom and power.[19] Alfred is cited as an exemplar. Like David of Scotland, he was the youngest son, more favoured than the rest, who had to wait patiently for his anticipated inheritance, first sharing the rule with an older brother, on whose death the whole kingdom passed to him by hereditary right.[20] Alfred showed respect for the clergy, was most frequent in prayers and obedient to his parents, and thus he practised zealously in boyhood what an old man performed.[21] Recognised from childhood to possess kingly virtues and singled out by God from an early age, he was 'junior in age to the rest of his brothers, but senior in moral virtues and hence the most loved of all the brothers by his father'.[22] He was sent to Rome by his father and there the pope 'contemplating the face and bearing of the boy in whom he distinctly perceived the presence of divine majesty and evidence of shining virtues and anticipating the time and age of the rule consecrated him king with divine unction, just as Samuel the boy David'.[23] Now I cannot discuss here whether Alfred was anointed king by Leo.[24] The story suits Aelred's purpose and he adds the biblical precedent of David the youngest son of Jesse who was chosen and anointed by Samuel. David of Scotland had also been the wonder of all from his childhood for his almsgiving and diligence in prayer.[25]

Aelred has inferred that Henry is heir to David's virtues and that these attributes of good kingship could not be transmitted by Stephen, since he had not maintained peace within the kingdom. However, Aelred's desire to present an acceptable face of compromise lies behind the account of the duel between Edmund Ironside and Cnut, which he adapts from Henry of Huntingdon. It might be fiction, but it is fiction with a purpose. It is a compromise following a heroic struggle between a divided people.[26] An elder statesman (perhaps the exemplar for Theobald archbishop of Canterbury) asks permission to address Edmund and Cnut. In a long speech, he stresses that a single battle or victory does not win the contest, a single defeat does not lose it. In a kingdom surrounded by treachery and perjury

> daily we fight, neither victorious nor vanquishing, ever the vanquished never the victor...we are destroyed, butchered, dispersed, lose our security – for what? For blind ambition and arrogance. England was formerly subject to many kings and ambition flourished and division was rife...

16   *PL*, col. 713.
17   *PL*, cols. 712-3.
18   Metcalfe, p. 279.
19   Metcalfe, p. 279.
20   *PL*, col. 719. Aelred of Rievaulx, *de bello Standardii*, *PL* CXCV, col. 709.
21   *PL*, col. 718.
22   *PL*, col. 718.
23   *PL*, col. 718.
24   See Janet L Nelson, 'The problem of King Alfred's royal anointing', *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 309-27.
25   Metcalfe, p. 276.
26   For what follows, see *PL*, cols. 731-33.

why I ask does it not suffice for two kings which was formerly satisfied by five?

He begs them to fight '*soli qui soli*' if they are driven by desire to rule. His words are echoed by all the people shouting together 'Either they themselves fight or compromise'. In the duel, Edmund is invincible through his miraculous strength and virtue, Cnut through his own luck. It is *fortitudo* and *virtus* against *fortuna*; humility and self restraint as opposed to pride and ambition. Cnut knows that if he is defeated by the younger man, he will never again know peace, and asks for a compromise. Aelred concludes that 'words achieved what could not be settled with the sword and speech changed what arms could not alter'. This must surely reflect the magnates' refusal to come to battle at Malmesbury and Wallingford in 1153, and is a mirror for the spirit of the Treaty of Winchester.

But whilst Edmund had been prepared to compromise for the sake of peace, on his death this is thrown away by the continued treachery of the English, culminating in the events of 1016, 1033 and 1066, with the betrayal of children, infant sons, young sons, noble boys, designated heirs. When the English betray their kings, disunity, civil war and the threat of extinction follows.[27] This example is held up to the Scots. When appealing to them to repay the debt whey owe David for all the benefits of good kingship which they have received, by loyally supporting his grandsons, Aelred warns them: 'Let the trials of the English teach you to be faithful to kings and preserve mutual harmony amongst you, otherwise aliens will devour your country before your eyes and the land will be made desolate by the ravages of the enemy.'[28] The English traitors connive to remove the guardianship of Edmund's infant sons from their uncles Alfred and Edward to Cnut, who then attempts to destroy all who were of the royal seed.[29] However, on the deaths of Cnut and Hardacnut, all the clergy and all the people received Edmund's half-brother Edward the Confessor and he was consecrated in the rule by the archbishops of Canterbury and York and all the bishops of the kingdom.[30] But only after he had ordered the kingdom peacefully and displayed all the attributes of good kingship did he send for his nephew Edward, the worthy son of Edmund Ironside, and gave him the future inheritance of the kingdom.[31] Unity is shattered again following the death of the two Edwards. Here Aelred has problems since there are no black and white images as with Edmund and Cnut. So although some felt that the kingdom belonged to Edgar the Aetheling, Edmund's grandson, by hereditary right and strove to make him king, 'because he was a child he was seen not to be suitable for such honour'.[32] Given Aelred's insistence on the rights of children, this is an odd phrase, and there is a studied vagueness about the supporters of Edgar, understandable in view of the actions of Ealdred archbishop of York. The rights of Edgar are a problem, but in the end Aelred's version offends no one except the memory of Harold. Henry could be left in no doubt as to the legitimacy of his great-grandfather Duke William's actions where, by the judgement of God, he deprived Harold of the kingdom and his life.[33] Edgar has to be somehow shuffled offstage, so Aelred concocts the story of the Aetheling, seeing the affairs in England were confused on all sides, striving with his mother and sisters to return to the land of his birth, thus apparently relinquishing his rights. His ship is blown off course to Scotland, where as a result of this divine intervention, his sister Margaret marries Malcolm III.[34] In conclusion, Aelred recites the marriages of their descendants which have united the various

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27 *PL*, cols. 713, 718, 726, 730, 732, 733, 734, 736, 737, 738; Metcalfe, pp. 276, 279, 280.
28 Metcalfe, p. 279.
29 *PL*, col. 733.
30 *PL*, col. 734.
31 *PL*, col. 734.
32 *PL*, col. 734.
33 *PL*, col. 734.
34 *PL*, cols. 734-35.

kingroups, listing all who remain of the sainted lineage from Margaret, and praying for Henry's protection.[35]

> On these children, may God and you have mercy, you who stand as the most noble head of the whole of your lineage...To you from your maternal great uncle [David] who loved you before all men, the orphans have been abandoned, you will be the helper of minors, you who are the more strong in age, greater in authority.[36]

Aelred has placed a moral obligation on Henry to repay the debt which he owed David for knighting him. He reminds him that when David attacked Northumbria, he did not break the oaths which he made to uphold the claims of the Empress Matilda and her son and that he had tried to bring back to the rightful heirs a kingdom which their father [Henry I] had designated to them, and which the clergy and people had confirmed to them by a sworn pledge.[37] In his *Speculum Caritatis* and *de Spirituale Amicitia*, Aelred repays a debt to two monastic friends. In the fullest version of the eulogy, there is a similar sense of debt towards David and his son Earl Henry. Aelred twice refers to David as his sweetest lord and friend.[38] There is an imagery of a lifelong friendship from the cradle to the grave with Earl Henry, who as with his father David, Aelred loved above all other mortals, but who, in order to serve Christ, he left in body but never in mind or affection.[39] Aelred writes as ambassador not just for David, but also for the Scots. He cries for 'desolate Scotland'.[40] He presents himself to Duke Henry as an historian and mourner for David and for Scotland, according to how his feelings wavered between love and fear, hope and grief.[41] He concludes his eulogy to David

> And I, although a sinner and unworthy yet mindful sweetest lord and friend of your benefits which from my earliest age you bestowed upon me; mindful of the kindness in which even at the last you received me; mindful of the benevolence with which you have listened to me in all my petitions; mindful of the embraces and kisses in which you dismissed me, not without tears, to the wonder of all who were present, I sprinkle and shower my tears for you, and pour out my affection and my whole spirit. This I offer as a sacrifice to my God for you. With this exchange I repay your benefits.[42]

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[35] *PL*, col. 737.
[36] *PL*, col. 738. I have translated *ab avo suo* not as grandfather [Henry I] but as maternal great uncle [David] since it accords with the importance of David throughout the *Genealogia*. I have to thank Professor John Gillingham for suggesting this possible interpretation.
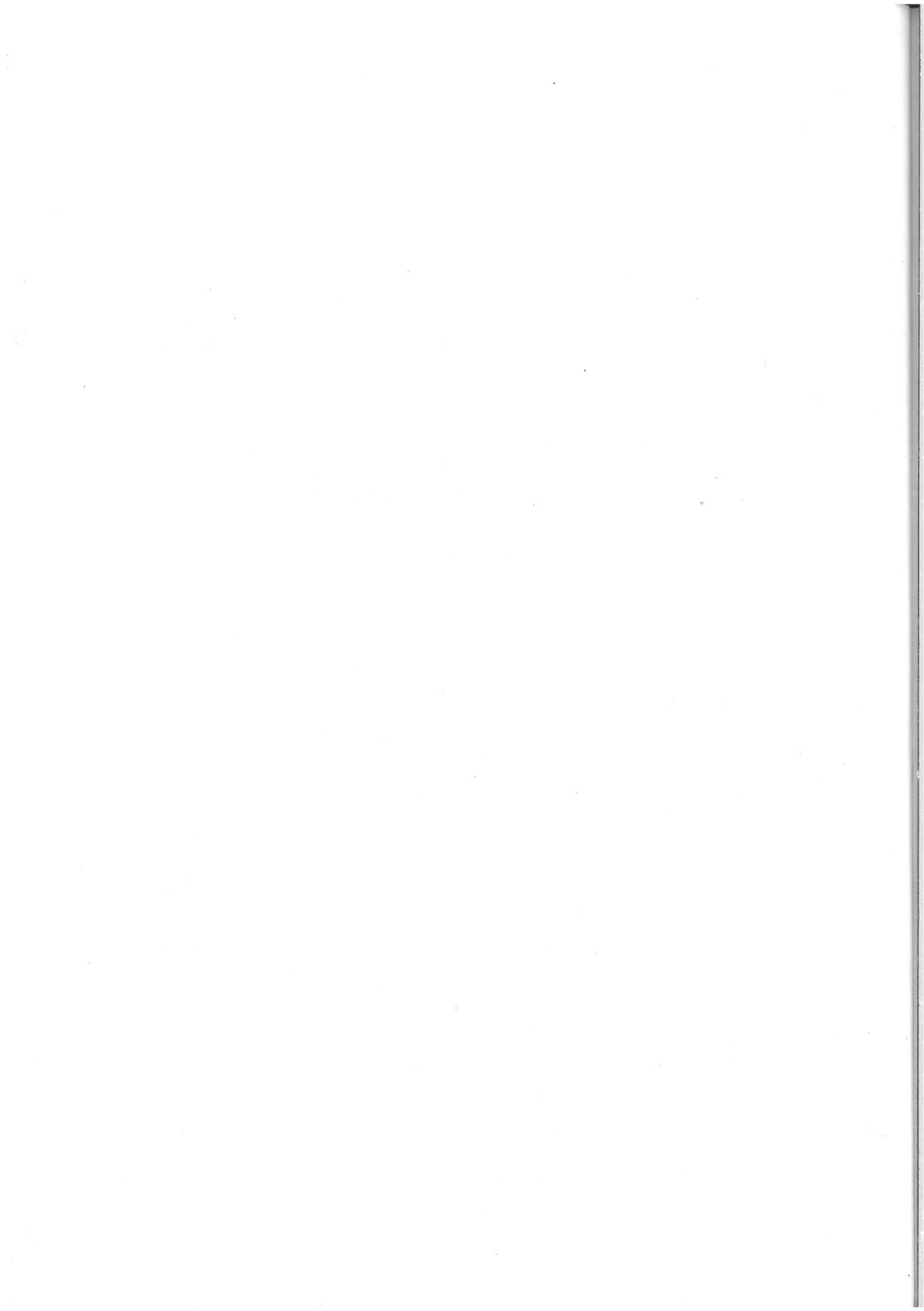[37] Metcalfe, p. 275.
[38] *PL*, col. 716, Metcalfe, p. 272.
[39] *PL*, col. 736-7.
[40] Metcalfe, p. 278.
[41] *PL*, col. 713.
[42] *PL*, col. 716.

Cinematic Middle Ages

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Anyone might be forgiven for thinking that the film industry was taking a particular interest in the Middle Ages just now: *The Hour of the Pig*, *Anchoress*, a five-hour *Jean la Pucelle*; and new films from Hollywood about King Arthur and William Wallace. But in fact two or three films a year depicting some sort of Middle Ages is about average ever since the first Joan of Arc in 1898.

I am not concerned here with documentary films but with a variety of fictions, with that cinematic world, at once strange and familiar, where Falconetti and Ingrid Bergman are burned at the stake; where Errol Flynn and Kevin Costner are outlawed in Sherwood Forest; where Sophia Loren and Charlton Heston fight and love in eleventh-century Spain; and where Max von Sydow and Sean Connery confront the horrors of a fourteenth century beset by corruption, plague, and apocalypse.

I am encouraged to pursue the topic partly by the debate among historians about history on film, and about the connexion between filmed history and present day historiography. But my approach here has another focus, partly because depictions of the Middle Ages on film seem to betray interests different in kind from historical films set in other periods; seem, indeed, to be not all that 'historical' in any direct sense. My approach is also more personal, and I am more certain of the importance of some of these representations than I am of just what it is they have to tell us.

Of course we know that filming the past is impossible; the camera can only film what is present (although the result, what films show us when we watch them, is always, if only a little, past). Nevertheless we know that the past is invisible; history can only be written, and to pretend that it can be watched is a mere masquerade. That is a convenient position, but not as strong as it looks. Not only does the cinematic Middle Ages represent the way many people really think of that part of their history, but the best of these films are serious attempts to particularize a credible past (sometimes with considerable contributions from professional historians), so that even where they fail to convince, they can at least form a coherent imaginative challenge compelling one to question, to try to resolve one's own mental image of a time and place.

The medium of film, of cinematography, has a special power to convince us of the real existence of whatever it depicts, sometimes it seems almost against our will. Even for those who 'know better', film can contaminate our views of the past more seductively than the older fictional forms of literature and drama. This is why our vision of the Bolshevik October Revolution is irrevocably associated with Eisenstein's powerful images of people in mass movement, choreographed ten years after. The historian Robert Rosenstone expresses a concern, both for the evident divergence of film from proper historical method, and for the need to understand its powerful influence, when he issues this warning: 'in favouring the visual and emotional data while simultaneously playing down the analytical, the motion picture is subtly - and in ways we do not yet know how to measure or describe – altering our very sense of the past'. Historians have been disturbed by the absence of two characteristics of history from traditional kinds of fictional narrative structure: the open-endedness of its account, and its availability to different interpretations.

For the specialist in literature, the power of film may be more stimulating than alarming. I can learn something about a medieval text from watching a film version of it, because such a version, even at some remove of translation and adaptation from the original, is still in effect a reading, a piece of interpretative criticism.

I begin this rapid survey with some cinematic Middle Ages favoured among historians sporting enough to declare themselves, starting with Emmanuel le Roy Ladurie, who says that many of the subjects that have interested him would not have done so to the same extent, had he not felt when writing that he was himself composing a film scenario. He commends equivocally Bergman's *Seventh Seal* (he did not say it was a favourite exactly) for creating, 'by means of a very slow and tragic rhythm, an atmosphere which makes one believe oneself to be in a sort of fourteenth century, even if in fact the fourteenth century was quite different'.

Norman Cantor, in his significantly named book about medieval historians, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, names his six best: *Alexander Nevsky*, commenting that, although it is 'not in sync with contemporary taste... it is withal a superb re-creation of medieval political iconology...' Among the others are:*The Seventh Seal* again; *The Name of the Rose* ('better than the book'); Olivier's *Henry V*; *The Navigator* ('the most convincing portrait of medieval peasants; Bloch would have been ecstatic').

My brief list of examples begins with what space dictates must be a mere mention of the work of the filmmaker most consistently and ingeniously interested in depicting the past, Roberto Rossellini. His most widely known historical film is perhaps *La Prise de Pouvoir par Louis XIV* (1966), but his cinematic Middle Ages are equally remarkable, above all his very long *Age of the Medici* (1972), made for television. His first 'medieval movie', although it is far from representative of him, was *Francesco Giullare di Dio* (1950).

Rossellini acknowledges here the 'interpreted' nature of the past, basing the episodes of the film on the *Fioretti*. The opening scene shows a characteristic combination of realistic presentation (grainy black and white, the feel of cloth and rain) with a stylized flattening of the image. In the film as a whole, Rossellini's inconsequential linking of episodes, lending a kind of objectivity to the presentation, leaves us to make what we can of the strange goings on.

Francesco is an early example of a change in the history of the cinema's Middle Ages. Here we have the small-scale, domestic, unheroic, while Hollywood is still to produce some of its most celebrated representations of another version, where instead of *Francesco's* monochrome, dirt, and bad weather we find heroic spectacle, colour, clean clothes, sunshine: the 'merrie' Middle Ages. Richard Thorpe's *Knights of the Round Table* is just one of the half-dozen in this mode produced in Hollywood in a typical year (1954).

We return to an intimate scale in Ingmar Bergman's *The Seventh Seal* (1957), a film about global destruction in this century, but set in a kind of intellectual's adventure world (Ladurie's 'sort of fourteenth century'), combining elements of the real with a medieval kind of symbolism: not just the chess game, the personified Death, and words and music heralding apocalypse, but also the celebrated opening upon a symbolic landscape like the beginning of *Piers Plowman*: knight and squire stranded at the extremity of things, between the polarities of night and day, land and sea.

The nationalistic propaganda of Sergei Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) represents another of the common uses of the medieval past for the twentieth century; a film that brought its director back into Stalin's favour, with its secularized saint hero leading his people to victory. Norman Cantor comments: 'Eisenstein's chilly scene of the Teutonic Knights convening... hauntingly freezes the perception of the Middle Ages as builder of terrorist systems, and it is no soft or pretty thing'.

Umberto Eco has insisted that we are still living in the Middle Ages, and the film of his *Name of the Rose* (1987, by Jean-Jacques Annaud) would seem to confirm it. Its makers were genuinely concerned to give the impression to the spectator that he or she had returned to the fourteenth century, above all by means of a cinematography not known to earlier filmmakers, for now it has become possible to shoot in near dark interiors by available light. But for all that we are drawn into that recreated world by familiar cinematic mechanisms of genre (murder story) and an almost tediously well-informed Sean Connery in disguise.

Vincent Ward, like Eco, was interested in the parallels between medieval and modern worlds when making *The Navigator - A Medieval Odyssey* (1988), about a

fourteenth-century community in Cumbria, stricken with plague, some of whose members undertake a visionary underground pilgrimage in time, to erect a cross on a church in the twentieth-century Antipodes. The past here is monochrome, but in trying to represent the coloured modern world through medieval eyes, the director strove to reproduce the hues he found in medieval manuscript paintings – especially blues.

I conclude with three major representative, and sharply different, cinematic Middle Ages. The first is perhaps the only genuine example of Hollywood epic from our period. The second exemplifies a realistic approach, but also shows the Middle Ages as a place for the modern artist's personal expression – oddly enough from the old Soviet Union. The third is a rare case, first for being a pretty close adaptation of a medieval text, and second for rejecting the realistic method of most cinema. All three make genuine attempts to say something about the past.

El Cid , directed by Anthony Mann, was made in 1961 at the end of the era of wide-screen spectacular representations of various pasts classical and medieval. It is perfectly appropriate to use the word epic here, not because it is an adaptation of an ancient epic (which, by the way, it is not), but as a modern work presenting a heroic figure and grand themes where the poet or filmmaker uses traditional forms understood by the community as a whole – in this case a wide international community. We must regard the presence of Charlton Heston and Sophia Loren in that context too. We are being asked to see the Cid as a modern hero, and for that reason (apart from the simple commercial ones) Charlton Heston, Sophia Loren (and to differing degrees the rest) are essential, their stereotypical presences, familiar as players of such larger-than-life figures in other films, are part of the formulaic language by which cinema communicates to a worldwide audience.

Consider this from a book celebrating the making of the film: 'We live today in an age that avoids personal responsibility. What happens to us we blame on others. In the popular skepticism, our theatre and literature seek reality in the cult of the defeated. Nine hundred years ago the Cid dedicated himself to responsibility for all others around him, for his country, and king.'

So, like most epics, *El Cid* is retrospective; its story, of a hero whose devotion to noble values is so extreme he seems more like a rebel than a norm, who unites a nation of separate interests in the face of an enemy threatening world domination, is made exemplary and less arbitrary by being set in a far-off unchangeable past. The film is fully alert to its legendary dimension but, as with any epic, the sense that we are seeing a real historic past is important too, hence the emphasis on the authenticity of reconstructed detail but also hence the film's credible representation of heroic obligations not only ancient but alien.

El Cid is a striking instance of the way in which a film can reflect a specific 'professionally' historical reading of a period: the influential historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal was in his old age a historical adviser for the film and, as Richard Fletcher tells us, 'the overall interpretation of the hero was in its main lines his: through the medium of the screen Menéndez Pidal's Cid has been made known to millions throughout the world'.

Andrei Tarkovsky's *Andrei Rublëv* first appeared in 1966. At first sight its representation of the past would rightly be called 'realistic', allowing for the rhetorical choice of black and white over colour for its implication of 'pastness'. Its relation to its twentieth-century context is by no means as simple as Marc Ferro suggests by saying that Rublëv was 'designed to fight the dominant system'. It can be read as depicting the difficulties of a creative artist serving tyrannical powers in the Soviet Union. But so lavish an undertaking would not have been possible had not Tarkovsky at the time had full official support; his role may well have been that of a kind of respected licensed rebel. Much of the film is compatible with Communist ideology, with principles of socialist realism, and with orthodox Soviet history (the film does depict the capriciousness of the feudal classes, the cruelty of the Mongol 'yoke', the need for a strong, centralized power to unite the quarrelling Russian princes and expel the invaders). A spokesman for that orthodoxy, V. G. Pashuto, was one of the film's historical advisers. In the sixties and seventies there was, even

without Tarkovsky's film, a developing Rublёv cult (connected no doubt with the awkwardly- spaced possible dates for a centenary celebration of his birth in either 1360 or 1370). The painter represents one of those turning points familiar in traditional art histories (like Giotto or Masaccio in the West); a change from ancient formalisms to new humanism, from God-centred to humanity-centred. The early fifteenth century in Russia is one of those national mythical moments in history, not unlike Nevsky's defeat of the Teutonic Knights.

The divergence of possible responses to the film is no accident but a reflection of its narrative structure (about a dozen episodes from different stages of the artist's 'life', heralded by titles and dates, but not otherwise explicitly connected) which leaves a great deal for the spectator to do in interpreting what happens in individual episodes, let alone the meaning of the whole. The director himself speaks of the problem created for some viewers by his wish to hide the 'director's idea' in the background, putting in the foreground the environment, the atmosphere of the action. 'I believe that is the source of the irritation for some', he said in an interview, 'the incomprehension faced with the absence of rhetorical clichés considered indispensable for historical films'.

The beginning appears absurdly audacious as an entry into the early fifteenth century, and shows how complex watching films about the past can be. The start of such films is always a transition from now to then, so that to begin a picture of the Middle Ages with a man trying to fly in a hot air balloon forms a startling but appropriate link. It warns us too that even the realistic mode is not incapable of representing ideas and feelings as well as facts. As Clive Hart tells us: 'Several times in the early Middle Ages it seems that writers may be about to hit on the principle of the hot air balloon.' He cites Albertus Magnus (c1200-1280). Giovanni da Fontana (fifteenth century), in *Metrologum de pisce cane et volucre*, actually describes the construction and working of a hot-air balloon. We might think too of William of Malmesbury's record of the attempted flight by the monk Eilmer in the eleventh century: 'collecting the breeze on the summit of a tower, he flew for more than the distance of a furlong. But, agitated by the violence of the wind and the swirling of air, as well as by awareness of his rashness, he fell, broke his legs, and was lame for ever after.'

With this boundary marker, Tarkovsky gives us a dream and an impossibility, expressing perhaps aspiration denied, but also introducing a kind of map of the rest of his film, which ends with something being created out of the earth into which this creator crashes. *Andrei Rublёv* is after all a film about an artist, some of whose creations have survived to this day, but we see little of them in the course of the film, and calculatedly so. Tarkovsky ends with a sequence in colour, consisting mostly of close-ups of Rublёv's major works. After seeing, for almost three hours, black and white images of that imagined past, made for us by Tarkovsky, we now see photographs of images, works, objects that were created by the hand of Rublёv. The cumulative effect of the whole final sequence: the last black and white image of embers; the succession of coloured images of Rublёv's paintings; then the coloured image of horses in the rain, in that ancient Russia (no human beings now, so no disturbing possible suspicion of masquerade), conveys an extraordinary sense of actually having been somewhere, been to a world that is in some way connected with these objects, still present to us in the twentieth century, that came from the fifteenth.
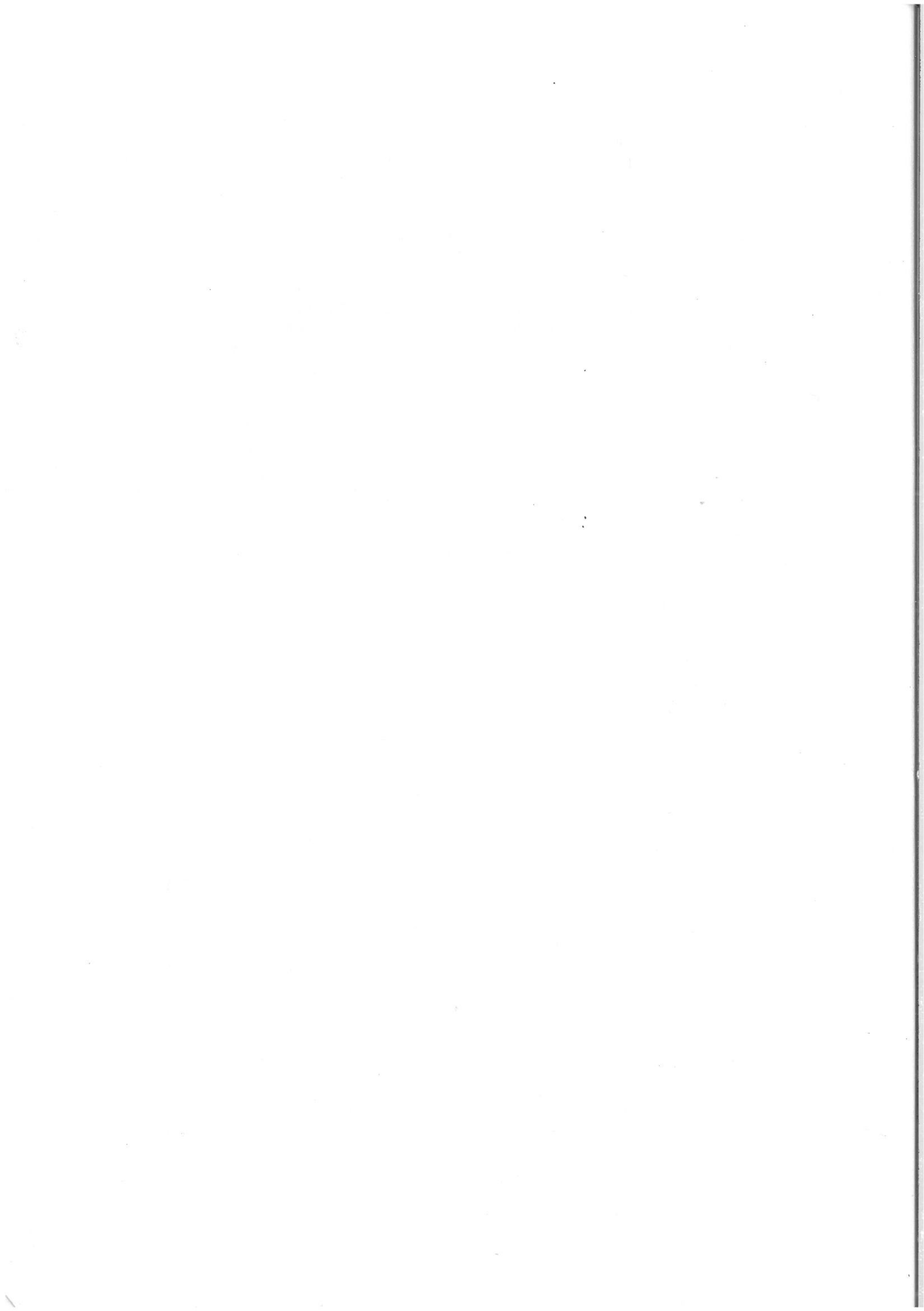
Eric Rohmer's *Perceval le Gallois* (1978) rejects the realistic method on the grounds that it 'fails to distinguish one period from another'. Where muddy day-to-day reality is present in all periods, Rohmer argues the value of the refined and idealized image offered by Chrétien's poem as a means to convey a distinctive picture of its age.
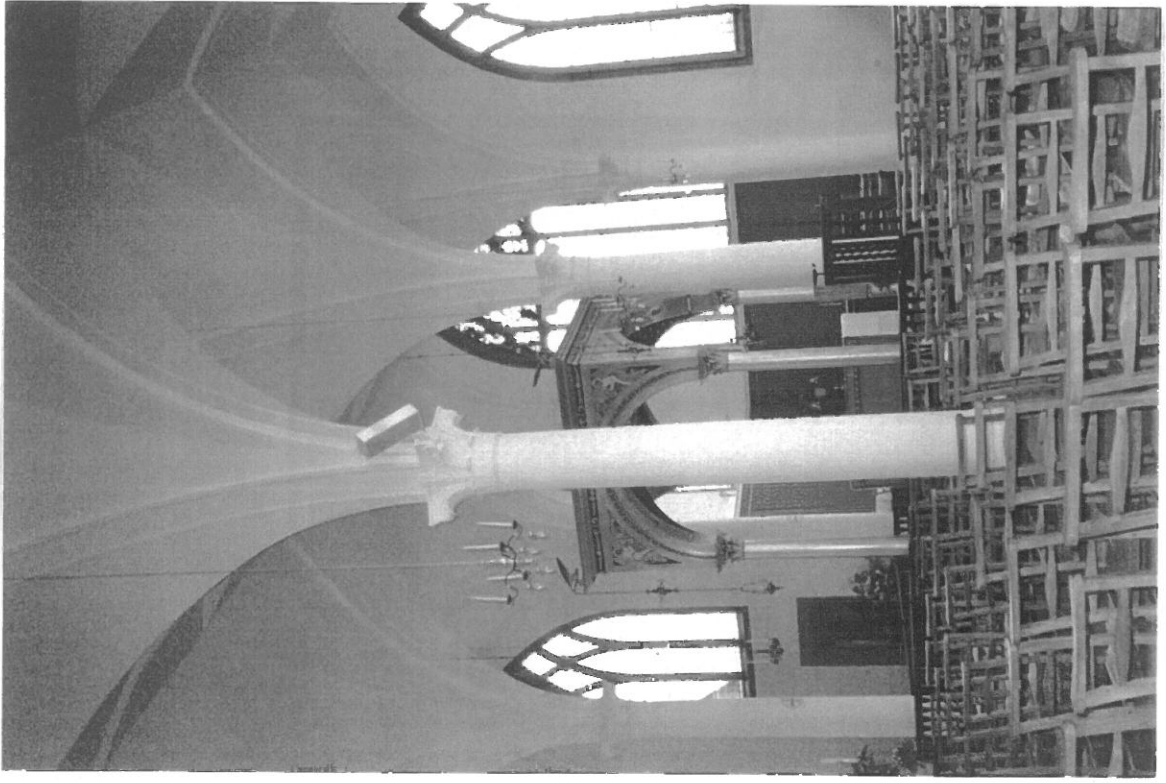
The historians are divided about this film, but as a student of medieval literature, I find it an endlessly provoking and therefore satisfying experience. First the setting: in an ambiguous, perspectiveless space, where Perceval journeys beween miniature castles and a 'forest' of symbolic metallic trees. It is an attempt by Rohmer to produce an analogy in cinematic terms for the abstract, perspectiveless space of

Romanesque or early Gothic manuscript illustration. Not that it resembles at all closely the particular style of such scenes; 'authenticity' in that sense is not the aim.

The look of this film does find an equivalent for one characteristic of medieval manuscript imagery, as seen by modern eyes, namely that odd conjunction between, on the one hand, vigorously expressive, strongly characterized, even caricatured, actors and, on the other, the purely theoretical space they occupy, a conjunction which puts unusual emphasis on those characters and their destinies.

The effect of the narrative method is analogous: instead of the standard cinematic treatment of a literary text, where pictorial representation of events replaces the original's words, here words themselves, and the act of narration, of 'telling', are foregrounded by the method. We find ourselves receiving, often simultaneously and even contradictorily, both visual enactment and spoken narration, with that narration split up and distributed between a chorus of speakers and singers, as well as, more surprisingly, the characters themselves (Perceval and the rest often speak Chrétien's narration while performing the action it describes). Perceval may not be quite what Rohmer hoped, 'a vision of the medieval period as it saw itself', but its games with both medieval and post-modern forms of narrative seem to have made it a controversial success with teachers in France and America.
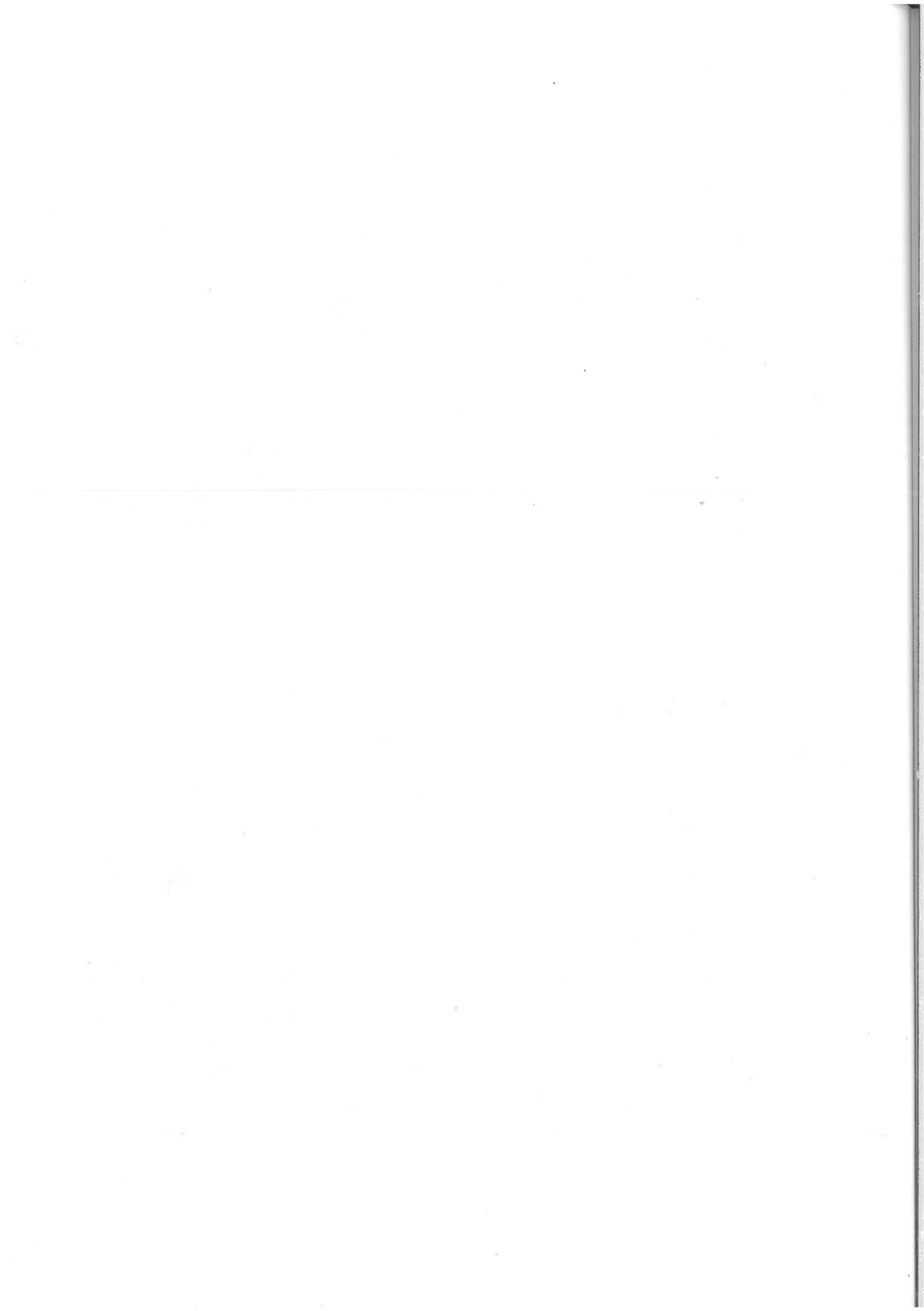
20.   St Saviour, Eltham. Nave.

17.   St Philip, Cosham. Nave.
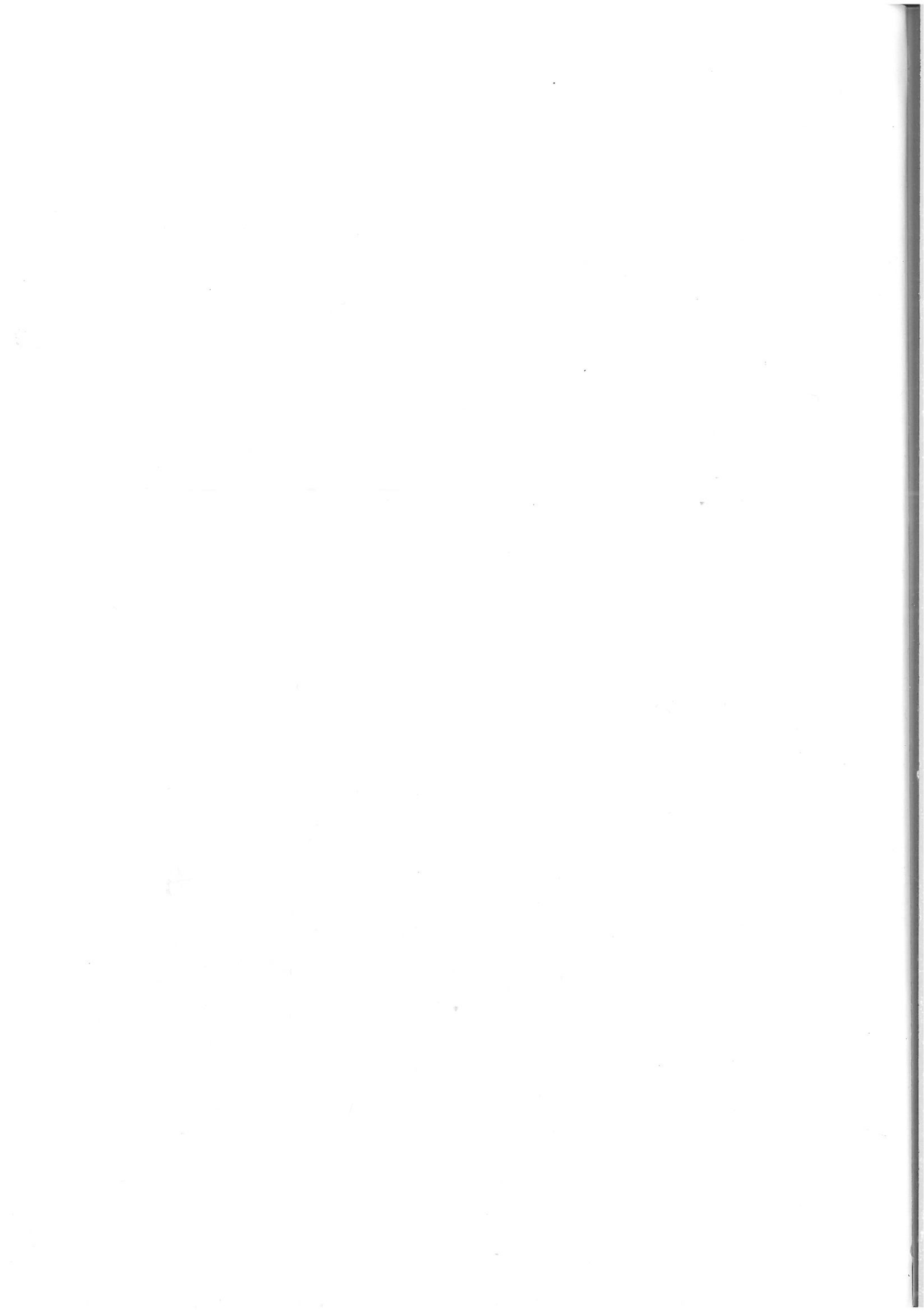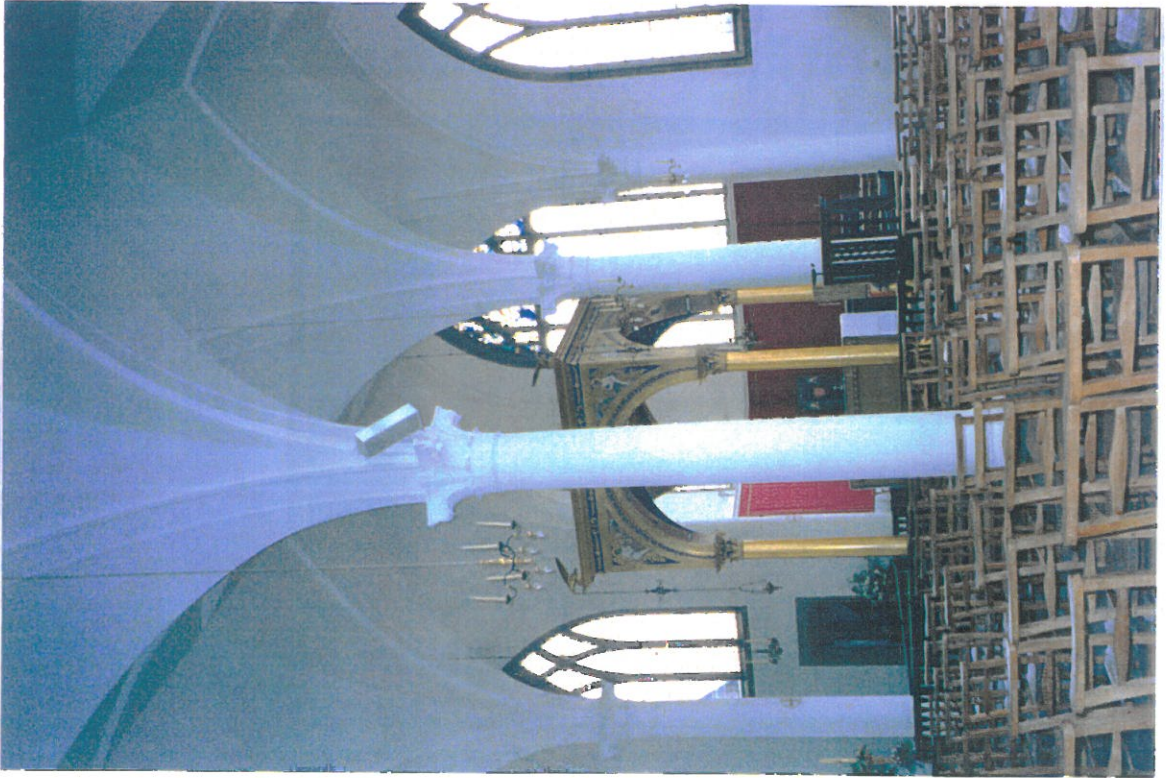
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26.   Treatment for a fractured rib. (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médicine MS H-89, f.21.)

27.   Treatment for toothache. (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médicine MS H-89, f. 10.3.)

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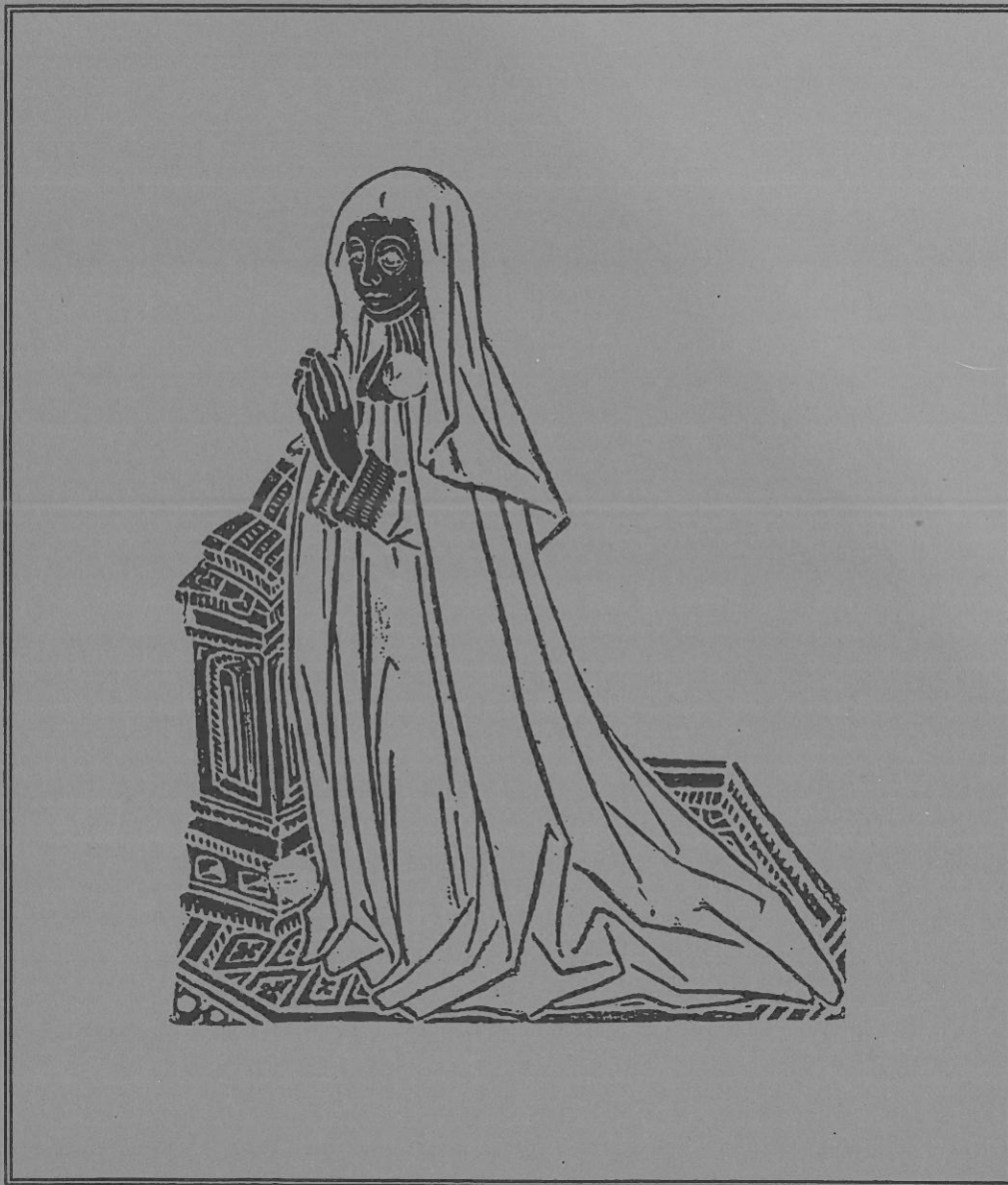

27.   Treatment for toothache. (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire,
Section Médicine MS H-89, f. 10.3.)

20.   St Saviour, Eltham. Nave.

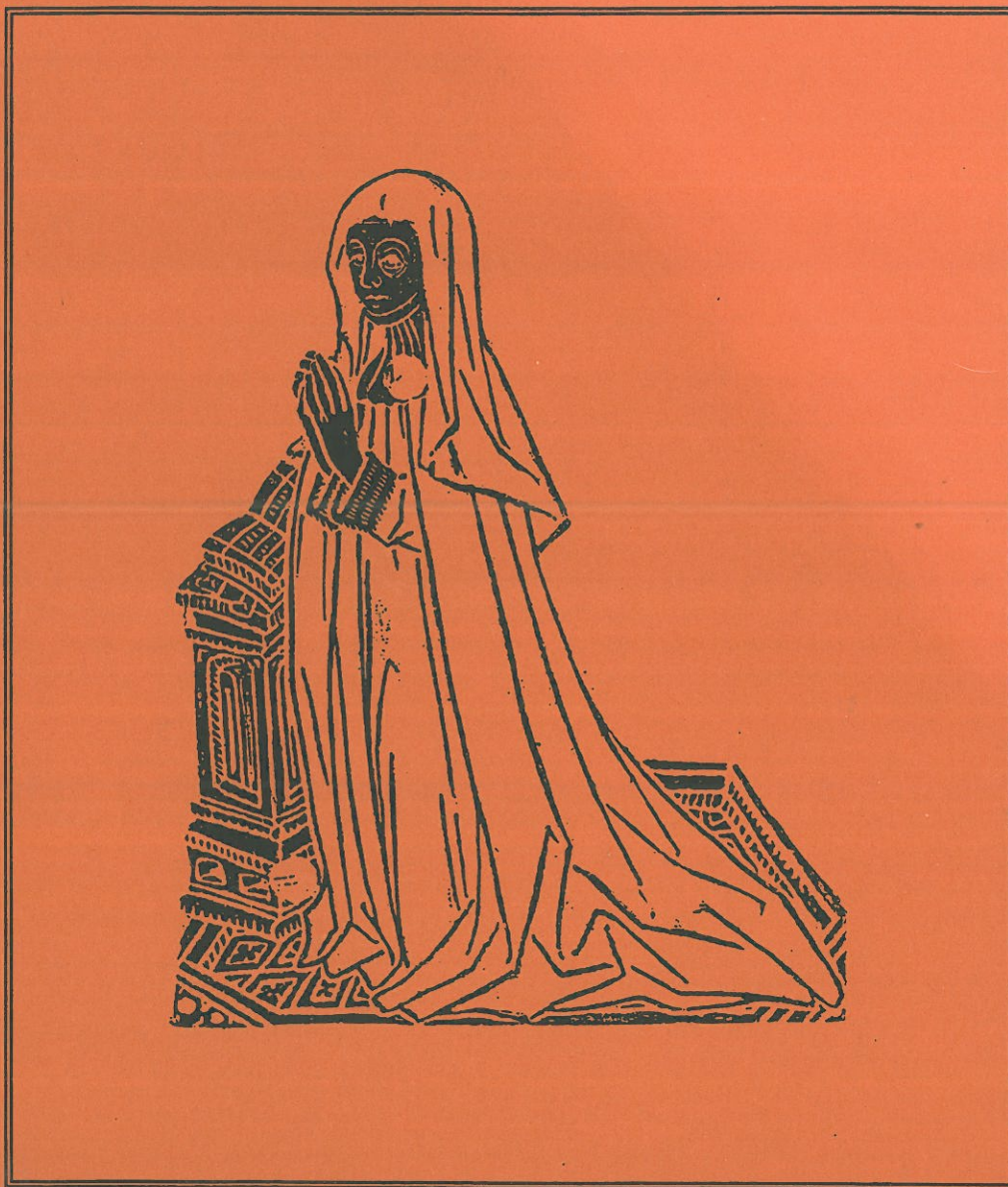17.   St Philip, Cosham. Nave.

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