

AILRED OF RIEVAULX AND HIS BIOGRAPHER WALTER DANIEL.

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AMONG the manuscripts recently acquired by the John Rylands Library is a volume which was written at the end of the twelfth century in the Cistercian Monastery of Rievaulx, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The first few pages are missing, though the manuscript is still protected by its mediæval covers of board joined by thongs of leather. When he came to catalogue it M. Robert Fawtier found that it was the *Centum Sententiae* of Walter Daniel, monk of Rievaulx, a prolific writer whose works, known to Leland and Bale, have almost entirely disappeared. After the dissolution of the monasteries, when monastic libraries were scattered, the manuscript came into the hands of the Thorntons of East Newton, a manor not far from Rievaulx. In the reign of Charles II. it passed, with East Newton, to the family of Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham. Nearly a century later it was presented by another Thomas Comber to Thomas Duncombe, on whose estate at Helmsley the ruins of Rievaulx lay.¹ During 600 years this book, written at Rievaulx by a monk of Rievaulx for the edification of his brethren, never wandered more than a few miles from home. Other Rievaulx books went further afield. The Rievaulx copy of the Sentences of Peter the Lombard, came to University College, Oxford.² A twelfth century manuscript of the Apocalypse, glossed, is in Lincoln College, Oxford ;³ Rabanus Maurus on St. Matthew, also in a twelfth century copy, is

¹ Rylands Latin MS., 196.

² University College MS., 113.

³ Lincoln College MS., 15.

in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,¹ and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, possesses an interesting fifteenth century manuscript, originally given to Rievaulx by Abbot William Spenser.²

The *Sentences* of Walter Daniel was only one of many Rievaulx manuscripts which must have lain neglected, until destruction came, in the manor houses and farms of the neighbourhood. We have to thank the Rev. Thomas Man, M.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the preservation of at least one more. Dr. Man, who was a younger contemporary of Dean Comber, was Vicar of Northallerton. He was a collector of books, and in this land of ancient abbeys he found many manuscripts which had escaped the vigilance of previous antiquaries. His collection, which is now in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, contains books from Durham, Hexham, Rievaulx, Kirkstall and other places, but especially from Durham.³ Two of them, one from Rievaulx, the other from Durham, are of peculiar interest to students of the great monastic movement which began at Rievaulx in 1132, and spread throughout Yorkshire into Lincolnshire and Northumberland, into Galloway and the Lowlands and as far south as Bedfordshire. The Rievaulx book is a miscellaneous collection, preceded by a catalogue in a thirteenth century hand of the Rievaulx library.⁴ The Durham book contains, among other items, a copy of Walter Daniel's most important work, the life of his master Abbot Ailred.⁵

I am indebted to the Master and Fellows of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the loan of this last manuscript, which they have allowed me to examine in the John Rylands Library. M. Fawtier, who first introduced me to Walter Daniel, has kindly placed at my service his

¹ James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, i. 172, No. 86.

² C.C.C. Oxford MS., 155.

³ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge*, 1895.

⁴ Jesus College MS., Q.B. 17; James, No. 34. The catalogue is written on the six leaves of the first gathering. It has been printed three times, first by Halliwell-Phillipps in his edition of Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Vol. II. (1843), pp. 180-189, then by Edward Edwards in his *Memoirs of Libraries* (1859), I., 333-341, and most recently and correctly, by James, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-52.

⁵ Jesus College MS., Q.B. 7; James, No. 24: ff. 61-75. I shall refer to this as the *Vita Ailredi*.

careful notes upon the *Centum Sententiae*, now in the Rylands Library. In the following paper I propose to describe these two extant writings of this twelfth century monk of Rievaulx and, so far as I can, the circumstances under which they were written.

I.

WALTER DANIEL.

“For seventeen years I lived under his rule,” writes Walter of Ailred, “and during the whole of that time he expelled no one from the monastery.”¹ Ailred died in January, 1167. Walter, therefore, entered Rievaulx about 1150, during the Abbot’s third year of office. Daniel, his father, was at that time a monk of Rievaulx, and had played his part in the administrative business of the house.² From Daniel his son heard stories of the years before he had known the abbey, the story in particular of a young monk who had caused Ailred much trouble. Like Walter himself this young man was a clerk who had left the life of study for the life of the cloister. He found the change very hard to bear. Ailred, then master of the novices, nearly lost him, so great was his longing to return to the world. Later, when Ailred went out to form the daughter house of Revesby in Lincolnshire, founded by William de Roumare Earl of Lincoln in 1142, he took this unstable monk with him. The trouble returned, and to the abbot’s intense grief, the monk again tried to leave his vocation. He returned with Ailred to Rievaulx. On one occasion he was sent with Daniel and others on a mission to Swineshead, and, on the day before the little company returned, Ailred, who must have had him constantly in his thoughts, dreamed that he would shortly die. Soon after, as the monk lay dying in the abbot’s arms, Ailred told Daniel and two others of his dream.³

¹ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 b. In these references the letters a, b, c, d refer to the four columns, two on the recto, two on the dorso, of each page.

² *Ibid.*, f. 61 b, f. 69 b. Daniel was alive in 1151, for he was present at a gathering of abbots and monks in which Ailred gave judgment in the dispute between the Abbeys of Savigny and Furness about the control of Byland Abbey. See the Byland narrative in the *Monasticon*, v., 353, and for other references to the settlement, *English Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1921, XXXVI., 23.

³ This story is not told continuously by Walter, but his references show that the various incidents belong to the life of the same monk: *Vita Ailredi*, ff. 67 c, d., 68 c, d., 69 a, b.

Daniel is one of the two or three monks to whom Walter gives the title *dominus*, or more correctly *domnus*.¹ In the monastic literature of this period the title was not given to monks, even if they were in priest's orders, as a matter of course. Walter's practice, though not quite consistent, is clearly not arbitrary. When he speaks of Lord Daniel, Lord Gualo, Lord Gospatric, he means to imply that they were more than monks and priests. An abbot or prior was *dominus*, and it is possible that Daniel, Gospatric, and the rest became Cistercian prelates; but there is no evidence of their promotion. We are forced to conclude either that Daniel was a personage of importance in the domestic life of Rievaulx, or that Walter, when he gave him the title, was recalling his secular status. Rievaulx, like Clairvaux, had attracted men of high and low degree, and contained many monks of knightly and noble origin. Ailred himself, his friend Simon, whose death he laments so bitterly in the *Speculum Caritatis*,² Waldef, the son of Earl Simon of Northampton and step-son of King David of Scotland, were fellow-monks of Daniel. The time had not yet come when men of high origin put on airs, and fatigued their brethren with talk of their exalted relatives; the novice who entered Rievaulx was impressed by the total disregard of social distinctions which prevailed;³ but, after all, signs and recollections of good breeding could not be entirely lost. I am inclined to think that Daniel was of knightly origin—"ex militari germine," as Joscelyn of Furness describes it—and that Walter lets the truth slip out when he styles his father "dominus Daniel".

In the north-eastern parts of England small estates were numerous. The Anglo-Scandinavian thanes had lingered longer, had given way to barons and knights more quietly and gradually than elsewhere.⁴

¹ For the distinction drawn between *dominus* and *domnus*, see Du Cange, *Glossarium*. Cf. Nicholas of Clairvaux, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXIV., col. 829: *dominus nomen est maiestatis, pietatis magister*.

² *Patrologia Latina*, CXC., col. 539-546.

³ "et quod me miro modo delectat nulla est personarum acceptio, nulla natalium consideratio"—*Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii. c. 17 in P.L. CXC., 563. For the monks who are always talking about their distinguished relatives, Jocelin, *Vita Sancti Waldeni*, written c. 1210, in *Acta Sanctorum*, August., I., col. 259 d.

⁴ See Farrer in *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, II., 144-146; Stenton, *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (1920).

The dominus of Cleveland or Teesdale was not of necessity a distinguished person of foreign extraction, for the social steps between the potentate and the freeholder were numerous, and it would not be easy to draw hard and fast lines in the use of titles of courtesy. After some investigation I venture to suggest that Walter Daniel, Walter the son of Daniel, came from the Balliol fief in Cleveland, that his father was the Daniel son of Walter who was in the company, and attests at least one charter of the great Bernard of Balliol, Lord of Bailleul-en-Vimeu in Picardy, of Bywell in Northumberland, of Marwood, later Barnard Castle in Teesdale, and of Stokesley in the Cleveland district of Yorkshire.¹ This is merely a hazardous suggestion, due to the fact that the name Daniel seems to have been unusually common in the Balliol manors in Cleveland,² combined with the probability that a Walter son of Daniel had a Walter for his grandfather. It should be remembered, on the other hand, that the people north of the Humber have always been fond of the more uncommon Biblical names. In twelfth century deeds, one may find Absaloms, Jeremiahs, Gamaliels, and scores of others; and, if one is set on the discovery of Daniels, Daniels spring up at every turn. There was a Daniel of Newcastle, rather an important person, in Henry II.s' time. In the middle of the century a Daniel the steward owned land in St. Giles' Gate at York.³ A Daniel witnessed the grant to St. Mary's Abbey, York, of Myton-upon-Swale,⁴ and later we find a William son of Daniel among the monks of the same abbey.⁵ Walter Daniel had a contemporary with the same name as his own, in Cumberland.⁶

Mr. Stenton shows that peasant holdings in Lincolnshire might have to be described in terms of feudal origin, pp. cxxxi-ii.

¹ Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Vol. VI. (1902), p. 14 ff.; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I., 438. Rayner of Stokesley (Bernard's steward) and Daniel son of Walter attested a confirmation by Bernard of a grant by Gui of Balliol to St. Mary's, York; Farrer, I., 440, No. 561.

² William son of Daniel (*Cartularium de Whiteby*, Surtees Soc., I., 53-54, 60; Farrer, I., 447-448, No. 569), Daniel of Kirkby (*Cart. de Whiteby*, I., 54; Farrer, I., 459 note), Jordan, son of Daniel of Ingleby-Greenhow (Farrer, I., 451 note). And compare Daniel of Yarm, the little Cleveland port on the Tees (*Cart. Prioratus de Gyseburne*, Surtees Soc., I., 97, 264; II. 43).

³ Farrer, I., 216, No. 277. ⁴ *Ibid.*, II., 133, No. 791 (1100-1106).

⁵ *Cart. de Rievall*, Surtees Soc., p. 170.

⁶ J. Wilson, *Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, Surtees Soc. (1915), pp. 52-3, 83-4.

Daniel was dominus Daniel. Walter was magister Walterus. He had been to the schools, and knew his Porphyry and Isidore. His *Sentences* do not suggest that he had been very far afield, but the *Sentences* are not a fair guide. He may have been to Oxford or Paris before he got his licence to teach and become the Master Walter remembered by the monks of Rievaulx.¹ But I do not think that he went much further than York or Durham, and at York or Durham he could have acquired a greater variety of intellectual interests than he would seem to have possessed.² Whether like that Master Walter, to whom St. Bernard wrote a famous letter, he had ever been tempted by prospects of the fame and dignity which in the twelfth century came to the successful teacher of the cathedral schools, we do not know. I doubt it. "You may glory in your fame, wrote Bernard, and men may call you Rabbi, and you may bear a great name so long as you are upon the earth : what will these things avail you afterwards?"³ In the circle to which our Walter's father belonged, these words must have been familiar. Abbot William of Rievaulx, who had been St. Bernard's amanuensis, may have been the first to write them down. Walter had his faults ; he was too impulsive and excitable to be a perfect monk ; but, as we shall see, he agreed with St. Bernard that the search after knowledge, whether for its own sake or for one's own glory, is vanity. He shows little sympathy with that other "clericus scolaris" who entered Rievaulx and whose periodic longings for the world caused Ailred such distress.

Ailred himself has left an impression of Walter Daniel in his *De Spirituali Amicitia* written towards the end of his life, when Walter was one of his closest companions. Walter gives us the clue, for he says definitely that two of the characters in this dialogue were Ivo, afterwards a monk of Wardon, a daughter house of Rievaulx in

¹ The catalogue of Rievaulx mentions the *Sentencie Magistri Walteri*, and the *Psalterium Magistri Walteri*: James, *Catalogue of MSS., of Jesus College*, pp. 49, 50.

² I shall return to this point in the last section of the paper.

³ Saint Bernard to Master Walter of Chaumont, *Opera Sancti Bernardi*, ed. Mabillon, I., col. 108, ep. 104. The date is uncertain: Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard* (1895), I., 139-140.

Bedfordshire, and himself.¹ The second book opens with a personal conversation between Walter and the Abbot :—

AILRED : Come now, brother, why did you sit apart from us, all by yourself, while I was talking with those business men just now ? You were the picture of vexation, turning your eyes in all directions, rubbing your brow, tugging at your hair, darting angry looks.

WALTER : Who could sit patiently all day, while those casual servants of Pharaoh wasted your time, and we, who have a right to it, could not get in a word with you ?

AILRED : We must bear with such people. They can be of service to us, and we also may have reason to fear them. But they have gone now, and after the tiresome interruption, we can find all the more pleasure in our solitude.²

Walter apparently took no interest in monastic economy : perhaps this is why he has so little to say about it in his life of Ailred, one of the busiest and most sagacious men of his time. Moreover, he was not able to control his feelings—a trait which finds frequent expression in his writings. We get a more favourable glimpse of him at the beginning of the third book of the *De Spirituali Amicitia*. In the course of the second book a certain Gratian has been introduced. Gratian lives to love and be loved. He is a devotee in the temple of friendship (“*alumnus amicitiae*”). When the dialogue is resumed, he begs a brief delay, for Walter has not arrived, and Walter’s presence is necessary—“He understands more quickly than I do, is better informed in argument, and has a better memory”. “Do you hear that, Walter ?” says Ailred. “You see, Gratian is more friendly than you thought.” But, though intellectually gifted, Walter is not magnanimous : “And how should he—the friend of all—not be a friend to me ?”³ Here again, Ailred’s delicate criticism is confirmed by the *Vita Ailredi*.

¹ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 b.—“*edidit tres libros de spirituali amicitia sub dialogo. In quorum primo Iuonem supradictum se interrogantem introduxit et me in sequentibus loquentem secum ordinavit.*”

² P.L. CXCv., col. 669 b.

³ *Ibid.*, 672 a, 679 b. Ailred makes it quite clear, in the *Speculum Caritatis* and in the *De Spirituali Amicitia*, that he depended during his monastic life on two particular friends, who died before him. Walter does not refer to them.

Walter was devoted to Ailred, but his devotion was not quite generous. He was too full of himself, quick to resent criticism, an irritable, perhaps a jealous man. One feels that Ailred felt a peculiar tenderness towards the "clerici scolares"—they were so quick, bright, sincere, loyal, and yet so touchy, so impulsive, so self-centred.

If we can trust the evidence of Leland and Bale, Walter Daniel was a prolific writer. Leland saw the Rievaulx manuscripts shortly before the dissolution, and his account of Walter and his writings deserves careful attention. Walter Daniel, he says, was the deacon of Abbot Ailred. He was worthy of his master, and, almost his equal in learning, wrote on the same philosophical and theological subjects. A list of his writings, Leland adds, is the best proof of this; they deserve publication after the long period of neglect in the library of a few obscure monks.¹ Bale, who copies Leland's note, adds that Walter lived about the year 1170 and died at Rievaulx. He gives the same list of writings with slightly different incipits:—²

Centum sententiae [*Ferculum sibi fecit salem* ³].

Centum homiliae, *Adventus Domini* [*sanctum tempus* ⁴]. Bale :
Adventus Domini nostri in carnem.

Epistolae, justum volumen, *Mandasti mihi*. Bale : *Mandasti mihi ut hoc supra vires.*

De virginitate Mariae, *Crebris me Gualterum* [*provocas* ⁴].

Expositio super "Missus est angelus Gabriel".

De honesta virginis formula, *Inprimis huius* [*inprima huius operis particula* ⁴]. Bale : *inprimis huius nostri operis.*

De onere iumentorum austri libri ii, *Animadvertens* [*mi Gualter* ⁴]. Bale : *Animadvertens in Esaiiae 30 cap.*

¹ Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britanniae* (edit. Oxford, 1709), I., 200-201, chap. clxx. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748), p. 218, copies Leland. See also Selden's preface to the *Decem Scriptores* (1652), pp. xxvii-viii.

² Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae catalogus* (Bale, 1559), p. 213. Bale is followed closely by Pits (Paris, 1619), p. 234.

³ The incipit is omitted by Leland, probably because he saw the mutilated MS. now in the Rylands Library, from which the opening folios are missing. It is given in the Rievaulx catalogue, James, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴ The words enclosed in brackets are found in Leland's *Collectanea* (edit. Oxford, 1715), III., 38.

De vera amicitia libri V, *Quasi in biuio*. Bale: *Quasi in biuio iamdudum spaciatur*. [Pits: *spaciatur*.]

De conceptione beatae Mariae contra Nicholaum monachum libri ii. *Contra Nicholai* [monachi¹]. Bale: *Contra Nicholai de S. Albano quon*. [Pits: *quodam*.]

The life of Ailred escaped Leland's notice. He was also unaware that Walter was the author of a work on the scope of philosophy, to which reference is made at the end of the *Centum Sententiae*.² This, with most of Walter's writings, is lost.

As Leland observes, Walter's interests were very similar to Ailred's. The five books on friendship recall Ailred's *De Spirituali Amicitiae*, the two books on the burdens of the beasts of the south (Isaiah xxx. 6) were presumably suggested by Ailred's famous sermons *De oneribus Isaiiae*, while in his writings on the Virgin he chose a theme dear to the followers of St. Bernard, and frequently made the occasion by Ailred of his devotional discourses. But in at least one respect Walter's interests were more theological than Ailred's. The abbot's writings were either historical or ascetical. He seems to have had no inclination, he certainly was not led by the influence of the schools, to indulge in theological speculation. Now, if Leland and Bale were well informed, Walter wrote a treatise in two books against Nicholas, a monk of St. Albans, on the subject of the immaculate conception. He plunged into one of the vexed questions of the day. As is well known, St. Bernard, though he did so much to inspire the Church with veneration for the Virgin, did not accept the dogma of the immaculate conception. He used his influence to arrest the movement which was making headway, especially in Lyons, for the observance of the feast of the Conception.³ In England this feast had been observed for some time. It had been observed in several places before the

¹ The words enclosed in brackets are found in Leland's *Collectanea* (edit. Oxford, 1715), III., 38.

² *Centum Sententiae*, f. 41^r: "Hic huic sententie sententiarum nostrarum ultime finem pono, quare de his omnibus in libro nostro de perpropriis philosophie secundo sufficienter dissertum recolo." Walter may be referring, however, to the second book of Isidore's *Etymologiae*.

³ Ep. 174 in *Opera S. Bernardi*, I., col. 169-172. See especially Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, II., 78-96. Some early Cistercians seem to have accepted the doctrine; see the sermon attributed to Oglerio da Trino, Abbot of Locedio in the diocese of Vercelli, in *Opera S. Bernardi*, II., col. 653 d.

Norman Conquest, and early in the twelfth century it was revived in many of the great Benedictine houses. Anselm, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, and nephew of St. Anselm, had been especially active in the work of revival, and by 1150 the feast of the Conception was established in Westminster, Reading, Bury, St. Albans, Gloucester, Winchester, and Worcester.¹ A similar movement spread in Normandy.² St. Bernard's attitude, therefore, was not shared by the English Benedictines. Among those who followed Anselm of Bury was Nicholas, a monk of St. Albans, whose treatise against St. Bernard, and two letters on the same subject to Peter de la Celle, Abbot of Saint Rémi, afterwards Bishop of Chartres, still survive.³ As a Cistercian admirer of Bernard of Clairvaux Walter Daniel apparently sought to check the influence of Nicholas of St. Albans.

No more is known of Walter and his activities. Between 1153 and 1157 Bishop Hugh of Durham confirmed land in Allertonshire to Rievaulx, and among the witnesses were Walter, monk and chaplain, and another Walter, a monk.⁴ The first Walter was perhaps the former chaplain of Walter Espec, founder of Rievaulx,⁵ the second may have been our Walter.

II.

THE "CENTUM SENTENTIAE".

Of the writings attributed by Leland to Walter Daniel, only the *Centum Sententiae* has yet been identified. By a curious coincidence it is also the only work of Walter mentioned in the thirteenth century catalogue of the Rievaulx Library. The manuscript, now Latin MS. 196, in the John Rylands Library, is described as follows by M. Robert Fawtier :—

Codex on vellum, 45 leaves and one fly leaf in paper. 252 mm.
× 156 mm.

¹ Edmund Bishop in the *Downside Review*, April, 1886, an article reprinted in his *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), p. 238 ff.

² Vacandard, in *Revue des questions historiques* (1897), LXI., 166.

³ Mr. Bishop identified the treatise of Nicholas with MS. Bod. Auct. D. 4, 18. For the correspondence between Nicholas and Peter de la Celle, see P.L. CCII., col. 613-632, and Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, II., 85, 86, 96.

⁴ *Cart. de Rievaille*, p. 27, No. 49; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, II., 289, No. 952; compare also Nos. 954-955.

⁵ Afterwards prior of Dundrennan (*Vita Ailredi*, f. 62 c).

Three manuscripts bound together—

- (1) MS. A, 6 leaves (ff. 1-6) signed III (f. 6 v°).
- (2) MS. B, 8 leaves (ff. 7-14) without signatures.
- (3) MS. C, 31 leaves (ff. 15-45) without signatures.

30 lines to a page.

Written in six English hands (*a*) ff. 1-6, end of the twelfth century.

(*b*) ff. 7-14, nearly of the same time, but a little later.

(<i>c</i>) ff. 15-36	}	all of the first half of the thirteenth century.
(<i>d</i>) ff. 37-41		
(<i>e</i>) ff. 41 ^v -42		
(<i>f</i>) ff. 42-45 ^v		

Initials in red and green (MSS. A and C), in red alone (MS. B).

For this reason too late a date must not be assigned to MS.

C, green having been used very rarely in the drawing of initials in the thirteenth and later centuries, though very common in the twelfth.

There are rubrics in the margins and in the text.

Numerous notes have been made in the margins by different hands, some being additions to the text written by the copyists, others, by a fourteenth century hand, afterwards erased, and now quite illegible, others, the majority, by the hand of Thomas Comber, of whom below. Except at the end the manuscript is accurately written.

The manuscript is bound in wooden boards once covered with white vellum of which fragments are still left. There are also remains of metallic ornaments on the cover.

The manuscript unhappily is incomplete. Two gatherings and probably the first two leaves of the third are missing, and, as Leland does not give the incipit of the work, they were probably missing in the sixteenth century. In its present form the text begins in the middle of the thirtieth sententia. A leaf which contained the end of sentence 73, sentence 74 and the beginning of sentence 75 is missing between the leaves now numbered 24 and 25, also another leaf, between the leaves now numbered 28 and 29, which contained the end of sentence 81 and the beginning of sentence 82. The sentences end on f. 41^r, and are followed by four homilies (ff. 41^v-45^v). These also were written by Walter Daniel.

After the dissolution of the monasteries, the manuscript seems to have fallen into the hands of the Thorntons of East Newton, a manor three or four miles south-east of Helmsley, in the parish of Stonegrave, Ryedale Wapentake.¹ For the following note is written in the margin of the first folio : " Author hujus MS. vocatur nomine waltheri folio penultimo : forte opus est monachi illius Angli de quo legimus apud Baleum de Scriptor. Anglis "—then comes a quotation about Walter Daniel from Bale—" imo folio antepenultimo reperitur nomen ejus perfectum scilicet Walterus Danielis. ita opinor donec meliora preferuntur. T. Comber, 1676 ". A reference follows to Selden's note in the *Decem Scriptores*. T. Comber, who thus identified the author of the *Sentences*, was the son-in-law of the last of the Thorntons, and succeeded to the manor of East Newton. He had made William Thornton's acquaintance and joined his household when curate to the rector of Stonegrave. In 1669 he became rector of Stonegrave, and after other preferment of various kinds, was presented to the deanery of Durham. He was in his time a theologian and controversialist of considerable repute. After his death in 1699,² East Newton came to his son and grandson, both of whom were named Thomas. Walter Daniel's manuscript aroused the grandson's curiosity. In August, 1762, he wrote out in the margins translations of several of the sentences and sermons and inscribed a tedious poem of over fifty lines on the fly-leaf. Mr. Comber, who describes himself as curate of East Newton (diaconus Neutoniensis), was impressed, as he well might be, by the contrast between the Rievaulx of Walter Daniel's day and the ruins of his own, with their setting of terraces, Greek temples, and landscape gardens. On his new terrace overlooking the abbey Mr. Thomas Duncombe had recently built two temples, in the style so freely affected in the eighteenth century. " At one end," wrote an observer in 1810 to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, " is a circular Tuscan temple ; at the other (that nearest the abbey) a porticoed Ionic one. The latter, both within and without, is marked by a chaste elegance. It consists of a single room, the ceilings and cones of which

¹ Robert Thornton, the fifteenth century transcriber of the Thornton romances, was a member of this family.

² Rev. T. Comber, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Comber, D.D., Dean of Durham* (London, 1799); *Victoria County History of Yorkshire, North Riding*, I., 563; *D.N.B.*, XI., 435-437.

are ornamented with paintings by Burnice, an Italian artist, some original, the others from the most admired works of Guido.”¹ As Mr. Thomas Comber, B.A., late of Jesus College, Cambridge, soliloquized—

The monk beholds, but with astonish'd eyes,
On Rivalx well-known bank a temple rise,
A temple of Ægyptian form display'd,
While his lov'd convent is in ruins laid.

He reflected that the creator of this elegant retreat had a natural right to own the manuscript which he had found at East Newton, and, if he carried out his intention, the work of Walter Daniel passed with Mr. Comber's poem and translations into the Library of Duncombe Park. It was bought by the Rylands Library in 1914.

The first thirty sentences, as has been said, are missing, and the original incipit—*Ferculam sibi fecit salem*—is only known from the mediæval catalogue of the monastic library. The book does not require—nor does it invite—detailed examination. A list of its contents will show the class of devotional literature to which it belongs.²

f. 1 (end of sentence xxx).

et perseuerantia esse cernuntur. Cum ueteri igitur Testamento uetera transierunt et noua in nouo salubriter subsequuntur. . . . Nempe lege deficiente corporaliter defecerunt Ephod et Teraphim, Euangelio uero subsequente spiritualiter perseuerant Cherubim et Seraphin qui Deum sine fine laudare non cessant. Amen.

XXXI. Duo maxime animam vegetant pinguedine spiritali uita uidelicet et uoluntas bona.

XXXII. Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi domine.

XXXIII. Duo sunt motus anime ira et concupiscentia.

XXXIV. Duo sunt caro et spiritus.

XXXV. Omnis anima aut calida est aut frigida.

XXXVI. Triformis est sanctarum status animarum : probatorius, purgatorius, renumeratorius.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1810, part i., pp. 601-603. The terrace and temples were built shortly before 1758; see John Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (York, 1758), p. 560.

² The following transcript is due to Mr. Fawtier.

- XXXVII. Tria omnino necessaria sunt omni anime christiane :
bonitas, disciplina, scientia.
- XXXVIII. Tres sunt anime profectus : primus est penitentie,
secundus consolationis, tertius consummationis.
[in. marg.] primus compunctionis, secundus
indulgentie, tertius purgate conscientie.
- XXXIX. Tres sunt generales anime corruptiones, concupiscentia
carnis, concupiscentia oculorum et superbia vite.
- XL. Tres sunt anime hostes : caro, mundus, diabolus.
- XLI. Tria et tria, unum contra unum, bonum contra malum, et
malum contra bonum.
- XLII. Tres sunt prolapse anime reparationes : confessio, precatio,
laudatio.
- XLIII. Tribus pronuntiationibus diffinit apostolus : caritatem vide-
licet ex corde puro, et conscientia bona et fide non ficta.
- XLIV. Tria sunt quibus anima per Dei gratiam pervenit ad per-
fectionem : admonitio, operatio, oratio.
- XLV. Tria sunt oscula : de primo dicitur : osculetur me osculo
oris sui ; de secundo dicit Ysaac filio suo : da mihi osculum
fili mi ; de tertio est illud domini cum Juda : osculo tradis
filium hominis.
- XLVI. Tres sunt panes : similagineus, subcinericeus, ordeaceus. . . .
- XLVII. Tres sunt specialiter columbe : prima et principaliter
est que descendit super Jesum in Jordane ; secunda que ad
Noe in archam attulit ramum olive ; tertia cujus pennas petit
David dicens : quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columba.
- XLVIII. Tres sunt anime affectus quibus adjuncta virtute quam-
plurimum proficit ad salutem. Sunt autem timor, amor, desi-
derium.
- II. Homo electus tres habet dies. Primus est a nativitate usque
ad mortem ; secundus a morte usque ad carnis resurrectionem ;
tertius a carnis resurrectione usque in, ut ita dixerim, sine fine.
[corr. finem].
- L. Judas genuit Phares et Zaram de Thamar. Quatuor horum
significatiua nominum quamplurimum ualent ad modum con-
fessionis et ordinem insinuandum. Judas nempe confitens
uel confessio, Thamar amaritudo, Phares diuisio, Zara ortus
aut oriens interpretatur.

- LI. Quatuor sunt crucis dimensiones, altitudo, latitudo, longitudo et profundum.
- LII. Quatuor sunt uirtutes cardinales multorum philosophorum approbate iudicio necnon doctorum catholicorum autoritate confirmate. Sunt autem : iusticia, prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia.
- LIII. Quatuor sunt cornua altaris thimiamatis.
- LIV. Quatuor militibus qui Christum crucifixerunt quatuor uitia mundi uidelicet amor, elationis timor, carnalis uoluptatis fetor, aliene felicitatis dolor intelligi possunt.
- LV. Quatuor quidam sunt quorum quidem duo habere sub pedibus et duo debet conculcare perfectus. Unde David : super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem. Aspis est occulta detractio, basilicus est cordis elatio, leo temeraria presumptio, draco perseverans desperatio.
- LVI. Quatuor modis affligitur homo perfectus. Aliquando corporis infirmitate, saepius prauorum persecutione, nonnunquam etiam diabolica temptatione, assidue uero uirtutum exercitatione.
- LVII. Quatuor quedam sunt que beatum Job intra sanctitatis circulum includere uidentur : uidelicet quod uir, quod simplex, quod rectus, quod timens Deum predicatur.
- LVIII. Quatuor sunt uigiliae noctis : nox est uita humana. . . .
- LIX. Quatuor sunt Euangeliste : Matheus, Marcus, Lucas et Johannes.
- LX. Quatuor sunt in favo : cera, mel, dulcedo, artificium.
- LXI. Quatuor sunt genera hominum : perfectorum, uidelicet, pessimorum, minus bonorum et minus malorum.
- LXII. Quatuor sunt genera letitiae : est namque letitia perniciosa, est superstitiosa, est fructuosa, est gloriosa.
- LXIII. Quatuor sunt in homine uoluntas, mens, lingua, manus.
- LXIV. Quinque pertitus anime sensus in prothoplastis nimis obscuratus est ut ex genesi facile probari potest. Sunt autem ipsi sensus quinque : uisus, auditus, odoratus, gustus et tactus.
- LXV. Quinque quedam sunt sine quibus salutis humane non consistit perfectio. Sunt autem fides, spes, caritas, pax, sanctimonia sine qua nemo uidebit Deum.
- LXVI. Sub pennis animalium manus hominis subaudis erat.

Quinque specialiter penne alam extendunt ad uolatum. Sunt autem spiritualiter carnis purgatio, mentis devotio, frequens divine laudationis confessio, recte sursum eleuationis intentio, theorice speculationis contemplatio.

LXVII. Jacob et Esau duo sunt populi, electorum et reprobatorum, de quibus Dominus Rebecce : duo populi in utero tuo sunt et due gentes ex uentre tuo diuidentur. . . .

LXVIII. Duas gentes odit anima mea, tertia autem non est gens quam oderim : qui sedent in monte Feyr et Philistum et stultus populus qui habitat in Sichimis.

LXIX. Multis modis erudit nos magister noster Christus : nunc preceptis, nunc prohibitionibus, nunc monitis, nunc exemplis, nunc etiam argumentis conclusiuis.

LXX. Noe uir iustus fuit in generatione sua. Magnum est inter prauos perfectionem sanctitatis habere, inter iniquos consequi summam iusticie et sine uirtutis exemplo in alio in se ipso arcem puritatis ostendere.

LXXI. Pauci admodum episcopi sex uidelicet seu septem a Nicena sinodo recedentes homouision id est consubstantialitatem patris et filii non receperunt.

LXXII. Erat Abraham diues ualde in possessione argenti et auri. Sunt qui habent argentum et non habent aurum et sunt qui aurum habent et argentum non habent.

LXXIII. Una mulier hebraea fecit confusionem in domo regis Nubugodonosor. Nubugodonosor interpretatur prophetans istius modi signum. . . .

[*One leaf missing.*]

LXXVI. Dixit Ysaias Ezechie regi egrotanti : dispone domini tue quia-morieris tu et non uiues. Ysaias interpretatur salus. . .

LXXVII. In diebus illis saluabitur Juda et Israel habitabit confidenter. In quibus queso illis diebus ? Plane in istis quibus nunc uiuimus mouemur et sumus. Ecce nunc tempus. . . .

LXXVIII. Fauus distillans labia tua sponsa. Sponsus et sponsa se inuicem laudant in reciprocis preconijs alterutram commendant pulcritudinem. . . .

LXXIX. Spiritus meus super mel dulcis et hereditas mea super mel et fauum. Quis hic loquitur ? Deus . . .

LXXX. Nisi lauero te non habebis partem mecum, ait Dominus Petro. Verum ueritas loquitur.

LXXXI. Fecit deus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam. Ad imaginem ut secundum modum suum quomodo Deus et rationalis esset et immortalis. . . .

[*One leaf missing.*]

LXXXIII. Fugite fornicationem dicit Apostolus. Tribus modis fugit homo fornicationem. Fugit itaque ut de muliere non cogitet. . . .

LXXXIV. Sex quidam sunt : pastor, mercenarius, ovis, canis, fur, lupus. Parabolam istam ita edissero. . . .

LXXXV. Qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati. Miseranda seruitus seruire peccato quia qui seruit peccato seruit etiam diabolo cui seruire est perire. . . .

LXXXVI. Tria sunt in oue. Lana, lac, limus. Lana calefacit algentem, lac reficit esurientem, limus humum infecundam uberem facit et fertilem.

LXXXVII. Tria maxime monacho sunt necessaria : ut uidelicet uoluntatem suam diuine subiciat uoluntati. . . .

LXXXVIII. Tres patriarche principales : Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, omnes pastores fuerunt. . . .

LXXXIX. Tria hominum genera sunt. Sunt enim homines prudentes sine simplicitatis innocentia et sunt simplices sine prudentia. Sunt autem simplices et prudentes. . . .

XC. Cum consummauerit homo tunc incipit. Omni electo homini due sunt uite una in hoc seculo altera in futuro. . . .

XCI. Venter illius eburneus distinctus saphiris. Venter sponsi fragilitas est humanitatis domini quia uentri nichil fragilius est in homine, nichil tenerius, nichilque facilius ledi potest.

XCII. Qui timet Deum faciet bona. Non ait : qui timet Deum facit bona quia qui Deum ueraciter timet. . . .

XCIII. Qui sitit ueniat ad me et bibat. Non hic Christus ad se inuitat sitientem aquam quam bibunt cum hominibus et pecoribus. . . .

XCIII. Tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te. Si hec sponsi uerba dicta intelliguntur sancte cuilibet anime uel sancte matri ecclesie.

XCV. Mulierem fortem quis inuenietur. Non incongrue per mulierem fortem anima sancta et perfecta que bonis operibus Deum suum. . . .

XCVI. Manum suam misit ad fortia, ait Salomon, de sancta et perfecta anima que Deo ueraciter cum David dicere potest. . . .

XCVII. Quinque monacho maxime sunt necessaria. Oris uidelicet silentium usque ad interrogationem. . . .

XCVIII. Antequam comedam susspiro. Haec sunt uerba beati Job et utinam sint mea, utinam sint tua. . . .

IC. Duo ubera tua ut duo hinnuli capree gemelli. Omnis conatus hominis in rebus arduis florido principio. . . .

C. Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me ait David Deo. Tres hec petitiones David a Deo quasi tres anime sunt substanciales . . . (f. 40^v-41^r) Possunt itaque bonitati discipline et scientie, tres philosophie partes, congrue coaptari, ethica, scilicet, phisica logica, id est, moralis naturalis rationalis. Ethica componit mores, phisica disponit cognationes, logica prudenter profert sermones. Ethica legem destruit que est in membris, phisica contra legem peccati legem defendit que dicitur mentis, logica ratione bene regit statum totius hominis. Ethica propellit a corpore peccata sensualia, phisica excludit a mente peccata spiritualia, logica in animam introducit bona intellectualia. Hic huic sententie sententiarum nostrarum ultime finem pono, quia de his omnibus in libro nostro de perpropiis philosophie secundo sufficienter dissertum recolo. Sit omnibus rievallensibus a deo pax et ueritas sine fine et sanctimonia. Amen.

Expliciunt sententie numero centum.

These are not "sentences" in the sense of the schools. In spite of the attempt at systematic arrangement—duo sunt, tria sunt, quatuor sunt—and the play which Walter makes with the traditional division of philosophy into ethics, physics, and logic,¹ the book has no philosophical interest. Scholastic method was painfully achieved in the twelfth

¹ Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, lib. ii., XXIV., §§ 3 *segg.* On the history of this Platonic definition and its modification in the twelfth century, see Grabmann, *Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II. (1911), 30-54.

century through the compilation and elaboration of sentences by the masters of the schools. These sentences in the first instance were classified collections of extracts, theses and reflections, drawn from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Canons—"flores quos solemus, quasi singulari nomine, sententias appellare". A *sententia* by a slight advance in meaning became a definition or exposition of the true meaning of a passage (*intelligentia textus*) and finally in the *Summae Sententiarum* and *Libri Sententiarum* which appeared in the last period of the century the sentence is, to use the later phrase of Albert the Great, "conceptio definita et certissima". Peter the Lombard's sentences, which can fairly be described as an encyclopædic synopsis of Christian dogma, were of this last type.¹ The great schoolmen of the thirteenth century cleared their minds and developed their systems in commentaries upon the sentences of the Lombard.

Walter's work has no place in this intellectual progress. It is a fanciful exercise in edification, which only in form distantly recalls the sentences of the schools. Like these, it has grown out of the collections of extracts and flowers of speech—the Rievaulx catalogue mentions several such—and doubtless much of it would be familiar to scholars who are versed in the devotional and homiletic literature between the days of St. Isidore of Seville and St. Bernard. But Walter is really influenced by the methods of the preacher. He is arranging sermon headings into neat patterns under the mystical inspiration of Bernard and Ailred. Numerical combinations, especially the triad, have always had a fascination for the mystic. As is well known, this mystical appreciation of numbers developed under the influence of writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, translated in the tenth century by Scotus Erigena, into a precise description of the powers and hierarchies of the universe. But for the needs of every day a knowledge of the Bible and the traditional methods of the preacher sufficed. Solomon had set the example. "For three things the earth is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear." "There be four things which are little upon the earth".² In the writings of

¹ Denifle, in *Archiv für Literatur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, I., 587; Ghellinck, *La mouvement theologique du xii^e siècle* (1914), p. 131; Grabmann, *op. cit.*, II., 21-23; M. de Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy* (Eng. Trans., 1909), p. 206.

² Proverbs xxx. 21, 24.

the mystical school dominated by St. Bernard, we can find many parallels to the sentences of Walter Daniel. Wood, hay, stubble correspond to three kinds of men. There are four mountains to be ascended, four fountains of the Saviour, four ways of loving.¹ In a *Liber Sententiarum* extracted from the sermons of the time, we have a work which, if its method were not so obvious, might have suggested to Walter his own more systematic and deliberate production. From St. Bernard the anonymous collection takes the three kisses of reconciliation, remembrance, and contemplation.² Another sentence tells us of the three doors through which entrance is made into life—the truth of faith, which is the door behind which Sara laughs, the firmness of hope, which is the door in the side of the ark, the strength of charity (*caritatis soliditas*) which is the door kept by the Cherubim with the flaming sword.³

St. Bernard developed fancies of this kind with a passionate originality and penetration into the experiences of the soul which can still give them life. Ailred wrote with the serenity of the man who is sure of himself and quietly aware of the foibles and difficulties of his hearers. Walter Daniel had neither originality nor serenity. His fertile imagination revelled in these devotional exercises, but he had no literary charm or spiritual force. A few casual recollections of the schools, and a little outburst in praise of the Cistercian rule are about as much as we can glean from his meditations.⁴ He himself seems to have become tired of his plan; the sentences become increasingly homiletic in tone and are at last indistinguishable from sermons. I quote a passage from the beginning of the 96th sentence as a specimen of his style. It is also a good illustration of the difficulties to which the allegorical exposition of the Vulgate was exposed:—

¹ *Sermones de diversis*, XXX., LXI., XCVI., CI., in *Opera S. Bernardi*, Vol. I., coll. 1152, 1199, 1224, 1229.

² These short sentences are printed in the *Opera S. Bernardi*, Vol. II., coll. 788 ff. No. 162 "oscula tria sunt" corresponds to No. 8 in the sentences taken from St. Bernard (I., 1245). Ailred also deals with this subject in his *De Spirituali Amicitia* (P.L., CXCIV., coll. 672-673). His three kinds of kiss, as also Walter Daniel's (*Sententia* No. 45), are different from St. Bernard's.

³ *Liber Sententiarum*, No. 150.

⁴ *Sententiæ*, Nos. 87, 97, 100.

“Manum suam misit ad fortia,¹ says Solomon, of the holy and perfect soul which with David can truly say to God, I will commit my strength (fortitudinem) to Thee. The following sentence must receive a different interpretation in accordance with the preceding moral sense. Manum suam misit ad fortia, he says, et digiti eius apprehenderunt fusum. I ask, what consequence is there in the literal meaning (in littere dumtaxat superficie). . . . For the end of the sentence is concerned with weakness, not with strength. What is the suggestion if a person holds the distaff with the hand, plucks the wool and draws the thread along to the spindle? Do not all these things relate to the labour of weak women rather than the deeds of strong men? If they are not allegorical, why are they read in churches? Why are passages of this kind recited before the people in sacred places (in albis locis quia sacris) if they do not carry spiritual meanings?”²

Four short sermons follow the hundred sentences in the Rylands MS. :—

(a) f. 41^v. Sermo brevis de beato Johanne Baptiste.

Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Iohannes. Ecce quomodo a uerbo substantiuo fuit. Iohannes Euangelista beatum Iohannem Baptistam subito introduxit in seriem theologie sue ut quasi duo seraphin clament aduincem. . . .

f. 42^r. (*Explicit*). . . Infra quorum ambitum murorum precursos domini Iohannis quadrata equalitate uitae sue apicem in medio suspendit ut nulla ex parte in aliquo excedens uel plus uel minus ageret quam deberet per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

(b) Uiderunt stellam Magi. Quemadmodum, dilectissimi, lane species eius colorata substantia tam pretio quam decore mutatur in melius ita quoque ueri assertionem eloquentie flore uestitam etiam eruditi auditores. . . .

f. 43^r. (*Explicit*). . . Sufficiant uobis haec pauca eruditis corde in sapientia. Nunc autem de eadem apotheca paruulis istis

¹ Proverbs xxxi. 19. The Hebrew “kishôr” translated ἐπὶ τὰ συμ-φέρουσα (LXX) or ἀνδρεία, whence the Vulgate “ad fortia,” is rendered “distaff” in the A.V.

² *Centum Sententiae*, f. 36^v.

micas non panes porrigemus. Solet sic facere sepius Walterus Danielis. Amen.

- (c) f. 43^v. Regnum Dei intra uos est. Quisquis, dilectissimi, uerbo proximum edificare desiderat, metas ingenii et scientie sue uires non excedat.
- f. 44^r. (*Explicit*). . . Est autem omnis ypocrita fictus unde nullus gaudet in Spiritu Sancto quia teste Scriptura Spiritus Sanctus effugit fictum. Spiritu Sancte Deus in te semper gaudeat Walterus. Amen.
- (d) f. 44^v. [D]iscite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, dicit filius Dei. Quomodo, dilectissimi, uita carnis corporeo subtracto alimento periclitatur in mortem, ita quoque uirtus anime uerbi attenuata penuria. . . .
- f. 45^v. (*Explicit*). . . Et quoniam hodierna die sanctorum omnium sollempnia celebramus, demus operam per humilitatis meritum ad eorum peruenire consortium.

In the last sermon Walter compares the three parts (*sectas*) of philosophy to three sorts of bread, and elaborates their virtues in the manner of the passage already quoted from the last of his sentences. A more interesting passage from the second sermon, that on the story of the Magi, is worthy of quotation, for it is the only one which throws light both on the extent of his reading and his attitude to the learning of the schools.

- (f. 42^v. line 12). "It now remains, in honour of the infant Christ, to say something also of the ancient philosophers. They knew God as a Creator, but they did not glorify Him as God or give thanks, but lost themselves in their imaginings. To be darkened, a thing must in some measure be capable of giving light. For example, a black crow or a dead coal is not darkened, but gold, silver, electrum,¹ and such-like can be darkened. In so far, therefore, as the philosophers knew God their hearts were in some degree shining, but in so far as they worshipped idols and offered sacrifices to them, their hearts were darkened. Plato, the greatest of them (*ipse princeps eorum Plato*), both said and wrote that God had

¹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, lib. xvi., 24: "Electrum uocatum quod ad radium solis clarius auro argentoque reluceat".

created all things, yet he used to worship idols and to encourage their worship. His heart was darkened. Moreover, he had very erroneous ideas about creatures, for he asserted both in word and writing that human souls pass into the bodies of beasts. No one blessed with faith (*fide formosus*) has any difficulty in seeing the blackness of this opinion. Apuleius, again, that fine Platonist and scholar (*platonicus nobilis et bene latinus*), affirmed certain demons to be good and called them *eudemones*; bad demons he called *lemurs* and *larvas*. I say that no demon can be good. All demons are bad and are unable to change their evil natures, for no demon can be moved by the affection of charity, without which the sweets of goodness cannot be desired or acquired. Hence, all those philosophers perished because of their iniquity. . . . Their books are not read in the Church of God; I say, the *Topics* of Cicero, Aristotle's *Categories*, the *Introduction* of Porphyry are not read in the Church."

And in the last sermon Walter says—"Our Master Christ did not teach grammar, rhetoric, dialectic in his school; he taught humility, pity, and righteousness".¹

We cannot be certain that Walter Daniel had read Apuleius. He was no John of Salisbury. He could find the Platonic theory of the transmigration of souls, and the Apuleian demonology in Isidore and Macrobius.² The *Topics* and the translations made by Boethius of the *Categories*, and of Porphyry's *Isagoge* were the logical textbooks of the schools.

III.

THE "VITA AILREDI".

Until 1901, the only mediæval life of Ailred available in print was that included by John Capgrave in his collection of the lives of

¹ Rylands MS., f. 45v.—"Magister noster Christus in schola sua non docuit grammaticam rethoricam dialecticam sed docuit humilitatem mansuetudinem et iustitiam." The *Schola Christi*, and its difference from the schools of the world, were favourite themes of St. Bernard.

² Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, lib. viii., 6, 11. Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, lib. ii., c. 26, for pagan ideas of *daemones*. John of Salisbury mentions Plato's doctrine of transmigration in his *Policraticus*, lib. vii., c. 10 (ed. Webb, II., 134) and frequently quotes Apuleius: see Webb's index.

English saints. This was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. Bollandus reprinted it in the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* in 1643,¹ under the date 12 January. Mabillon and other scholars of the seventeenth century who were interested in Ailred and his writings knew of no other life of the saint. "I have received a letter from Dom Mabillon," wrote the Cistercian J. de Lannoy of Citeaux to Luc d'Achery. "He tells me that the life of the blessed Ailred is in Bollandus. I knew that already, but it is nothing more than that given by Capgrave."² In the appendix to his edition of Wynkyn de Worde's *Nova Legenda Angliae*, published at Oxford in 1901, Dr. Carl Horstmann printed from an important Bury manuscript, now Bodleian MS. 240, a number of saints' lives, including a somewhat fuller version of the life of Ailred. As is now well known, Capgrave had simply rearranged in the fifteenth century the hagiographical material collected by John of Tynemouth at St. Albans in the second quarter of the fourteenth century: this is still extant in a Cottonian manuscript (Tib. E. 1) and is known as the *Sanctilogium Angliae*. The Bodleian MS. 240, which was written at Bury St. Edmunds in 1377 and the succeeding years, also seems to contain materials collected by John of Tynemouth. The life of Ailred in this collection is longer, yet strikingly similar, to the life in the *Sanctilogium Angliae*, afterwards used by Capgrave,³ and the Bollandists have naturally supposed that the latter is a summary of it.⁴ A closer examination of the two versions shows this view to be erroneous. As we shall see, they are both summaries, made independently of each other, of the life of Ailred written by Walter Daniel.

Walter's life of Ailred, though noticed as early as 1865 by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy,⁵ has hitherto escaped the attention of hagiographers. It survives in a manuscript written late in the fourteenth

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, January, I., 749 (1643).

² This letter, which is undated, has been printed in the *Revue Mabillon*, August, 1914-Dec., 1919, p. 135. The writer states later that Mabillon was using Ailred, with other writers, in giving exercises to novices.

³ The texts are in Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, I., 41-46; II., 544-553. For John of Tynemouth's work see the valuable introduction to the first volume.

⁴ *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, Vol. II., *Supplement*, p. 1342, Nos. 2644 b, 2645 (Brussels, 1901).

⁵ Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, II., 292 (Rolls Series, 1865).

century, probably in the monastery of Durham. It was acquired by Thomas Man at the end of the seventeenth century, and came with other manuscripts to Jesus College, Cambridge.¹ The life of Ailred occupies folios 63^v to 74^r. It is preceded by a letter from Walter Daniel to a certain Maurice (ff. 61 a-63 b) and is followed by a lamentation, also a characteristic outburst by Walter (ff. 74 a-75 b). All three works are written in the same clear neat hand. Each chapter begins with a small illuminated capital.

The life was written sometime before the letter to Maurice and the lamentation. In a short dedication to a certain Abbot H. (*uirorum dulcissimo abbati H.*), Walter refers to the recent death of Ailred. There is no definite evidence that any Abbot H., likely to be familiar with Rievaulx, was living in 1167, the year of Ailred's death, but it is possible that Abbot Hugh had already been elected at Revesby and almost certain that Abbot Henry then ruled at Waverley.² Waverley was the senior Cistercian house in England and was doubtless in close touch with Rievaulx; on the other hand, Revesby was a daughter of Rievaulx, and was not very far away. A cryptic allusion in the letter which Walter wrote later to Maurice suggests that this sweet-natured Abbot H. was named Henry.³ If this inference is sound, I am inclined to identify him with Henry of Waverley.

¹ Jesus College, Cambridge, MS., Q. B. 7. For a description see James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 28-29, No. 24. One or two additions may be made to this description. The second item, the *Speculum Religiosorum* (ff. 13-50), is the work ascribed by Tanner to the canonist William "de Pagula," vicar of Winfield (fl. 1350). The summary of the *Historia Aurea* is of course a summary of the chronicle compiled by John of Tynemouth. Both it and the calendar included in this manuscript betray a Durham *provenance*. The work of Walter Daniel is followed by an incomplete copy of Ailred's *De Oneribus* (fo. 75^v).

² The earliest charter, attested by Hugh, which I have found, and which can be dated, belongs to the year 1175 (*Cart. de Rievaille*, p. 82, No. 132; for the date see No. 133). A charter definitely dated January, 1176, is in Stenton, *Documents illustrative of the Danelaw*, p. 215, No. 285. On the other hand, Abbot Philip, who died in 1166, was succeeded by Gualo, so that it is unlikely that Hugh was abbot when Walter Daniel began his work. Henry, third Abbot of Waverley, died in 1182, but as his predecessor Gilbert was elected in 1128, Henry was doubtless elected before the date of Ailred's death in 1167. Gilbert was alive in 1148 (*Annales Monastici*, II., 241, 242, V. 238).

³ "Hinc est illud Henrici dicentis [e] cuius ore sermo melle dulcior profuebat" (f. 62 d).

Ailred had to face a good deal of opposition during his life, and scandals revived, if we are to believe Walter, immediately after his death. It was said by some that he had worked for his own election as Abbot of Rievaulx.¹ When Walter's work appeared, it met with much criticism. His description of Ailred's chaste and ascetic life as a youth at King David's Court, the miracles which he alleged Ailred to have worked, the extravagant language which he used about the brightness of the saint's corpse were especially criticized. A certain Maurice had shown the work to two prelates, and it was as a reply to their animadversions, reported by Maurice, that Walter wrote the long letter which precedes the biography proper in the Durham manuscript. I give this interesting apology in full at the end of this paper, for both the criticisms of the prelates and Walter's reply are excellent illustrations of mediæval habits of thought. The identity of Maurice and of the prelates is as doubtful as the identity of the sweet-natured Abbot H. I have urged elsewhere and still think it quite likely that Maurice was Ailred's predecessor, a learned monk who migrated from Durham to Rievaulx about the year 1138, and was elected abbot after Abbot William's death in 1145. On his retirement in 1147 he continued to live at Rievaulx, except for a brief interval of a few weeks as Abbot of Fountains. He was living in 1163, and, if we assume that he left Rievaulx to end his days elsewhere, he would be as obvious a correspondent and critic of Walter Daniel as we could find.² But when I made this suggestion I was not aware of the existence in 1167 of another Maurice, a few miles from Rievaulx. This was Maurice, Prior of Kirkham, the home of Austin Canons, founded, ten years before he founded Rievaulx, by Walter Espes, Lord of Helmsley. My friend Mr. Craster has called my attention to writings of Maurice, contained in a fifteenth century manuscript now in the Bodleian Library. The earlier and more important is a polemic, which can be dated 1169-1176, *contra Salomitas*, or those who hold that Salome, the companion of the two Marys, was a man. It is dedicated to Gilbert, the famous founder and Prior of Sempringham. This is followed by an epistle, of later

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 69 a.

² See my paper on Maurice of Rievaulx in the *English Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1921, XXXVI., 17-25.

date, to Roger, Archbishop of York, and some complimentary verses.¹ In Maurice of Kirkham we have another likely, perhaps still more likely, critic at Walter Daniel's service. It would be delightful if in Prior Gilbert and Archbishop Roger we could see the two carping prelates who annoyed Walter so much.

A brief examination of the life of Ailred compiled by John of Tynemouth for his *Sanctilogium Angliæ*—the work copied by Capgrave and printed by the Bollandists—shows that it is based entirely on Walter Daniel. The compiler had before him the text both of the life proper, and of the later letter to Maurice; but as he made no distinction between them, and selected his material from them impartially, the original character of the two pieces is obscured. Miracles taken from the letter to Maurice begin and end John's summary. Walter's personal recollections, as well as his rhapsodies, are omitted, his extravagancies are pruned, and his verbose narrative frequently cut down to a few terse sentences.

The other summary of Walter's book, first printed by Horstmann in 1901 from the Bury manuscript now in the Bodleian, has no relation to the better known work. It may have been acquired by John of Tynemouth; it can hardly have been made by him. The author used a manuscript which contained Walter's life of Ailred, and also his later letter to Maurice. He summarized or extracted passages which John of Tynemouth passed over, and he disregarded passages which, in the *Sanctilogium*, John used. He omitted, for example, all references to Ailred's journey to Galloway, and to Walter's strictures on Galloway society. Although he made only one addition to the text of Walter—a reference to the fact that Henry, the King's son and Waldef, afterwards Abbot of Melrose were brought up with Ailred at King David's court²—he had definite views of his own about Ailred. In a short appendix to his compendium he shows himself familiar with the criticisms which had been made against parts of Walter's work. He attempts to prove from Ailred's own writings that the saint's early life was not so spotless as Walter would have us believe.³ He then proceeds to atone for this assertion of his

¹ Bodleian MS., Hatton, 92, ff. 1-37.

² Horstmann, *Nova Legenda*, II., 545. This insertion may have come from Jocelin's *Life of St. Waldef*.

³ *Ibid.*, II., 552-553.

independence by referring his readers to the eulogy upon Ailred delivered by Gilbert, Abbot of Hoilandia (Swineshead).

Abbot Gilbert's eulogy has survived.¹ When the news of Ailred's death reached Swineshead, he was preparing one of his sermons upon the Song of Songs. He had reached the words, "I have gathered my myrrh with my spice : I have eaten my honeycomb with my honey" (v. 1). The abbot meditated upon the abundant nature of his friend. What a rich honeycomb had been taken from the world ! And he slipped into his discourse a little sketch of Ailred.

III.

AILRED.

The Abbot of Swineshead thought of Ailred as a man of serene and modest spirit, equable and unworried, alert in mind, deliberate in speech. He had often watched him in conversation and remembered how patiently he suffered interruption. Ailred would stop until the speaker had emptied his soul and the torrent of words was over, then quietly resume what he had been saying. A similar impression of tranquillity and forbearance is given in the portrait drawn forty years later, by Jocelin of Furness in his life of St. Waldef :—

"He was a man of fine old English stock (*ex ueterum Anglorum illustri stirpe procreatus*). He left school early and was brought up from boyhood in the Court of King David with Henry the king's son and Waldef. In course of time he became first a monk, afterwards Abbot of Rievaulx. His school learning was slight, but as a result of careful self-discipline in the exercise of his acute natural powers, he was cultured above many who have been thoroughly trained in secular learning. He drilled himself in the study of Holy Scripture and left a lasting memorial behind him in writings distinguished by their lucid style, and wealth of edifying instruction, for he was wholly inspired by a spirit of wisdom and understanding. Moreover, he was a man of the highest integrity, of great practical wisdom, witty and eloquent, a

¹ Mabillon, *Opera S. Bernardi*, II., col. 140, in Gilbert's forty-first sermon on the Canticles. Gilbert began his work on the Canticles when St. Bernard had left off.

pleasant companion, generous and discreet. And, with all these qualities, he exceeded all his fellow prelates of the Church in his patience and tenderness. He was full of sympathy for the infirmities, both physical and moral, of others."¹

Rather later than Jocelin of Furness, Nicholas of Rievaulx wrote of Ailred in his metrical eulogy of the Abbots of Rievaulx. Ailred was comparable to St. Benedict, St. Maur, St. Bernard :—

Maurus erat maturis moribus et Benedictus
Exemplo : similis Bernardo, coelibe vita.²

But with Nicholas we already reach the indiscriminate region of legend.

Gilbert of Hoiland and Jocelin of Furness give the salient traits of Ailred's character more clearly than Walter Daniel does. The personality of the abbot is somewhat obscured by Walter's fanciful and exuberant style. Walter's work none the less is the best account which we have of the early history of the Cistercian movement in the north of England, and with the help of Ailred's own writings and of contemporary letters, charters and chronicles, we can get from it an intimate impression of the abbot's life and surroundings.³

He died, says Walter, on 12 January, 1166, that is, in the new style, 1167.⁴ As he was then in his fifty-seventh year he was

¹ Vita S. Waldeni in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 257 d, e. Jocelin wrote the life c. 1210-1214.

² Nicholas wrote early in the reign of Henry III. His verses on the Abbots of Rievaulx, which contain several bad chronological errors, are extant in a manuscript which formerly belonged to the priory of St. Victor (MS. 1030) and is now MS. Lat. 15157 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Extracts were first printed from this by John Picard of Beauvais, Canon of St. Victor, in his edition of William of Newburgh's *Chronicle* (Paris, 1610), pp. 681-683. They were reprinted by Hearne, in his edition (III., 643). The same St. Victor MS. contains five letters of Nicholas (f. 85v). M. Bémont kindly informs me that one letter is addressed to Prior W. of Byland and four to N. of Beverley.

³ There is an excellent life of Ailred, under the name Ethelred, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, written by Dr. W. Hunt. In this paper I shall deal more particularly with the significance of certain aspects of Ailred's life and character.

⁴ Vita Ailredi, f. 73 c. He died about the fourth watch of the night of the day before the Ides of January, 1166. This would be the day which

born about 1110. Walter tells us nothing of his parentage or birth-place, but on these matters we have sufficient information from Ailred's work on the saints of Hexham and from the Hexham chroniclers. His family was well-to-do, well connected, and prominent in the neighbourhood of Durham and Hexham. This strict Cistercian came of a long line of married priests, learned, respectable, conscientious.¹ If there were many such families in Northumbria, it is easy to understand why the movement for a celibate clergy made such slow progress in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ailred's father, Eilaf, son of Eilaf, lived in the period of transition. He was the last of the priests—we may almost say hereditary priests—of Hexham. His position in Tynedale had been a strong one. He had lands and good connections. His father had been treasurer of Durham; the local Archdeacon William, was his kinsman;² and his influence among the English gentry of Northumbria, north and south of the border, was sufficient to secure the favour of the King of the Scots, who frequently held his court across the hills at Roxburgh. But he could not stem the new movements from the south. In his boyhood he had seen the southern monks of Winchcomb and Evesham pass from Jarrow to Durham and had watched the building of the great church and monastery by Bishop William of St. Carileph. He had seen monks from St. Albans come to Tynemouth, where the bones of St. Oswiu were. The turn of Hexham, long threatened, came in 1113, when the lord of the regality, Thomas II., Archbishop of York, sent Austin canons to restore Wilfrid's foundation and guard the bones of Saints Acca, Eata, and Alchmund. Eilaf was strong enough to force a compromise. He retained a life interest as priest of Hexham with the

began at compline on the 11th, and the fourth watch would be in the early hours of the 12th. The Cistercian calendar begins with January, but the Cistercians are believed to have helped to spread the custom of beginning the year on 25 March, according to the Florentine use.

¹ James Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* (Surtee's Society 1864), Vol. I., pp. l-lxvii. A. B. Hinds, in the *History of Northumberland*, Vol. III., Hexhamshire, Part I, 119 ff. (Newcastle, 1896).

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 61 d. This William son of Thole (Toli?) is doubtless William the Archdeacon named Havegrim, who was present at the translation of St. Cuthbert in 1104: Reginald of Durham *De admirandis Beati Cuthberti uirtutibus*, p. 84 (Surtees Society, 1835). Havegrim is doubtless a misreading of Haregrim (or Arnegrim), for which name see *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, II., 185.

enjoyment of certain revenues. Yet if a story told by Walter Daniel has any basis of truth, he felt very sore. A few months after the canons came to Hexham Archbishop Thomas died at Beverley (29 Feb., 1114). Ailred, then four or five years old, ran home and announced the news. A laugh went round the family and Eilaf replied to the child with polite gravity: "True, an evil liver has indeed died" (*uere ille obiit qui male uiuit*). Ailred's prophesy was confirmed on the third day, when the news had had time to travel north from Beverley.¹

In course of time Eilaf was fully reconciled to the new order. When in 1138 he felt the approach of death, he restored to Hexham all the lands of which he had had the usufruct, and was received by the Benedictines of Durham into their society.² Ailred was already a monk of Rievaulx; a daughter of Eilaf became a nun and there is evidence that other members of the family entered the religious life.³ But his early associations left an ineffacable impression upon Ailred. Their influence explains his significance in the history of northern England in the reign of Stephen and Henry II.

If a spirit of simplicity and lowliness of heart were always sufficient to bring peace, the Cistercian missionaries whom St. Bernard sent from Clairvaux to England could have been only a reconciling element in the conflict between the new and the old ways of life. William, first Abbot of Rievaulx, who at one time had been Bernard's secretary, seems to have found favour everywhere. But, as is well known, the Cistercians inevitably brought discord. They were reformers. They drew the more ardent religious from the older Benedictine houses of St. Mary at York and St. Cuthbert at Durham. They caused division in the houses of canons regular. They set themselves in the church at large against a married clergy, and any suspicion of simony

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 62 a. Walter Daniel gives no names and the attribution of prophetic powers or second sight to saints was general; but if the story is based on any incident in Ailred's childhood, it could only refer to Thomas II.

² Richard of Hexham's history of the church of Hexham in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 55-56.

³ Walter Daniel describes the subcellarer of Revesby (c. 1145), as "proximus uidelicet ei (Ailred) secundum carnem" (Vita, f. 68 c). Laurence, Abbot of Westminster, for whom Ailred wrote the life of the Confessor, was his relative ("cognatus"), f. 70 c.

or subjection to temporal influence. It was William of Rievaulx who took the lead in the agitation against the recognition by the pope of King Stephen's kinsman, William—later canonised—as archbishop of York in succession to Archbishop Thurstan; and it was a Cistercian, the Abbot of Fountains, who in 1147 was finally set up as archbishop in William's stead. How closely the opposition to Archbishop William was associated with the Cistercians was shown by the action of the Prior of Hexham, who, when he heard of William's election forsook his priory, and went overseas to join the community at Clairvaux under St. Bernard.¹ Now Ailred, whose most intimate memories were of the old Northumbrian order at Hexham and of the Benedictines of Durham, gave himself body and soul to the Cistercian rule. He spread its use in new foundations, and interpreted it in his writings. He denounced elaborate musical services and the extravagances of sculpture or wall painting with all the zest of St. Bernard.² Yet he did not turn his back upon the past. He was no partisan. He had found the way of life which satisfied him, and could take his place in the strangely mingled society of the north the more confidently because he was sure of himself. Walter Daniel, writing as a hagiographer, entirely fails to describe the many-sidedness of Ailred's interests and activities. From Rievaulx Ailred exercised an influence which was the measure, not so much of his intensity or enthusiasm, as of his wide sympathies. Like all good Cistercians, he loved to preach about the Blessed Virgin or the ancient rule of St. Benedict, but his favourite saint was St. Cuthbert—the great patron saint of Durham and of all Northumbria, upon whom his father Eilaf had called in times of distress. While he journeyed to the general chapter at Citeaux or visited the daughter houses of Rievaulx in Scotland, he put himself under the protection of St. Cuthbert.³ His memory was stored

¹ John of Hexham in Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 139 with Raine's note. Ailred, in his work on the saints of Hexham (*ibid.*, p. 193) attributes Robert Biset's resignation to his inaptitude for administrative work. The resignation was much criticized.

² *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. i., cc. 23, 24, in Migne, P.L., CXCIV., coll. 571-572.

³ Reginald of Durham, pp. 176-177, for the "prosa rithmico modalumine in Beati Cuthberti honore componenda" by Ailred on his journey to and from Citeaux; pp. 178-179, incidents at Kirkcudbright on St. Cuthbert's day 20 March, 1164-1165.

with tales of the miracles of the saint. The book about St. Cuthbert, written by Reginald of Durham, was inspired by Ailred, and was based upon Ailred's talk.¹ Ailred loved Durham, where St. Cuthbert's bones lay in William of St. Carileph's noble church, and where his father had died as a monk. When a dispute arose about the seat of the prior—one of those disputes on matters of precedence which, as they have a symbolic significance, are always so hard to settle—Ailred was brought in to preside over the board of arbitrators who settled it.² When he visited Godric of Finchale—that famous hermit who had been to Rome and Compostella and Jerusalem and loved to read St. Jerome—he had a young man of Durham with him.³

Just as the Benedictines adopted St. Cuthbert, the Austin Canons adopted the Saints of Hexham. In March, 1154, they celebrated the solemn translation of their relics. It is probable that Ailred was present and spoke as a sermon or address part of the work on the *Saints of Hexham* which he wrote for the occasion. His tract is a skilful and attractive bit of writing. Ailred recalled his old connection with Hexham: "This is my festival, for I lived under the protection of the saints in these hallowed places". He described the work of St. Wilfrid, and did not shirk a reference to the pictures with which Wilfrid had adorned his church at Hexham for the edification of the people. He dwelt upon the zeal of his grandfather—though more sinful than he should have been he was unwearied in his care of the churches of Christ—and claims for his father rather more than his share in the new foundation at Hexham of the Augustinian priory. The canons must have felt that Ailred had performed a difficult task with much tact.⁴

We have seen how the Abbot of Rievaulx retained his veneration for St. Cuthbert and the Saints of Hexham, and through them formed ties with the monks of Durham and the canons whose coming had

¹ Reginald of Durham, pp. 4, 32. This work is dedicated to Ailred, but in its present form dates from the period after Ailred's death; cf. p. 254, reference to events of 1172.

² Greenwell, *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, p. lxi. (Surtees Society, 1872).

³ Reginald of Durham, *De vita et miraculis S. Godrici heremite de Finchale*, pp. 176-7 (Surtees Society, 1847).

⁴ Ailred's work is well edited by Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 173-203. For the allusions to the text see pp. 174, 175, 191, 192.

disturbed his childhood. But why did he write the life of St. Edward the Confessor? He venerated St. Cuthbert as a Northumbrian. He commemorated St. Edward as an Englishman. And he had realized that he was an Englishman at the court of King David of Scotland. This aspect of Ailred's personality deserves some attention.

Walter Daniel deals at some length, though with his usual provoking vagueness, with Ailred's life at the court of King David. From other sources we simply know that Ailred was brought up by David and had as his companions the King's son, Henry, and his step-son Waldef or Waltheof. We do not know how Ailred was recommended to David. The close connection between Durham and the Church in Scotland would provide a man of Eilaf's influence with frequent opportunities of bringing his son to the King's notice.¹ Nor do we know how old Ailred was, nor how long he stayed with David, nor the precise position which he came to hold at court. His name appears as witness in no surviving charter.² Walter Daniel affirms that, in spite of opposition and foul calumny, Ailred won increasing favour and affection from David, and would in due course have attained the highest ecclesiastical office in the Kingdom—presumably the bishopric of St. Andrews. If the title and functions ascribed to him by Walter can be taken literally, he was David's steward or seneschal; for Walter calls him *economus*, and says that he served in the *triclinium* or hall, and had a share in the disposal of the royal treasure.³ At this time he was probably still a layman,

¹ Turgot, first Bishop of St. Andrews (1107-1115), had been Prior of Durham, and the church had lands in the lowlands, especially at Coldingham, north of Berwick. But communication of all kinds must have been frequent, and apart from his relations with Durham, Eilaf was well connected in Northumbria. Later in the century, a grand-daughter of his, *i.e.* Ailred's niece, married Robert FitzPhilip, a land-holder in Lothian (Reg. of Durham, *De admirandis*, etc., p. 188).

² Earl David succeeded to the throne in April, 1124, when Ailred was about fourteen years of age. Ailred entered Rievaulx shortly after its foundation in 1132—probably about 1134, when still quite young (*adolescens*). A charter of King David (*c.* 1128) is attested by Ailred's companion "Waldef, filio Regine" (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 1905, p. 69, No. 83).

³ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 64 a; *cf.* 64 c, "regales dispensare diuitias". The author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, l. ii., c. 19 (Oxford edition, 1902, p. 151) defines *economus* as seneschal. The *tricornum*, *tricornium*, or *triclinium* was defined by Aelfric as *gereord-hus*, and appears in twelfth century literature, *e.g.*, Orderic Vitalis, in the sense of a refectory (see

or a clerk in lower orders. Ailred was wont to say playfully that he came to Rievaulx from the kitchen, not from the schools.¹

However this may be, Ailred was much trusted by the King, and in his turn felt for his patron an admiration and affection which were never lost. The note of personal regard is a strong one even in his description of the Battle of the Standard, the conflict in which David was opposed by the barons of Yorkshire with Walter Espec, the founder of Rievaulx, at their head. In his later work on the genealogy of the kings of England (1153-4) Ailred speaks with unaffected enthusiasm of this second David to whom he owed so much. And we find in these historical writings—which are the political counterpart of his life of Edward the Confessor—a reflection of the political ideas which prevailed in the Scottish court, and were held by many Englishmen between the Humber and the Forth. They are easily summarized: The Scottish Kings were the true successors of the English Kings. The Normans certainly had the highest of all sanctions; they had set aside the usurper Harold and conquered England by Divine favour; but the line of the Conqueror had greatly strengthened its claim to the allegiance of Englishmen by its union with the West Saxon house, of which David was the chief representative. There was no difference in culture, race or nationality between the people who inhabited the Old Northumbria; when a Scottish King invaded the lands of the King of England he was engaging in a domestic quarrel, about the rights of which even men who lived south of the Tweed might freely differ. What the subjects and vassals of the English King did resent and fiercely resist was the presence of barbarians, of Picts and Galloway men, side by side with the feudal host of Scotland. For Englishmen and Normans, learning as they were to speak each other's language,² were united, whether they

Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. *triconus*). As seneschal or steward Ailred would also be *discthegu*, and so could describe himself as connected with the kitchen. In England the steward only gradually acquired large administrative power (Vernon-Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward* (1907). Cf. the remarks in Round, *The King's Sergeants* (1911) p. 69; and Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, I., 205 and *passim*), but in the less elaborate household of David, he would approach in dignity the baronial steward. Ailred was clearly not connected with the chancery.

¹ P.L., CXC., col. 502.

² St. Waldef spoke fluently in French and English (Jocelin of Furness in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 260 c.); Gaimer, in Lincolnshire, used

looked to David or to Stephen as their lord, in the task of adapting the old order to the new. The definition of services and tenures in feudal terms, the encouragement of foreign fashions in art and letters, the organization of bishoprics, the foundation of monasteries, the subjection of social life to ecclesiastical discipline, were proceeding as actively in the south of Scotland as in Yorkshire. There was nothing insular or parochial in the attitude of Englishmen like Ailred. The men of the north were conscious not of subjection to the foreigner, but of new opportunities now open to them, recalling the opportunities which had been opened to Wilfrid and Bede and Alcuin. Indeed, the more conscious they were of their past, the more confidently could they join in the welcome to new ideas and new enterprises. Their traditions were living traditions, part of their being, yet not alien to the new age. Ailred, in his description of the Battle of the Standard, enters into the minds of the Norman barons who rallied round Archbishop Thurstan, and puts into the mouth of Walter Espec a speech on Norman history with its record of splendid deeds in Sicily and Apulia and Calabria. When Henry of Anjou became King of England, Ailred welcomed him as reconciling in his person English and foreign traditions. He was the first King since the Conquest who could claim to be descended from Alfred. He had received knighthood at the hands of Ailred's hero King David. He had been merciful and magnanimous during the recent wars. The canonization of the Confessor a few years later, and the translation of his body to the new shrine in the Abbey of Westminster were symbols of the final union of England with the society of western Christendom.

The historical work in which Ailred reveals his attitude to political questions was written in the later years of his life. Henry II. was on the throne and the English border had again—and definitely—been pushed northwards to the Tweed and the Solway. There is indeed little evidence that Ailred, after he left the service of King David, had any share in the turbulent events of Stephen's reign, when David held court at Carlisle and the Scottish border reached as far south as the

English books while he was writing his Norman-French poem, "*Lestorie des Engles*" (Rolls Series, I., 276, l. 6443). A dumb boy who was cured at the shrine of St. John of Beverley, was put to school by his father, and learned to speak French and English (Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, I., 312). All these instances come from the middle of the twelfth century.

cross on Stainmore, and Ailred's old companion Earl Henry ruled in Northumberland and a Scottish vassal was obtruded into the see of Durham. His last service to David seems to have been his last appearance as a politician. He was sent on the King's business to Archbishop Thurstan of York.¹ For many years the claim of the archbishop to be metropolitan of the Scottish bishoprics had met with opposition, especially from John, Bishop of Glasgow. In spite of papal injunctions the bishop was still disobedient in 1135-6.² It was doubtless on some errand arising out of this dispute that Ailred about 1134 made the journey from which he did not return. On his way home he entered the Abbey of Rievaulx. As a disciple of St. Bernard he could have had neither the time nor the inclination for secular interests. His next important mission was concerned with a great controversy which the Cistercians of Yorkshire regarded as of moral rather than legal significance. In 1140 Archbishop Thurstan died and a majority of the canons of York elected William, their treasurer, a nephew of King Stephen. The circumstances were suspicious³ and a protest was made by the minority, on the ground that money had passed. The most important ecclesiastical office in the north was tainted by the sin of simony. The Abbot of Rievaulx, the Abbot of Fountains, the Prior of Kirkham (who was Ailred's friend Waldef) and others took the lead in appealing to the pope (1141.) The case dragged on for several years, and it was not until 1143 that the Abbot of Rievaulx and his companions pleaded their case in person

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 65 b.

² Letters from Innocent II. from Pisa, April 22, 1136, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III., 66-67 (Rolls Series, 1894).

³ John of Hexham in Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, I., 133, 139, 142, etc. It has not, I think, been noticed that a story in Jocelin's *Life of St. Waldef* throws light on the attitude of the opponents of William. Waldef, then Prior of Kirkham, would have been elected to succeed Thurstan, but Stephen interposed his veto on the ground that, as son of the Queen of Scotland and step-son of King David, Waldef would probably support the interests of David, who was the chief supporter in the north of the Empress Matilda. Jocelin adds that William of Aumale (the new Earl of Yorkshire and a leader of Stephen's party) offered to procure the archbishopric for Waldef if the latter would enfeoff him with the archiepiscopal lands in Shirburn (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 256 c, d). Waldef indignantly refused. This incident would naturally bring into suspicion the earl's subsequent efforts on behalf of Stephen's nephew.

at Rome ; in the earlier proceedings of 1141, which stayed the consecration of the new archbishop, they were represented by less important people.¹ On this occasion Abbot William chose Ailred as his proctor. William had soon realized the ability of the new recruit. He employed him frequently on the business of the convent, and on his return from Rome made him master of the novices.² In 1142 he was put at the head of the colony of monks sent from Rievaulx to form the monastery of St. Lawrence at Revesby, founded by William of Roumare, Earl of Lincoln. Thus at the age of thirty-two, he became an abbot. For the next twenty-five years, first at Revesby, then from 1147 at Rievaulx,³ his energies, thwarted increasingly by bodily pain, were absorbed in the work of his order, in business, administration, preaching, arbitration, travelling and all the arduous routine of his office.

Yet as the years passed, this intensely human monk, with his keen insight into the bearing of the varied problems in the life about him, seems to have found increasing satisfaction in his memories of youth, of the places where he had once lived, and of the friendships which were, he felt, the most precious thing this world had given him. He wrote of his monastic friendships in his *De Spirituali Amicitia*. He wrote of King David and the young Earl Henry in the tribute to David's memory which he dedicated to Henry of Anjou. In his well-known work, the description of the Battle of the Standard in 1138, he merged his own memories and feelings in the impartial exposition of a dramatic theme. As a piece of historical writing its value is due to the understanding of events rather than to the accuracy of the narrative. Ailred of course must have retained vivid recollections of the year 1138. Two or three years earlier he had been a royal official in King David's hall, and now, a few miles from Rievaulx, David had fought and lost a battle against his new friends and neighbours. He would remember that this was the year of his father's death in the monastery at Durham, shortly after Abbot William and

¹ Headed by William of London, one of the archdeacons who had opposed the election of William (John of Hexham, p. 140). That Ailred was sent to Rome in connection with the disputed election is stated by Walter Daniel (f. 67 c). As he went to Revesby in 1142, his mission must be dated 1141.

² Vita, f. 67 b-67 d.

³ For the dates see the chronological table at the end of this paper.

he had witnessed Eilaf's last settlement with the canons of Hexham. Ailred had probably gone north with Abbot William to arrange the surrender of Lord Walter Espec's castle of Wark on the Tweed to King David.¹ For in spite of the victory near Northallerton Walter Espec and the Yorkshire barons had not been able to prevent the transfer of Cumberland and Northumberland to David. Ailred, indeed, could not regard the war as an uncompromising conflict between England and Scotland, and still less between Englishmen and Scots. It was a war between kinsmen. David's mother, Saint Margaret, was the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, and but for the verdict of God at Hastings, David would have been the claimant of the legitimist party to the English throne.² His sister had been the Queen of Henry I., his niece was wife of Stephen, his wife was the daughter of Waltheof, the great Earl of Northumberland. If he thought it wise to invade England on behalf of his other niece, the ex-Empress Matilda, and to try to resume Scottish possession of the northern shires, he could hardly

¹ Walter Espec, Lord of Helmsley, was also Lord of Wark or Carham. The place was besieged frequently during the campaigns 1135-8 and only consented to surrender in 1138 on the direct instructions of Walter. For Abbot William's mission see Richard of Hexham, ed. Raine, p. 100 and John of Hexham, p. 118. That Ailred was with the abbot is probable from the fact that both of them were present when Eilaf surrendered his lands to Hexham (Richard of Hexham, p. 55). They reached Wark at Martinmas (Nov. 11). Like other barons, Walter Espec doubtless continued to hold his land, but as a vassal of David who carefully observed all the customs of Northumberland (Richard of Hexham, pp. 104, 105). The King and Walter were of course not unknown to each other. About 1132, the year of the foundation of Rievaulx, Walter Espec attested a charter of David in favour of the Priory of the Holy Trinity in London (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 98, p. 78).

² See Ailred's work on the genealogy of the English Kings, with the introductory letters to Henry of Anjou, then Duke of Normandy (*Decem Scriptorum*, pp. 347 ff.) The claim is put still more clearly by Jocelin of Furness in the dedication of his life of St. Waldef to King William of Scotland (c. 1210): Jocelin, with reference to William's descent through St. Margaret from Edmund Ironside, is speaking of Edward the Atheling, son of Edmund and father of Margaret—"legitimus heres sanctissimi confessoris Edwardi regis Angliae, jure hereditario Anglici regni per lineas rectas et directas successivae generationis in uos deuoluto, uos sceptrigeros effecisset, nisi Normannorum uiolenta direptio, Deo permittente, usque ad tempus praefinitum praepedisset" (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 248 d, e). See also the interesting passage in William of Newburgh, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 105-106.

be blamed, though it was doubtless the duty of King Stephen's vassals to resist him. In Ailred's memory the battle of the standard was an unhappy conflict of allegiances—for the Bruces and Balliols and other North-country barons had extensive lands in David's dominions—and incidentally a revival of that age-long racial struggle of Celt and Teuton. King David relied largely on the Picts of Galloway, at this time full of savage exultation after their recent victory at Clitheroe; and no foe was both so dreaded and so despised by Normans and English alike as the men of Galloway. When the battle was won and the barons had wiped out the shame of Clitheroe, the way to peace was open. David was willing to accept a compromise which Robert Bruce and Bernard of Balliol had vainly tried to effect before the fight. King Stephen was easily prevailed upon by the counsel of the papal legate and the prayers of his wife to grant it. Northumberland and Cumberland were ceded, and King David ruled at Carlisle.¹

The tone of detachment with which Ailred describes the Battle of the Standard gives way, in his other historical writings, to a mood of quiet triumph. The old unnatural embarrassments had been removed by King Henry II., the son of Matilda, the grand-nephew of David. In a letter which he prefixed to his book on the *Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor*, Ailred greets Henry as the corner-stone which bound together the two walls of the English and the Norman race.² For Ailred the solemn translation of the body of the Confessor in October, 1163, must have been one of the happiest events in his life. Laurence, Abbot of Westminster, who was his kinsman, and a Durham man,³ had asked Ailred to prepare for the occasion a new life of the

¹ See for all this, in addition to Ailred's tract, the Hexham chroniclers. Ailred's work is in the *Decem Scriptores* and is re-edited by Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc. (Rolls Series), III., 179-199. A good summary will be found in Maxwell, *The Early Chronicles Relating to Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), pp. 147-153.

² *Decem Scriptores*, p. 370: "lapidem angularem Anglici generis et Normannici gaudemus duos parietes conuenisse".

³ He was the Master Laurence who, from the account given by Reginald of Durham, would seem to have represented the citizens of Durham at the election of Bishop Hugh Pudsey, 9 June, 1153. He was then in secular orders. On the way to Rome, where the election, quashed by the Archbishop of York, was to be examined, Laurence left his companions and entered the monastery of St. Albans (Reginald of Durham, *De Vita et miraculis S. Godrici*, pp. 232-233; John of Hexham, pp. 167-168). Walter Daniel calls him Ailred's cognatus, *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 c.

Confessor. Ailred had taken the work of Osbern of Clare, and revised it in the light of official papal letters and of chronicles and such trustworthy information as had come to him by hearsay. He also prepared a homily—which he probably preached in the abbey—on the words *Nemo accendit lucernam*.¹

His ecclesiastical sympathies also were deeply engaged. Since 1159 the Church had been rent by schism. Ailred had never hesitated between Pope Alexander and the schismatic cardinals. If, as was clearly evident, the Church was still a living power, then the power must reside in the majority.² But there had been some very anxious days before King Louis of France and King Henry the Lord of England, Normandy and Aquitaine, decided to acknowledge and support Alexander. Henry is said to have been persuaded by two men; Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, and Ailred of Rievaulx.³ One of the first acts of the Pope after he was recognized by King Henry, was the canonization of Edward the Confessor. The great ceremony two years later, when the body of the saint was laid in the new shrine at Westminster, symbolized religious peace in the West of Europe as well as the union of Englishman and Norman.

Peace did not last long. The prelate who presided over the translation of St. Edward was the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket. His contest with the King had already begun and was soon to be obvious to all men. Ailred must have known all about it, but his letters are lost and we do not know what he thought. Some of these lost letters, especially those which he wrote to the

¹ Vita Ailredi, 70 c; *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* (ed. Giles, 1845), p. 98.

² See the interesting passage in the twenty-fourth sermon "De Oneribus Esaie" in Migne, P.L., CXC.V., coll. 460 c-461a. The Cardinal Octavian was elected by two cardinals only, the Cardinal Roland (Alexander III.) by five cardinal bishops and fifteen or more cardinal priests and deacons. The "uis apostolicae dignitatis" must reside in the latter: "Certe ecclesia Romana non perdit; certe, ceteris reprobatis, ut in illis tribus remanserit, nulla ratio, nullus sensus humanus admittit".

³ *Chron. Petriburgense*, p. 98. This late chronicle is of no great value, but its numerous allusions to Ailred clearly came from some good source. Where they can be checked they are reliable. Henry II. acknowledged Alexander at a great council held at Neufmarché in July, 1160. He and King Louis met him at Chouzy in September, 1162; see Robert of Torigny in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., IV., 207, 215.

King's justiciar, Robert, Earl of Leicester,¹ who attempted the ungrateful task of mediator, might make very interesting reading. I imagine that the sympathies of Ailred—Cistercian though he was—lay with King Henry rather than with the archbishop. His was a peace-loving equable nature, guided by strong common sense. There were capricious, theatrical, extravagant traits in the archbishop's conduct which could not but repel him.² Peace was restored in England, why disturb it? If these were his feelings, he was fortunate in the time of his death, before his faith in King Henry could be shaken by the deed which turned Becket into St. Thomas of Canterbury, and gave him a place even above St. Cuthbert and St. Edward the Confessor in the hearts of Englishmen.

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 70 c.

² Two facts may be noted which tend to confirm this view. Ailred was a friend of Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, the austere high churchman who had opposed Becket's election and steadily refused to support him against Henry. Some time after April, 1163, when Gilbert became Bishop of London, Ailred dedicated to him his sermons on Isaiah (P.L., CXCv., 561). Again, the archbishop had already asked for the prayers, not of Ailred, but of Maurice of Rievaulx. Maurice's reply, which I have printed elsewhere from Balliol MS. No. 65, betrays some uneasiness about the wisdom of Becket's election; see *English Hist. Rev.*, 1921, XXXV., 22, 26-29.

(To be continued).