

AILRED OF RIEVAULX AND HIS BIOGRAPHER WALTER DANIEL.

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IV.

AILRED AND RIEVAULX.

WALTER DANIEL was not much interested in Ailred's public life and political views ; he tells us more about his monastic life, of his experiences as novice, monk, novice-master, abbot. His biography does not show us the abbot as an administrator. We get few of those glimpses at the material and domestic life of a Cistercian abbey—the abbot on his journeys, the work of charity, the economy of the demesne farms or granges—which give interest to Jocelin's life of St. Waldef, the Abbot of Melrose. Walter is concerned with the inner life of the saint and his personal relations with his monks. His work is a good, though casual, commentary on the observance of the strict Benedictine rule enforced by the Cistercians.

Ailred's monastic life falls into three periods. For seven or eight years he was at Rievaulx as novice, monk, confidential adviser of Abbot William, and novice master. For about five years he was Abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, one of the daughter houses of Rievaulx. From the end of 1147 to his death he was Abbot of Rievaulx.

Ailred heard of Rievaulx when he was at York on the business of King David, probably in 1133 or 1134. He decided to visit the new monastery at once. He stayed with Walter Espec at Helmsley, went to Rievaulx, and next day set out for Scotland. He passed

along the road which still traverses the hillside above the valley of the Rie, where the ruins lie, and was decided by the curiosity of one of his companions to pay another visit. He could resist no longer, and after passing the customary three days in the hospice—a modest building, with low-stretched beams—he was received into the house of the novices (*probatorium*). Walter tells us how he showed his coolness during the fire which broke out in the hospice; when the distinguished young man rose with a smile and threw a jugful of English beer upon the flames, the fire miraculously ceased. In the *probatorium* his novice master was Simon, afterwards Abbot of Wardon, or Sartis, in Bedfordshire, who was still living when Walter Daniel wrote.¹

Ailred himself became novice master after his return from Rome in 1141. Walter's account of his work contains a reference of archaeological interest. According to the Benedictine rule the novices lived together—meditated, ate and slept—in a separate room, the *cella novitiorum*,² or, as it was frequently called, the *probatorium*. St. Bernard is said to have become so indifferent to his physical surroundings that he could not say, after living in the cell of the novices at Citeaux for a year, whether the room had a flat or a vaulted roof.³ The *probatorium* at Rievaulx was apparently built over a spring, for Ailred, following the example of St. Bernard, used to restrain the heats of his flesh by standing up to the neck in a bath which he had caused to be made in the floor and which was concealed by a stone.⁴ A more enduring record of his short tenure of the office of novice master is his work, the *Speculum Caritatis*. Internal evidence shows that he wrote this analysis of the religious life while he was

¹ Walter appeals to him to testify to Ailred's good qualities as a novice, Vita, f. 66 b. Unfortunately the date of his death is not known, so that this fact does not help us to date Walter's book. He was Abbot of Wardon some time before the death of Pope Innocent II. in 1143, assisted Earl Simon of Northampton to found Sawtrey Abbey in 1146 and died before 1186. If he was abbot from the foundation of Wardon (1135) Ailred must have entered Rievaulx in 1133-4. For Simon see *Monasticon*, V., 370, 522; VI., 950, Jocelin of Furness in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 261 b; *Victoria County History, Bedfordshire*, I., 365.

² See the texts in Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la 1^{re} le Cistercienne* (Dijon, 1878), pp. 46, 219.

³ Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., 46.

⁴ Vita Ailredi, f. 67 d, Walter describes the bath as a "casella testea".

actually teaching novices. He was prompted to the task by Gervase, the Abbot of Louth Park in Lincolnshire. Gervase had been one of the monks who left St. Mary's, York, to form the Cistercian community at Fountains. When in 1139 Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, decided to found a new Cistercian monastery and invited Fountains to assist him, Gervase led the colony, first to Haverholm, then to Louth Park.¹ He met Ailred and was greatly impressed by him. The young monk was just the man to write a practical guide to the religious life. Ailred excused himself on the ground that he was no scholar. He had come to Rievaulx from the kitchens, not from the schools. Gervase brushed the excuse aside. If Ailred was pleased to play with words in this way, let him prepare them heavenly food.² The reply to these entreaties was the *Speculum Caritatis*, the most intimate and vigorous of Ailred's writings. The most interesting chapters (II., 17 ff.) are cast in the form of a dialogue between Ailred and a novice. They show Ailred at work in the probatorium. In the preceding chapters he has discussed the fact that the gift of tears comes more easily to men living in the world than to the religious in the cloister. Ailred does not think that this is strange. The experiences of those who live delicately are no matter for boasting; their tears are no certain sign of grace, for humours flow easily to the heads of such people.³ And if no sense of sweetness follows the profession of a more severe life, this is no reason for depression. Ailred feels that he can best explain his meaning by recalling a conversation which he had had not long before with a novice. The newcomer had been perplexed by the contrast between the spiritual rapture of the past and the aridity of the present. His old life had certainly not been more holy, for had he lived then as he was living now he would have become almost

¹ *Monasticon*, V., 414. In the Cistercian text of the *Speculum*, copied by Migne, P.L., CXCIV., 502, Abbot Gervase is concealed by the description *abbas Parchorensis*. Fortunately his Christian name is given. Parchorensis is a corruption of Parcoludensis.

² The letter from Gervase to Ailred, from which this is taken, has survived as the preface to the *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCIV., 502).

³ *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii. c. 14 (P.L., CXCIV., 559 d: "si igitur in his omnibus nitidus ac crassus incedas, noli, quaeso, de tuis lacrymulis multum gloriari; quae forte ut et nos aliquid secundum physicos dicamus, tumescentibus mero venis, ac diversis ciborum saporumue nidoribus, humore capitis succrescente, facilius elabuntur").

an object of worship. Ailred led him on to analyse his early experiences. They had been very delightful, but they had passed as quickly as they came. He had found equal pleasure in devout tears and in worldly jests, in the love for Christ and the companionships of the table. Now his life was very different : scanty food, rough dress, water from the well, a hard pallet. The bell rang just when sleep was sweetest. He had to toil and sweat for his daily bread ; his conversation with his fellows was confined to a few necessary words with three people.¹ He agreed gladly that this was only one side. Discipline meant peace : no wrangling or complaints of injustice, no lawsuits, no respect of persons nor regard for birth, no favouritism in the distribution of the daily tasks. He was now a member of a community united by a common interest in the common good, controlled by one man whose will was law for three hundred others.² The novice, in spite of the hardships of this new life and his own irresponsiveness, was fain to admit that he preferred it to the old. And then Ailred brought him face to face with the main issue : why in that old life, no longer preferred, had he a livelier sense of his love for Christ ? The conclusion was gradually drawn : to love is one thing, to love with full self-surrender is another and a harder thing. Love without service is like the emotion of the playgoer who weeps at the sight of sufferings which in the street he would pass unmoved. At this point the novice hung his head. He remembered how he, who had been so lightly moved to tears by his love for Christ, had been wont to cry with equal facility over the story of Arthur.³

In 1142 William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln, founded the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Revesby in Lincolnshire. In accordance with the Cistercian rule he would consult the Abbot of Rievaulx, by

¹ P.L., CXCIV., 562. The abbot, prior and novice master seem to be intended : see the "Consuetudines," ch. cxiii., in Guignard, *Monuments primitifs*, p. 233.

² P.L., CXCIV., 563 : "quod me miro modo delectat nulla est personarum acceptio, nulla natalium consideratio. . . . Trecentis ut reor hominibus unius hominis uoluntas est lex". This number included the conversi, novices, servants in the monastery and granges as well as the monks. It increased greatly under Ailred's rule as abbot.

³ *Ibid.*, 565 c. "Nam et in fabulis, quae uulgo de nescio quo finguntur Arcturo, memini me nonnunquam usque ad effusionem lacrymarum fuisse permotum". I shall return to the significance of this allusion : see below, p. 476.

whom he desired his foundation to be settled, about a suitable site and would build a church, refectory, dormitory, hospice, and other necessary buildings. Copies of the Benedictine rule, the Cistercian customs and the service books would be provided, and then the first inmates, twelve monks and an abbot, would take possession.¹ All Cistercian houses were dedicated to St. Mary, and Walter Daniel is careful to state that the name of St. Lawrence was preserved because the existing church was dedicated to this saint.² Abbot William chose Ailred as first Abbot of St. Lawrence.³ With this advancement began the last and most important period of his career. In 1147 he was elected Abbot of Rievaulx.

Ailred was Abbot of Rievaulx for nearly twenty years.⁴ In his time Rievaulx was the real centre of Cistercian influence in England. The once Savigniac, but now Cistercian house of Furness and the Surrey house of Waverley were older, but as Ailred once said of the latter, they were hidden away in a corner (*in angulo*).⁵ The source of the new religious life lay in Yorkshire, a few miles off the big road which goes from York to Durham through Northallerton, and within easy reach of the road through Catterick to Carlisle and Clydesdale and Galloway.⁶ And the new abbot was fitted to extend the work begun by William and his companions at Rievaulx. His prestige in the province of York was great. He had been the confidant of King David of Scotland, and in course of time he was permitted to advise King Henry II. and the powerful Earl of Leicester. For some years

¹ See the "instituta" as defined in 1152, Guignard, *op. cit.*, cc. 12, 23, pp. 253, 256.

² Vita Ailredi, f. 68 b.

³ Walter Daniel confirms the definite statement made in the *Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense*, ed. Giles, p. 91. Ailred attested a charter of Roger Mowbray as "Alredo, abbate de S. Laurentio," *Cart. Rievallense*, No. 71, p. 41.

⁴ For the references in this paragraph see the chronological table, below p. 478.

⁵ In the tract on the battle of the Standard, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 338; Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen*, etc., iii., 184.

⁶ Some interesting remarks on the routes in the north of England will be found in papers by Dr. Lawlor and Canon Wilson on the Roman journeys of St. Malachi, the friend of St. Bernard and Ailred's contemporary: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, April, 1919, vol. xxxv. C. 6, pp. 238 ff.; *Scottish Historical Review*, XVIII., 69-82, 226-227.

after his election, the Archbishopric of York was ruled by a close friend and ally, Henry Murdac, himself a Cistercian. Ailred was by nature a man of alert mind, sound in judgment, interested in affairs. He excelled as an arbitrator, and adjusted more than one of the perplexing controversies which disturbed the monastic tempers of the north. In spite of constant ill health, he was an indefatigable administrator. He composed disputes between Rievaulx and her neighbours, and ruled his large family with moderation and patience. He found time, between attendances at the General Chapter of his Order at Citeaux and visitations of the Cistercian houses in Scotland, the inspection of the monastic granges and the composition of sermons, dialogues and historical works, to take some share in the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese. In short he was one of the most considerable persons north of the Trent and would know everybody of importance. He would doubtless meet the famous Vacarius, the Italian lawyer who for many years placed his learning and skill at the service of Archbishop Roger.¹ If the two men had time for intimate speech they would find that they had much in common. The author of the *Summa de matrimonio* was keenly interested, for example, in the problem of the application in societies of non-Roman origin of the principles of the Roman and Canon Law ; and Ailred, a former official in the Scottish Court, and later the biographer of St. Ninian, would have plenty to tell him about the practices of the people of Galloway.²

It is to be feared that Ailred's life was not always a peaceful one, even when he was free to forget the distractions of the world within the walls of Rievaulx. His difficulties would be increased by his

¹ The agreement between the churches of York and Durham, to which both Ailred and Vacarius were witnesses, cannot be relied on. Roger of Howden ascribes it to the year 1174, seven years after Ailred's death. (Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III., 79 ; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, II., 276). But Vacarius was living at York during Ailred's later years. See Liebermann, in the *English Historical Review*, XI., 305 ff. ; and for the "summa de matrimonio," Maitland, *Collected Papers*, III., 87 ff.

² For the Cistercian view of Pictish marriage customs see Vita Ailredi, f. 71 a ; and compare St. Bernard's description of Irish custom in the *Vita S. Malachie*, quoted with comments by Lawlor in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, April, 1919, vol. xxxv. C. 6, pp. 236-237. Mr. Orpen makes some illuminating remarks on this subject in his *Ireland under the Normans*, I., 124-130 (1911).

unwillingness to refuse applicants and to keep the number of the community down. Under his rule he had 140 monks, and the well managed estates provided employment for 600 lay brethren and servants. On great feast days, says Walter, the church was so packed with the brethren as to resemble a hive of bees. Ailred could not know all his monks nor control all the affairs of this large establishment.¹ He was by conviction a mild disciplinarian. It says much for his moral influence that life at Rievaulx was as smooth and happy as it was. He knew well that one of the greatest dangers which beset the monastic life is restless curiosity about external affairs ; a chatterer about war and politics might cause a wave of disturbance which would change the temper of the whole monastery.² He was a restless man himself, inclined as a young monk to let his thoughts wander, and one of his most grateful memories was of his dead friend Simon, whose presence had always sufficed to make him collect himself.³ He compared the monastic life to a castle, with its ditch, wall and keep—just such a castle as that of Lord Walter Espec at Helmsley. “Intrauit Jesus in quoddam castellum,” and no castle is strong if ditch or wall has to stand alone, or if the keep is not higher than the rest ; in this castle humility is the ditch, chastity the wall and charity the keep.⁴ But Ailred had to suffer still more from stupidity and envy within than from the assaults of curiosity without. One gathers that he was refined, courteous, gentle in manner and firm almost to obstinacy. He was, one fancies, just and impartial from principle rather than by nature ; he was inclined to favouritism and the joys of spiritual friendship with charming young men, like his friend Simon and the handsome young monk of Durham whom he had with him in his visit to St. Godric at Finchale. He was a man of pleasant and easy speech, with a memory stored with anecdotes ; he was distinguished, industrious, and physically frail—an interesting combination of qualities which tended to confine him to the society of a few chosen helpers. By special permission of the general Chapter ten

¹ See the interesting chapter in the Vita, ff. 69 d-70 a, printed below, p. 507.

² *Speculum Caritatis*, II., 34 (P.L., CXCv., 573 b).

³ *Speculum*, I., 34 (*Ibid.*, 542 c, d).

⁴ Sermon on the assumption of the Blessed Virgin (*ibid.* 303-304). The passage is of some archaeological interest.

years before his death the rule was relaxed in his favour, so that he might perform his abbatial duties in spite of the very distressing malady from which he suffered.¹ He lived and slept in a little room built near the infirmary, took hot baths and—as his end drew nearer—crouched over a fire. In his cell, which contained a little oratory, where he kept his glossed psalter, the Confessions of St. Augustine, the text of St. John's Gospel, some relics of saints and a little cross which had once belonged to Archbishop Henry Murdac, he would talk with his monks, sometimes twenty or more together.² A man of this kind, who offers no sharp angles to the outsider and has more to forgive than to be forgiven, provokes unreasoning exasperation in envious or unbalanced minds.³ Ailred found enemies at Rievaulx as he found them at King David's court, and Walter Daniel's life was written in part as a passionate refutation of the suggestions that he was ambitious, a wirepuller, fond of luxurious living, a successful prig who in his time had been no better than he should have been.

In two of his writings, the *Speculum Caritatis* (c. 1142) and the Dialogue on spiritual friendship, which was composed towards the end of his life, Ailred refers at some length to two intimate friendships which he had formed at Rievaulx. Simon, the companion of his youth, had died shortly before Ailred wrote the *Speculum*, which contains a lamentation over the severance of their friendship.⁴ This model young man, well born, beautiful and holy, may possibly have been the Simon de Sigillo, whose psalter was preserved in the following century in the library, together with the psalters of Abbots Ailred and Ernald, of Turolde, abbot first of Fountains and later of Trois-Fontaines, of Master Walter Daniel, Ralf Barun, Geoffrey of Dinant, Fulk, and William of Rutland.⁵ The name of Ailred's later friend

¹ Vita Ailredi, ff. 70 a, b ; 72 c, d. Ailred suffered from the stone and an "artetica passio," or "colica passio" (f. 63 a).

² f. 70 a, 73 a. The psalter was after Ailred's death, preserved with others in the library of the Abbey.

³ See especially the story, told by Walter Daniel in his letter to Maurice, of the "Epicurean" who tried to throw Ailred into the fire (Vita Ailredi, f. 63 b).

⁴ P.L., CXCv., 539-546 ; cf. 698 b.

⁵ James, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Jesus College, Cambridge*, pp. 49-50. On the other hand Simon de Sigillo may have been the well-known canon of York who attested many charters. He had ceased to hold

is not known. The abbot tells us that he brought him from the south, apparently about the time when he became novice master. On his succession as abbot, he gradually made the young man his confidant and finally, with the consent of the brethren, sub-prior. He became the abbot's mainstay, the "staff of his old age," who soothed him when he was worried, and refreshed his leisure. He died before the Dialogue on friendship was written, for in this work Ailred tells, as characteristic of him, how during his last illness he refused any relaxation of the rule on his behalf, lest a suspicion of favouritism should injure the abbot's authority.¹ Ailred, as we have seen, was sent to Rome shortly before he became novice master at Rievaulx, and the young man whom he brought back with him from the south may have been Geoffrey of Dinant. But this is an idle guess.

Walter Daniel says nothing of the friendships which meant most to Ailred, but he gives the names of several members of the little band from whom the abbot seems to have usually chosen his companions and fellow-travellers. Henry of Beverley, Ralph of Rothwell and little Ralph (*Radulfus paruus, brevis staturae*) are named most frequently.

V.

THE DAUGHTERS OF RIEVAULX.

The years between Ailred's novitiate and his election as Abbot of Rievaulx were critical in the history of the Cistercian Order. Even in 1135 the movement which St. Bernard had revived a few years before was spreading with a rapidity which alarmed its wiser followers. Too many persons unsuited for the religious life were degrading the Order. In 1152, when it comprised 330 houses, the General Chapter

his prebend of Langtoft by 1164 (Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I., 137, No. 161). William of Newburgh got information about the death of St. William (1154) from an aged monk of Rievaulx who had once been a canon of York (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I. 81). For Turolde see St. Bernard's letter in *Opera*, I., 287 d, and Walbran, *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, I., 104-105 (Surtees Society, 1863). The monks of Durham also kept a collection of psalters which had belonged to their more distinguished predecessors: *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral*, p. 7 (Surtees Society, 1838).

¹ P.L., CXCV., 700-701.

forbade the foundation of new houses.¹ In the interval Rievaulx had sent out colonists to Wardon, Melrose, Revesby, and Dundrennan.²

The history of these monasteries must be sought elsewhere ; but a few additional notes or corrections may be gleaned from the materials for the life of Ailred.

(1) The Abbey of Wardon was founded by Walter Espec in a clearing in the woods upon his Bedfordshire lands (1135). He naturally sought the co-operation of Abbot William of Rievaulx. The house was generally known as Sartis (*de essartis*) or the "clearing". We have seen that Ailred's novice master, the long-lived Simon, was probably the first Abbot of Sartis. Walter Daniel also tells us that Ivo, one of the speakers in Ailred's Dialogue on spiritual friendship, was a monk of Sartis, and that Ailred dedicated to him a noble exposition on the passage which describes the child Christ's discussion with the doctors in the Temple.

(2) The Abbey of St. Lawrence at Revesby in Lincolnshire has a place in the biography of Ailred, its first abbot. Walter Daniel says that Ailred began to work miracles at Revesby and, if the names of the witnesses are a sure guide, the abbot took with him, among the dozen colonists, lord Gospatric (doubtless a member of the great Northumbrian house), Henry the priest and Ralph the short. The under cellarer, who is unnamed, was a relative of Ailred's, and another monk was the unstable scholar who had previously caused him trouble as a novice at Rievaulx. Ralph the short and the unstable monk would seem to have returned with Ailred to Rievaulx in 1147.

The list of Ailred's immediate successors at Revesby requires revision. According to the Peterborough chronicler Ailred was succeeded by Philip, who died in 1166 and was followed by Gualo or Galo.³ Philip was certainly Abbot of St. Lawrence in 1164,⁴ and it is likely that he was the abbot of the daughter house who insulted Ailred

¹ Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne*, p. xv. This statute was not strictly observed, but checked the growth of the Order.

² Another project seems to have come to nothing. Rievaulx before 1140 was given land at Stainton, near Richmond, "ad construendam abbatiam," which was never built (*Cart. Rievallense*, pp. lvii., 261).

³ *Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense* (edit. Giles, 1845), p. 99.

⁴ *Cartularium Rievallense*, No. 246, p. 183.

at Rievaulx. According to Walter Daniel, this unnamed abbot, on the occasion of his statutory annual visit to Rievaulx,¹ so provoked Ailred by his unjust railing and accusations that the latter was moved to pass a prophetic judgment upon him. He died soon after his return home.² It is clear from the context that this painful incident occurred just before one of Ailred's latest visits to Galloway, and the only abbot of a daughter house who died between this date and that of Ailred's own death in 1167 was Philip of St. Lawrence.³ The Peterborough chronicler, on the other hand, erred in stating that Philip was Ailred's immediate successor, for G., Abbot of St. Lawrence, attests a charter of 1147-53 recently printed by Mr. Stenton.⁴ If Gualo succeeded Philip, he had given place to Hugh before the spring of 1174 or 1175. Hugh, who was still abbot in 1193,⁵ would seem to have been succeeded by Ralph.⁶ We have, then, the following revised list of the abbots of St. Lawrence :—

Ailred, 1142-7.

G., c. 1150.

Philip, mentioned 1164; died, 1166.

Gualo, 1166.

Hugh, 1175, 1193.

Ralph.

(3) The Abbey of Dundrennan in Galloway is said to have been founded in 1142 by King David and was occupied, as Walter Daniel states, by monks from Rievaulx.⁷ Yet when Ailred visited it

¹ For this annual visit to the mother house, see the instituta of 1152, c. 34, "quod filia per annum semel uisitat matrem ecclesiam" (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 260).

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 d. Walter's story was too precise, and he afterwards modified it in his letter to Maurice, f. 61 b. The Abbot's death may, he admits, have been due to some other cause than Ailred's prophesy.

³ Walter Daniel's chronology is confused. See below, p. 480.

⁴ *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Danelaw*, No. 348, p. 262.

⁵ 9 Kal., April, 1175 (*Cart. Rievallense*, No. 132, p. 82, and note); 10 Jan., 1177 (Stenton, No. 285, p. 215); about 1193 (*ibid.*, No. 526, p. 381).

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 524, p. 380 (end of twelfth century).

⁷ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 62 c. According to the statute of 1152, which presumably defined previous custom, the buildings should have been ready for the monks.

in 1165 he was lodged in a poor, leaky hovel, as the conventual buildings were not finished. It was here that the rain spared Ailred's mattress! At this time the Prior of Dundrennan was Walter, formerly one of Walter Espec's chaplains, and sacristan of Rievaulx.

(4) With Melrose, Ailred had personal as well as official ties, for between 1148 and 1159 its abbot was his old friend Waldef, formerly Prior of Kirkham. But the relations between Rievaulx and St. Waldef require more particular notice.

VI.

RIEVAULX, KIRKHAM, AND ST. WALDEF.

Waldef, Waldeve or Waltheof (erroneously Waldenus) was the second son of Simon of Saint Liz and Matilda, the daughter of the famous Englishman, Earl Waltheof. Simon's elder son, another Simon, became in due course Earl of Northampton and a supporter of King Stephen; Waldef, who was brought up at the court of his step-father, King David of Scotland, was attracted by the religious life. As a child, while his brother played at castles, he had preferred to play at churches.¹ He became a regular canon in the Augustinian priory at Nostell, near Pontefract.² About the time when his old companion Ailred entered Rievaulx he was elected Prior of Kirkham. The Augustinian priory of Kirkham had been founded by Walter Espec in 1122, ten years before he found a home for the missionaries of St. Bernard at Rievaulx. The two houses, owing their origin to the same patron, and only a few miles apart, were naturally brought into closer touch with each other than was usual in the case of religious foundations which belonged to different orders.³ The arrival of Waldef as prior of one, and of Ailred as monk in the other must have strengthened the sense of relationship. The Prior of Kirkham joined

¹ For this section, see Jocelin of Furness, *Vita S. Waldeni*, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 248 ff.; for Waldef's boyhood, 251 b.

² This was about 1130, for c. 1128 he attested one of David's charters (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 83, p. 69).

³ Their lands, for example, were naturally grouped together and they had to make exchanges and other arrangements. The abbot of Rievaulx and the prior of Kirkham were joint *custodes* of the hospital founded c. 1225 by Robert de Ros at Bolton, in the Barony of Wark-on-Tweed. See Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, vol. vii. (1904), pp. 202-203.

Abbot William of Rievaulx and the other leaders of the opposition to the election of Archbishop William of York. In 1143 he accompanied them to Rome.¹ Within a few months this intimacy had a result which brought alarm and division among the canons of Kirkham. Waldef decided to take the vows of a Cistercian. If his biographer is correct in attributing the step to the influence of Ailred, Waldef had probably had it in mind for some time, since opportunities of discussion with Ailred must have been less frequent after the latter's departure for Revesby in 1142. Some of the canons were angry; the claim of the Cistercians that, as their severe rule brought its votaries nearer to perfection, an Augustinian might properly adopt it, whereas a Cistercian who left his Order for the Augustinians would be a backslider, naturally annoyed them.² They were proud of their Order, of their work as priests among the people, of their churches with their windows of stained glass. When Waldef began his noviciate at Wardon, the wrath of the canons of Kirkham pursued him. They had the sympathy of Simon, the earl of Northampton, who at this time had no respect for the spiritual extravagances of his brother, and, according to Jocelin of Furness, the earl's hostility was felt to be so dangerous to the monks of Wardon that Waldef withdrew to Rievaulx.

The cartulary of Rievaulx contains an interesting cirograph or agreement between the Abbey and the canons of Kirkham which (although his name is not mentioned) is almost certainly connected with Waldef's reception into the Cistercian order.³ Waldef's intention had divided the canons, several of whom desired to join their prior in

¹ John of Hexham, ed. Raine, p. 142.

² Jocelin of Furness, 257; cf. the remarks of Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, I., p. cxi. The relations between St. Bernard and the Augustinians were none the less very friendly; see Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., 186 ff.

³ *Cartularium Rievallense*, No. 149, p. 108. Canon Atkinson, in his introduction to this cartulary, misses the meaning of the text, which is correctly summarized in the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, III., 219-220. He saw, however, that it might be related to the history of Waldef, a possibility which seems to me to be certain if the text is compared with the narrative of Jocelin of Furness. The date of the agreement is not given. Atkinson's reasons for placing it before the document, No. 347, in the cartulary (p. 243), though not quite convincing, have much force. If he is right, it must be dated *c.* 1139.

his momentous change of life. A struggle ensued for the possession of the priory with its rich endowments and churches. The patron, Walter Espec, tried to solve the difficulty by means of an ingenious compromise. The canons would surrender Kirkham and other property to the abbot and monks of Rievaulx, who would receive the Augustinians who remained into all the privileges of the Cistercian order. In return the prior and his followers (*auxiliarii*) were to build new buildings on an adequate scale—church, chapter-house, dormitory, refectory, etc. The new home was to be at Linton, perhaps Linton-on-Ouse, north of York, and the canons were to be permitted to remove thither their sacred vessels, books, vestments, and the stained glass from the Kirkham windows. The agreement was not executed, and ultimately Waldef went out alone.¹

He had periods of depression and misgiving. He was repelled by the insipid food, the rough garments, the hard manual labour and the incessant round of offices and saying of psalms. As his mind went back to the years which he had passed at Nostell and Kirkham, he seriously considered whether it was not his duty to return to a life which, if less austere, was better adapted for the discipline and salvation of the soul.² But he passed through this crisis. In 1148, he was elected Abbot of the daughter house at Melrose and returned to the land of his step-father, King David.

By this time Ailred was Abbot of Rievaulx, and it was therefore Waldef's duty to report to him once a year. Jocelin of Furness draws some pleasant pictures of Waldef's visits to his old friends. Once he came in summer. He arrived at midday while the brethren were asleep in the dormitory.³ He would not allow them to be disturbed but, after the customary prayer at the door of the church, he went to sit in the cloister; and, as he leaned against the wall and tried to sleep, his closest friend, the dead Abbot William, appeared to him. His thoughts were much occupied, on these occasions, with memories of William, for at another time, when the convent had gone

¹ If the cirograph must be dated before 1139 (see last note), the canons did not lose their prior until four or five years later.

² Jocelin of Furness, 257-258: "persuasum in mente habuit institutiones illorum licet leuiiores, discretioni tamen uiciniiores esse ac per hoc saluandis animabus aptiores" (258 a).

³ The siesta in summer is prescribed in the consuetudines, c. 83 (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 188).

to bed after compline, he stayed behind and went into the Chapter-house to pray by his tomb.¹

At Melrose Waldef had visits from Ailred. The Abbot of Rievaulx was with him, not long before his death, when a deputation came from St. Andrews to offer him the bishopric. Ailred urged him to accept, but Waldef refused, because he felt that his end was near.²

VII.

THE MIRACLES.

The *Vita Ailredi* was written to prove Ailred's claim to sanctity. It is a piece of hagiography. From Walter Daniel's point of view the external incidents of the abbot's life were important just so far as they helped to establish his case. Inevitably he saw or heard from others the things which the friend and biographer of a saint would expect to see or hear. A supernatural light shone round the infant's head; the child uttered prophesies; the youth was virtuous; the monk possessed miraculous powers of healing, which could be transmitted by his staff;³ he saw prophetic visions; the elements favoured him, as when the rain spared his bed in the leaky house at Dundrennan; he was rigidly ascetical, stern to himself, while gracious and forgiving to others; his death was exemplary and, in spite of his age and intense physical sufferings, his corpse was as fresh and white as that of a little child.

As a contribution to the hagiographical literature of the twelfth century Walter's work has no special interest or originality. The repetition of familiar precedents from the gospels is the basis of the narrative; and parallels to most of the extravagant additions can be found in any other work of the period, for example, in the miracles of St. John of Beverley, St. Cuthbert, St. Ninian, St. Kentigern, or—to

¹ Jocelin of Furness, 264 e, 265 a.

² *Ibid.*, 266 f. Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, died in the spring of 1159, and Waldef died on 3 August in the same year. (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 76; Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, 1912, pp. 4-6). Ailred's visit then was in the early summer of 1159.

³ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 69 a. For the wonder-working power of the "bachall" or pastoral staff in the lives of Irish saints, see Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), Vol. I., p. clxxv.

take Ailred's contemporaries—in the lives of Godric of Finchale, William of York, Waldef of Melrose. In the descriptions of disease, apparently so precise and minute, in reality so vague, Walter Daniel adopted phrases in current use, just as the chroniclers used forms and phrases handed down from Livy or Sallust to adorn a speech or describe a military raid.¹ We must not conclude that the occasions of Ailred's miracles were invented. No one would argue that, because other saints stood up to their necks in cold water in order to expel the lusts of the flesh, the story that Ailred did the same is an invention; and it would be equally hazardous to argue that Ailred's personality had no therapeutic influence, because his cures are described in the high-flown conventional language used in other lives of saints. When Walter Daniel says that he was present in the orchard at Rievaulx one dark evening while the abbot was discussing some domestic matter with the cellarers, and remembers how Ailred hurried off to minister to a brother who had suddenly fallen sick, he is describing something which he had seen and which we can accept, although we need not believe that the subsequent recovery of the sick man happened exactly as Walter says that it did.² But at this point the historian is brought to a stand. He cannot estimate the ratio between the true and the false in the conventional narrative. He cannot measure the varying degrees of suggestion or hallucination, of folk-lore or falsehood. He can only call attention to the spiritual circumstances in which a monk of the twelfth century lived. Walter Daniel and his companions breathed an atmosphere in which they could hardly escape far-fetched or grotesque interpretations of the evidence of their senses :—

The dignities of plain occurrence then
Were tasteless, and truth's golden mean, a point
Where no sufficient pleasure could be found.

There would be no limits, save those imposed by the conventions of contemporary literature, to the conclusions which these eagerly expectant admirers of Ailred would draw from the most trivial incident. Lives of saints, as familiar to them as their psalters, set before

¹ See Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (trans. V. M. Crawford, 1907) for the whole subject. Cf. Plummer's introduction to the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, already noted, for the material of legend.

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 70 d; below, pp. 510, 511.

them the standard of perfection to which a good monk might attain. In this period of monastic revival the standard was actually attained by many monks in all parts of Europe, for the Cistercian and other rules attracted men of fine and strong personality, natural leaders of their fellows. Ailred was one of these men, and his monks could recognize the type in their master. They would be on the watch for signs of the divine favour and would know exactly what kinds of manifestation to expect. Prepared to see everywhere traces of the direct intervention of God, their senses were deadened to the commonplace and unusually aware of strange or peculiar circumstance. A presentiment, a coincidence, a flicker of sunlight in an unusual place, might suggest a miracle for which there were a dozen parallels. They would nudge each other with significant looks and, as they talked it over, would invest the original incident with its setting of appropriate detail. The story would be complete, the witnesses ready, within an hour.¹

At the same time Walter Daniel was not unaware of the criticism which the indiscriminating regard for the miraculous had aroused. Like St. Bernard and Ailred himself, he had a sense of moral values, if not of the value of evidence. The Cistercians were tolerant of the marvellous, for they could see no bounds to the ways in which God reveals Himself in the lives of His loved ones; but they insisted that virtue, not supernatural power, is the true mark of a saint. It is better to conquer oneself than Jerusalem. The two trains of thoughts can be clearly seen in the life and teaching of St. Bernard. The stories of Bernard's miracles which were freely reported, apparently without any contradiction, in his lifetime, must have done much to arouse expectations of the marvellous in the lives of other famous Cistercians.²

¹ Walter's views are set out at length in his letter to Maurice, of which the text is given below, p. 481. He had omitted many miracles which, in his view, were well authenticated, and of all those which he included, he had been a witness or had direct information. He consents to name witnesses as a concession to Maurice, but in his opinion the virtues of Ailred are the real sanction: "michi facile credibile uidetur homines uita bona preditos facere posse quod deus uoluerit" (f. 61 a). In a later passage (f. 61 c) he develops the argument that the canons of evidence are not the same for *crimen* and *uirtus*.

² See Vacandard's discussion of the *Liber miraculorum*, which contains accounts, written down at various places during the journey, of miracles

Bernard himself says of St. Benedict, "sanctitatem miracula probant, doctrina pietatem, uita iustitiam".¹ But he also wrote that the greatest miracle in his eyes was the voluntary adoption of the rule by so many young men, who were able to live lives of such unwonted austerity as though held captive by the fear of God in a prison with open doors.² Similarly Ailred, who wrote the life of St. Ninian and inspired Reginald of Durham to set down the miracles of St. Cuthbert and Godric of Finchale, and said that the concealment of undoubted miracles of the Lord was a kind of sacrilege,³ held strong views about those who, conscious of their own virtue, exploited their sanctity by the exhibition of miraculous powers. This was the worst of all forms of spiritual inquisitiveness; it was to tempt God.⁴ Ailred's biographer was forced by the criticism to which the *Vita Ailredi* was subjected, to expound this view still more precisely. Two prelates had cast doubt upon the incidents related by Walter Daniel, and, in his letter to Maurice, Walter took up the challenge. He named witnesses who were prepared to swear to the truth of the narrative and also to several other miraculous incidents not mentioned in the Life. But at the same time he repudiates the notion that Ailred's claim to sanctity depended upon any miracles—

"The miracles of our father are great, yet bad men are able to work miracles and great ones too. But only the good possess the perfect love (*caritatem*) which Ailred had. If, says the apostle, I shall have all faith so that I am able to remove mountains, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Who will deny that to remove mountains is a great miracle? And yet without love whatever a man may do is reckoned

wrought by St. Bernard in the Rhine valley, 1146-7: *Vie de Saint Bernard*, I., p. xxvii. ff. Vacandard also gives references to the pleasures of Walter Map and other sceptics on the subject of Bernard's miracles.

¹ *Opera*, I., col. 975 c.

² *Ibid.*, col. 1076 d.

³ His tract, "De Sanctimoniali de Watton," which shows the monastic attitude at its worst, begins, "miracula Dei et manifesta divinae pietatis indicia scire et tegere, portio sacrilegii est" (*Decem Scriptores*, col. 415).

⁴ *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii., c. 34 (P.L., CXCv., 573 d): "est adhuc aliud curiositatis pessimum genus, quo tamen hi soli, qui magnarum sibi uirtutum conscii sunt, attentantur: exploratio scilicet suae sanctitatis per miraculorum exhibitionem, quod est Deum tentare".

nought, even though he is able to suspend the whole earth from one finger.”¹

Walter was quite consistent. Although he defended the miracles, the personality of Ailred was the really interesting thing, on which his memory preferred to dwell. He writes well and simply when he describes Ailred talking with young monks in his private cell and tells us about his literary work and narrates the story of his last days and death. He was at bottom less certain about the miracles. It is significant that, in the letter to Maurice, he withdraws his support from the one miraculous incident in the *Life* which was not altogether creditable to Ailred. Ailred had lost his temper with a scurrilous abbot of a daughter house and foretold that evil would befall him. Soon after the tiresome abbot died, and in the *Life* Walter regarded his death as a fulfilment of Ailred's prophecy; but in the letter to Maurice he says that he cannot vouch for the connection and has now reason to believe that death was due to other causes.² It is possible, indeed, that he was led on to the generalizations, which I have just quoted, by the thought that the competition in miracles—prevalent between the supporters of rival saints—was a most ineffective way to maintain Cistercian influence and ideals. Bad men could work miracles. Just at this time the supporters of Saint William of York, the archbishop whom, in 1140, William of Rievaulx had opposed as a simoniac, were pressing the claims of their hero.³ Miracles were worked at his tomb as startling as any worked at the tomb of St. John of Beverley. And a few years later we find St. William appropriating the most

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 63 a. The whole passage is important and is given in full below, pp. 489, 490.

² Vita Ailredi, f. 61 b (foot). The story, as originally told, is in f. 70 d. For comments, see above, p. 462. Walter also modified slightly the story of the novice who tried in vain to leave the monastery. After giving the names of witnesses, he proceeds (f. 61 b, top) “quod eciam miraculum michi uenerabilis pater Aldredus expressit, non quidem quasi miraculum propter suam humilitatem, set quasi quandam praeclaram fortunam propter meam infirmitatem”.

³ St. William was restored to the see after Henry Murdac's death but died almost immediately, 1154 (*Historians of the Church of York*, III., 396-397). William of Newburgh refutes the suspicion that he was poisoned (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I, 81). A collection of St. William's miracles is printed from Dodsworth MS. 215, by Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, II., 531-543.

remarkable of Ailred's cures, the miraculous extraction of a live frog which had been swallowed by mistake at an earlier stage of its career.¹

Walter had to meet a criticism which affected him more than the scepticism about Ailred's miracles. He was attacked for his assertion that Ailred, during his youth at King David's court, had lived like a monk. The implication was that Ailred's secular life had been perfectly chaste, as Waldef's was said to have been,² and as Ailred—using this same phrase—said that the life of the other companion of his youth, Earl Henry, had been.³ Walter Daniel, presumably, intended his readers to take the phrase in the same sense.⁴ Before he wrote his apologia to Maurice, he had been reminded of some evidence—perhaps the self-accusing passages which were quoted by a later critic from Ailred's own writings⁵—which pointed the other way. His explanation was interesting if not ingenuous. If his critics, he said, had been familiar with the practice of the schools, they would have realized that he was using a rhetorical figure, by which the whole is known from the part. He was not thinking of Ailred's chastity when he said that Ailred in his secular days lived like a monk; the phrase was, of course, inapplicable to one whose continence had not been perfect. He was thinking of Ailred's humility. In that single virtue the whole range of his future perfection was anticipated.⁶

¹ Ailred extracted a frog which a youth had swallowed while drinking (*Vita Ailredi*, f. 71 b). In 1177 a woman who had swallowed a frog cooked in bread was cured at the tomb of St. William (Raine, *op. cit.*, II., 284, 535).

² *Acta Sanctorum*, August., I., 251 e: "illud singulare decus, uirginitatis uidelicet candidaturam ac utero matris secum uexit ad caelum".

³ In the tract on the Battle of the Standard, Ailred describes Henry as so good "ut et in rege monachum, et in monacho regem praetendere uideretur" (*Decem Scriptores*, col. 342; Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., iii., 191). Similarly of Richard, Prior of Hexham, Ailred says, "qui etiam cum esset in saeculo, et insigne castitatis et sobrietatis fere monachus putaretur" (Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 193).

⁴ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 64 a, below, p. 493.

⁵ *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstmann, II., 552-553. The writer refers to a passage in Ailred's work *De institutis inclusarum*, written for his sister, and to another in the *De Specul Caritatis*, lib. i., c. 28.

⁶ *Vita Ailredi*, f. 62 c, d; below, p. 488. Walter describes the rhetorical figure as *intellectio*. He appears to have *synecdoche* in mind. Cf. Bede, *De schematis et tropis sacrae scripturae liber* (P.L., XC., col. 182): "Synecdoche est significatio pleni intellectus capax, cum plus minusue pronuntiat; aut enim a parte totum ostendit".

VIII.

CONCLUSION.

Walter, we have seen, felt some complacency in his knowledge of the technicalities of the schools. The world would sometimes break into the life of the cloister. Ailred also could not disregard it. While he was meditating on the burdens of Isaiah or on the intimacies of spiritual friendship, he could not forget his political interests. As a public man, he was indeed not allowed to forget them. His knowledge of English history, the services of his reconciling influence between Norman and Englishman, between the church of Rome and the old ecclesiastical traditions of Northumbria, were too great to be neglected in that age of conscious transition. Cistercian house though it was, Rievaulx might have become a school of historical studies if a later abbot had not intervened. At the close of the century Abbot Ernald, who had himself some pretensions to historical learning, decided that interests of this kind were not quite consistent with the purpose of the Cistercian rule. He could not encourage his monks to pursue them. Yet he felt that the great events of the twelfth century deserved a northern chronicler. He gave his encouragement, therefore, to a learned canon in the neighbouring Austinian priory. Admirers of the thoughtful and vivacious history of William of Newburgh have not always remembered to spare a little gratitude to Ernald of Rievaulx for his share in William's work.¹

Even in the interests of the Cistercian rule, it was perhaps unwise of Abbot Ernald to check the study of history. Times were changing and Rievaulx could not hope to retain its influence as a centre of theologians and contemplatives. Contemplative study is born of experiences which no traditional discipline can transmit. As for theological work, a provincial monastery, even though it possessed the nucleus of a good library, could not provide the stimulus or equipment of the schools. Theology was already, in Ailred's later days, a science, a professional striving between experts, not a matter of easygoing reflection upon the Scriptures and the Fathers. The tradition established

¹ See William of Newburgh's dedication of his chronicle (*circa* 1198) to Abbot Ernaldus, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 3-4. The Canon Picard, the first editor of William, who is followed by Hearne, confused Ernaldus with Ailred.

by William, Maurice, Ailred and Walter Daniel, died with Nicholas of Rievaulx early in the following century. We may be sure that, after they went, the world was not kept out. Building, sheep-farming, contentions with neighbours would be quite as distracting as historical studies.

The men whom I have just named were all good Cistercians, but were by no means of the same type. Indeed, the differences in temperament between Ailred and Walter Daniel can be seen very clearly in their attitudes towards this problem of the cloister and the world. Walter, as though half-conscious of the weakness of his impulsive and imaginative nature, was more literal. The rule was in his mind the important thing, both in the monastic life and the teaching of the schools. He knew all about the divisions of philosophy and the figures of rhetoric. Ailred untrained though he was—understood the spirit of Cicero or of St. Augustine far better than Walter did. Walter wrote well and clearly about the Cistercian rule : ¹ he could analyse with some insight the perturbations of the soul which is hesitating to enter the “*cubiculum Dei*” ²; but he could never have written Ailred’s dialogue between himself and the novice, in which the disillusionment and *acedia* which beset the monastic life are fearlessly faced. Walter gives the impression that the ideas which he wished to convey were not quite his own ; he misunderstood their bearing and drifted into irrelevance, as when he made a point of the fact that Cicero’s *Topics* are not read in church. A lengthy passage in which he tries to expound Ailred’s attitude to grammatical rules is a good example of his uncertainty of touch. He realised that Ailred had intellectual ability (*anima ingeniosa*) and was not an uneducated man (*rusticus*) ; but he felt that the abbot’s characteristics as a teacher and writer required some explanation. Stimulating though he was, Ailred did not observe the methods of the schools. He had an instinctive rather than a trained appreciation of the so-called liberal arts. His comprehension was spiritual, more penetrating than the learning of those who acquire an uncertain knowledge of Aristotelian concepts or Pythagorean calculations. His ready intelligence passed beyond these things to the knowledge of Him who inhabits the region of real truth and unapproachable light (*ipse autem omnem*

¹ See below, p. 495.

² *Vita Ailredi*, f. 65 a.

numerum transuolans uelocitate ingenii sui et omnem compositionem figure fite uel facte supergrediens ipsum intellexit in scripturis et docuit, qui solus habet immortalitatem ubi non est numerus et lucem habitat inaccessibilem ubi non apparet figura sed ipsa ueritas que finis recte intelligitur uniuerse doctrine naturalis).

Walter goes on to say that, where the truth is present, words will not be wanting. Truth is self-sufficient and suffers from admixture with other things. Words are powerless to persuade without reason which is a part of truth ; for mere endless words may have no more meaning than the barking of a dog. And so Ailred refused to exalt the rules of grammar or the pursuit of fine speech above the truth.¹ This passage, for anyone interested in the history of medieval thought, possesses some significance ; it shows how the immediate successors of St. Bernard regarded the new activities of the schools. Walter Daniel in a Cistercian monastery in Yorkshire was saying what, a few years later, another Master Walter, the well-known prior of St. Victor, was to say, only with much more vehemence, in his book *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Francie*.² But, as an exposition of Ailred's attitude, the passage is misleading. Ailred was certainly not interested in the rules of grammar or rhetoric, and no doubt would have agreed that the exercises of the schools were not a necessary preliminary to the investigation of divine truth. To this extent—and possibly Walter did not intend to go further—his biographer's analysis was correct : but, carried away as usual by his train of thought, he suggests in his master a contempt for learning which was quite foreign to Ailred's mind. Ailred, like St. Bernard, passed his boyhood among people with intellectual interests. His family cherished a tradition of learning.³ He had begun as a boy to learn grammar in the best sense of the word, the sense in which John of Salisbury and the best scholars of the century insisted that it should be used, the literary study of the

¹ Vita Ailredi, f. 67 d.

² The four labyrinths were Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Petrus Lombardus, and Peter of Poitiers. For extracts from the book and bibliography of Walter of St. Victor, see Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II., 124-127. The clearest expression of the opposite view, that the liberal arts are necessary to theological investigations (provided that rhetoric is subdued) was given by Robert of Melun.

³ See Ailred on the Saints of Hexham, in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., p. 190 ; and Raine's preface, pp. li.-lii.

Latin authors.¹ He protested, it is true, against the restless curiosity of those who could not discriminate between truth and vain philosophy. He had no patience with the monk who fused his meditations on the Scriptures with tags from the classics, the Gospels with Virgil, the prophets with Horace, Paul with Cicero.² But, again like St. Bernard, he was attacking the moral dangers which beset the learned, not learning itself. Indeed, his writings owe much of their attractiveness to a certain scholarly quality in them. His mind was simple and direct, but not abrupt or impatient of argument. As a boy he had rejoiced in Cicero's *De Amicitia*³; in later life his favourite book was the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, his favourite gospel that of St. John. In one of his last works, the dialogue on spiritual friendship, he gathered together and gave a spiritual meaning to the memories of a life which had sought its inspiration in the companionship of these books. He made Cicero his model, and found in the intense human friendships which had meant so much to him the foreshadowing of finer, more intense, relations. And as he wrote his mind lingered more than once over Augustine's haunting phrase, charged with Virgilian memories, "et quid erat, quod me delectabat, nisi amare et amari".

A casual reference in the *Speculum Caritatis* suggests that Ailred was acquainted with the Arthurian legend. The novice who

¹ Cf. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, lib. i., c. 13, in his *Opera*, edit. Giles, v. 34 (1848). Ailred was at school at Hexham or Durham (below, note 3). For the Yorkshire schools and *grammatici* in the twelfth century, see Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, in the Record Series of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Vol. XXVII. (1899). Archbishop Thomas I. of York founded the school at York, and Archbishop Thomas II. was educated there (Hugh the Chantor, in Raine, *Hist. of the Church of York*, II., 107, 124).

² *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. ii., c. 24 (P.L., CXCv., 573).

³ Prologue to the *De spiritali amicitia* (P.L., CXCv., col. 659 a): "cum adhuc puer essem in scholis et sociorum meorum me gratia plurimum delectaret, inter mores et uitia quibus illa aetas periclitari solet tota se mens mea dedit affectui et deuout amori. . . . Tandem uenit mihi in manu liber quem de amicitia Tullius scripsit". Ailred felt the distaste of the Ciceronian for the *sermo barbaricus* of the early English writers who, owing to their lack of culture, were denied the gift of eloquent speech (*Vita Niniani*, prologus, ed. Forbes in the *Historians of Scotland*, V., 137, Edinburgh, 1874). That Ailred, in his life of St. Ninian, modernized an old Latin, not an English or British work, has recently been urged by Karl Strecker, after a careful and exhaustive examination of the literary history of St. Ninian (*Neues Archiv*, 1920, XLIII., 1-26).

was perplexed by the fact that religious emotion came at first less readily in Rievaulx than in his secular life, confessed to Ailred that he had often shed tears over the story of a certain Arthur.¹ The *Speculum Caritatis* was written before the end of 1142, and this reference shows that the first draft of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum*, or some account of its contents, must have reached the north of England at a very early date.² Possibly Ailred had noted the first stirrings of the interest which Lord Walter Espec and his household at Helmsley took in this strange history, and which led Walter to borrow the book from his friend, Earl Robert of Gloucester, and to pass it on to friends in Lincolnshire.³ To Ailred, with his English traditions and keen historical sense, the story of Arthur was doubtless as repellent as, fifty years later, it was to William of Newburgh. The chronological system of Bede had no room for the fanciful exploits of this Welsh hero, this sham Alexander.⁴ And Ailred felt that Arthur and his like were dangerous to more than historical truth; they drew the idle tears of young men who are always too willing to find in the luxury of sentiment a relief from the austere pursuit of Christ. But he could not know the full extent of the danger. He could not foresee that the Arthurian legend would give the sanction of beauty to most of those earthly joys and activities which he was training his novices to forget. The spirit of romance, a mightier influence than St. Bernard's, was abroad. In the course of time it has submitted even monks and cloisters to its fancies. To-day it reigns in the place where Ailred taught, and waves its magic wand over the ruins of Rievaulx.

¹ *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCIV., ed. 565 c.).

² Ailred's reference strengthens the case for the existence of a first draft of Geoffrey's work, c. 1138. For the evidence see W. Lewis Jones, in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1898-1900, pp. 62-67.

³ Walter Espec borrowed it for Dame Custance, wife of Ralf fitz Gilbert, lord of Scampton; she was interested in the compilation of Gaimar's *Lestorie des Engles* and helped Gaimar to collect materials. See *Lestorie des Engles* (Rolls Series, 1888-9), I., 275-276; II., ix. ff.

⁴ In his preface to the *Historia Rerum Anglicanarum*, William of Newburgh criticized Geoffrey of Monmouth mercilessly. He regarded him as an impudent liar. "Profecto minimum digitum sui Arturi grossiorem facit dorso Alexandri magni" (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 17).

APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

In the following table I have inserted the ascertainable dates of Ailred's life and writings. Not much information exists about his administration as abbot, but some idea of the additions to the property of Rievaulx during his rule may be obtained from a summary of the abbey's possessions, printed by Atkinson from a register in the Cottonian MSS. (*Cartularium Rievallieux*, 260-261). Walter Daniel, who was apparently the abbot's amanuensis or copyist (*Vita*, f. 68 a), gives useful information on the order of Ailred's more important writings (f. 70 b, c). The tract on the origin of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and of Fountains should be deleted from the list of Ailred's writings given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and elsewhere; it is identical with the tract edited by Walbran in the first volume of his *Memorials of Fountains Abbey* (Surtees Society, 1863), from a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Ailred's dialogue, *De Anima* (his last work), which has not been printed with his other works, survives in Bodleian MS. E. Mus. 224 (a little book of 62 leaves, written *c.* 1200) and in a Durham MS. B. iv. 25, ff. 83-128, where it follows William the Archdeacon on the Sentences (Rud, *Codicum MSS. ecclesiæ cathedralis Dunelmensis Catalogus classicus*, Durham, 1825, p. 219).

c. 1110. Birth of Ailred (above, p. 339).

- *c.* 1124. After his boyhood at Hexham, where he probably went to school (cf. the prologue to the *De Spirituali Amicitia*, P.L., CXCIV., col. 659 a, with his reference to his boyhood in his work on the Saints of Hexham, Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 174), Ailred was received by David, King of Scotland, and brought up with the King's son, Henry, and his stepson, Waldef. He became seneschal or *economus* at Court (above, p. 343).

c. 1133-4. Ailred entered Rievaulx on his return from a journey on King David's business to Archbishop Thurstan at York. (*Vita Ailredi*, f. 65 b—the Cistercians had arrived "ferme

- ante duos annos"; above, p. 453). His novice master was Simon, afterwards Abbot of Wardon.
1138. The Battle of the Standard. Death of Eilaf, Ailred's father. Ailred probably accompanied William, Abbot of Rievaulx, to Wark, in order to arrange the surrender of Walter Espec's castle to King David. (Above, pp. 340, 348). By this time Waldef was Prior of Kirkham.
1140. Death of Archbishop Thurstan and dispute about the election of Archbishop William.
1141. Ailred sent to Rome by Abbot William (Vita Ailredi, f. 67 b. For the date see above, p. 347).
- 1141-2. Ailred novice master of Rievaulx. In this year he wrote the *Speculum Caritatis* at the request of Gervase, Abbot of Louth Park (above, p. 454, cf. Vita Ailredi, f. 67 d, below, p. 500).
- 1142-7. Ailred, first Abbot St. Lawrence, the daughter house of Rievaulx or Revesby (above, p. 456).
- c. 1144-8. Waldef, a monk at Rievaulx (above, p. 464).
- 1145, 2 August. Death of William, first Abbot of Rievaulx. Election of Maurice as his successor. (For the life and writings of Maurice, see *English Historical Review*, January, 1921, Vol. XXXVI., 17 ff.).
- 1147, 30 November. First certain reference to Ailred as Abbot of Rievaulx. He co-operated with Bishop William of Durham and others in the inquiry which settled the dispute about the seat of the prior at Durham (Greenwell, *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, p. lxi., Surtees Society, 1872).
1151. Ailred's judgment in the disputes between the Abbeys of Savigny (Normandy) and Furness for the control of Byland Abbey (*Monasticon*, V., 353).
1152. Important general chapter at Citeaux.¹
- 1152-3. Ailred wrote his work, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* before Henry II. became king, since the prologue is addressed to him as Duke of Normandy (*Decem Scriptores*, col. 347).

¹ Ailred, of course, must have attended general chapters at Citeaux; and Reginald of Durham definitely refers to one journey (above, p. 341 n.). We may assume that he was present at the important general chapter in September, 1152.

It contains a eulogy on King David, recently dead. The work was finished, therefore, between 24 May, 1153, the date of David's death, and 25 October, 1154, the date of King Stephen's death.¹

1155. Ailred's work on the Saints of Hexham was probably based on a discourse delivered on the occasion of their translation on 3 March, 1155.²
- c. 1157. The general chapter at Citeaux allowed Ailred certain privileges in view of his physical infirmities. Walter Daniel states that this action was taken ten years before Ailred's death (*Vita*, f. 70 a).
1159. Ailred was at Melrose when, in the summer of 1159, Abbot Waldef was offered the bishopric of St. Andrews (above, p. 466). It was doubtless on his way to or from Melrose that he visited Finchale and St. Godric prophesied the death of St. Robert of Newminster which occurred 7 June, 1159. (Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de uita et miraculis S. Godrici heremitae de Finchale*, edit. Stevenson, pp. 169-173, 176-177, Surtees Society, 1847).
- 1160, 21 December. Pope Alexander III. sent to Ailred and the monks of Rievaulx a bull of protection and confirmation (*Cartularium Rievallense*, pp. 185-188). Earlier in the year Ailred had been partly responsible for the recognition of Alexander III. by King Henry (above, p. 350).
- 1163, October. The translation of St. Edward the Confessor. Ailred composed his *Vita Confessoris* at the request of his kinsman, Lawrence, Abbot of Westminster (above, p. 349.).
- 1163-4. Publication of the sermons on Isaiah (*De oneribus*), which were dedicated to Gilbert, Bishop of London, i.e. after April, 1163, when Gilbert Foliot was removed from

¹ The *Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense* (ed. Giles) ascribes this or a similar work to the year 1156, "Sanctus Alredus abbas Rievallensis ex abbate Revesbiensi Epitaphium regum Scotorum scripsit" (p. 96). For the *Genealogia* see also *Vita*, f. 70 b.

² Ailred's words are, "anno autem ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto, paratis omnibus, Prior diem sollemnem quo sacrae reliquiae transferrentur constituit quinto nonas Martii" (Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 194). This was 3 March, 1154⁴.

Hereford to London. As the twenty-fourth sermon contains a reference to the cardinal Octavian, the anti-pope Victor IV., who died at Lucca on 20 April, 1164, the series would seem to have been preached before this date (P.L., CXCIV., col. 361, 460-461). According to Walter Daniel's chronological account, the sermons were written before the life of the Confessor (Vita, f. 70 b).

1164. Ailred, at Kirksted, attested the agreement between the religious orders of Cîteaux and Sempringham (*Cartularium Rievallense*, pp. 181-183).

1165. Ailred visited the daughter house at Dundrennan, in Galloway. The date is fixed by his presence at Kirkcudbright on St. Cuthbert's day, 20 March, 1164-5 (Reginald of Durham *De admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus*, pp. 178-179). In his letter to Maurice Walter Daniel fixes it as two years before Ailred's death (Vita Ailredi, f. 62 b); but in the Life proper he refers only to a visit made four years before the abbot's death (f. 71 c; below, pp. 512-513 and note). Ailred doubtless was frequently in Scotland.

1166. If the chronology of another story told by Reginald of Durham (*ibid.*, pp. 180-188) can be accepted, Ailred was in Lothian and the neighbourhood of Melrose in the spring of 1166. In this year he was at work on his *De Anima*, which he left unfinished (Vita, f. 70 c).

1167, 12 January. Death of Ailred.

The evidence for dating those of Ailred's writings which are not mentioned in the preceding table is meagre. The description of the Battle of the Standard was apparently written after the death of Walter Espec, whose eulogy is couched in the past tense. Walter is said by a not very reliable source to have retired to Rievaulx in 1153, and to have died two years later at a great age; the date of his burial is given as 15 March, 115⁴₅ (*Cartularium Rievallense*, p. 264-265). The dialogue, *De Spiritualī Amicitia*, also belongs to the last years of Ailred's life, for the abbot describes himself as an old man. Walter dated it between the sermons on Isaiah and the work written for Ailred's sister on the life of the recluse. This was followed by the life of the Confessor (Vita, f. 70 c).

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM MS. Q. B. 7 OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Patri¹ et domino eximie sanctitatis uiro Mauricio suo Walterus^{f. 61 a.} Danielis sinceram et nimis deuotam dileccionem. Breuitati studens longiori processioni non indulgeo gressum, quamquam prelati duo illi, qui nostra quadam incertitudine obfuscare nituntur, me cogant procedere longius et quasi per angariam in sue cupiunt suspicionis impellere uoraginem et infidelitate maculare. Set absit a filio tuo ut scienter cauterio falsitatis uri uelit uel ualeat, qui nouit quod sine ueritate salus nulla consistat. Igitur, domine, ut ad rem ueniam iniungis quatinus interseram nomina testium, qui conscii michi existunt in relacione miraculorum, que in uita patris nostri uenerabilis abbatis Ryeuallensis Aldredi deo auctore descripsi, tum propter simplices qui magna non capiunt nisi multi eadem dicant, tum propter infideles qui etiam uera subsannant, tum quoque propter duos, ni fallor, illos prelatos, qui uobis legentibus ipsa miracula credere noluerunt, cum tamen omnibus ad meam uero defensionem sufficere debuisset, quod in serie ipsius operis asserui me non nisi uisa uel audita in medium protulisse, plurimaeque preclara pretermisisse que sanctorum ore monachorum probata susceperam. Quoniam autem uotis tuis mea militat uoluntas et deseruit affectus et obtemperat caritas in iussione tua, licet non eiusdem libri

¹ The manuscript, which measures 267 mm. × 189 mm., is written in two columns. The references a, b, c, d refer to the four columns of each folio, recto (a, b) and verso (c, d). The relation between the letter to Maurice, here printed in full from the Jesus College MS., and the life proper is described in the third section of the preceding paper. The marginal references N.L., I., N.L., II., are to Horstmann's edition of the *Nova Legenda Anglie* (Oxford, 1901): of which the first volume (pp. 41-46) contains the summary of Walter Daniel's work made by John of Tynemouth and printed by the Bollandists from Capgrave's edition, and the second volume (pp. 544-553) contains the summary found in the Bury MS., now MS. Bodl. 240. See above, p. 333. I have standardized the spelling of the copyist, who uses *v* and *u* somewhat arbitrarily.

corpore quo uita patris continetur contestantia uocabula uirorum fidelium uelim constringi, hoc tamen agam ut hac epulari pagina conpingantur et excellenciora precedant miracula, uel eciam subsequantur. Quoniam admodum pauci¹ hoc genus assercionis in uitas patrum describendas seruauerunt, ut singulos nominatim ponerent per quos acceperant que scriptitabant, et michi facile credibile uidetur homines uita bona preditos facere posse quod deus uoluerit, sic ut digestus est ille libellus per consilium amicorum remansit, imperii duntaxat tui effectum, ut dixi, translato ad presentem paginam, ut ad hanc quoque mittas quosque infideles et eos maxime, qui me finxisse mendacium suspicari maluerint. Igitur ut secundum ordinem procedam et primo positione libri miraculo proprios testes attribuiam, et secundo suos, et sic de ceteris agam, ecce primum illud, quod est de nouicio a monasterio recedente, quem patris prece dominus miserecorditer reduxit. Isti testes confirmant Henricus et Robertus Beuerlacenses monachi et sacerdotes et Radulphus Diaconus, cognomento paruus et ipse monachus probatissimus, et alii plures. Quod eciam miraculum michi uenerabilis pater I Aldredus expressit non quidem quasi miraculum propter suam humilitatem, set quasi quandam preclaram fortunam propter meam infirmitatem. Sequuntur tria illa nobilissima miracula que per illum fecit dominus, eodem existente abbate apud sanctum Laurencium, que talibus testibus fulciuntur, domino uidelicet Gospatrico monacho et sacerdote nostro et Henrico presbitero et Radulpho paruo et aliis multis. Post hec primum est quod pater sanctissimus per sompnum uidit de monacho suo crastina die uenturo ad portam monasterii Rieuallensis et cito inter manus eius morituro. Huic signo tot interfuere testes quot illi morienti assistebant fratres, quibus pater ante monachi mortem retulit uisionem. Ex tres quibus tantum nominabo, dominum uidelicet Danielem patrem meum, Galfridum sacristam, Henricum Beuerlacensem. Huic miraculo succedit illud quod fratrem cardiaca passione dure detentum, qui mutus fuerat effectus, sanum per dei gratiam reddidit et loquentem. De hoc signo testimonium perhibet

¹ The practice of authenticating miracles with a list of witnesses was frequently adopted about this time, doubtless in order to avoid such criticism as that of which Walter Daniel complains. Jocelin's life of St. Waldef (c. 1210) and the various descriptions (edited by Raine in the *Hist rians f the Church of York*) of the miracles wrought at the tomb of St. John of Beverley, are cases in point. The most important and difficult example is, of course, that of St. Bernard; see above, p. 468.

idem ipse qui pertulit incomodum et per patrem sensit remedium, et dicitur Beniamin, et Willelmus Rufus monachus et sacerdos, et Martinus diaconus conseruus meus in domino et amicus carissimus. Porro testes miraculi subsequentis hii sunt, Radulphus de Rodewella sacerdos et bene monachus, et Radulphus paruus, et conuersus opilio noster qui duobus diebus loqui non ualens meritis patris loquelam recepit. Nam de se reddit ipse testimonium et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius. Est autem Argarus nomen eius. Miraculum quod huic subicitur est de adolescente qui, tactus dolore intolerabili intrinsecus et uelut in extremis positus, ad tactum et benedictionem venerabilis uiri continuo conualuit. Huic signo interfui et nonnulli fratres nostri mecum, ex quibus duos assumam in testimonium ut in ore duorum uel trium stet omne uerbum nostrum. Et unus quidem erit Arnaldus noster quondam cellerarius, alter uero Thomas Eboracensis diaconus bone uite adolescens et sancte filius conuersationis. Sane de miraculo quod sequitur nolo nominatim testes producere, quia non expedit, quia potest fieri ut non sit mortuus abbas ille, de quo continetur, propter quod uidetur esse, cum tamen de illo ita euenerit quomodo in libro scriptum habetur.¹ Istud miraculum uel, si ita placet dici, similitudinem miraculi. Illud de rana deglutita et homine monstruoso et laruali effigie | f. 61 c. deturpato, set per venerabilem patrem sanato et a periculo mortis liberato, subsequi certum constat. De quo plane signo certificando testes presto sunt veraces, uidelicet Robertus supportarius noster, uir bonus et optimus, et Henricus Beuerlacensis et Baldricus conuersus frater probatus in multis et pene innumerabiles uiri in Galwadia. Ceteris omnibus que sequuntur interfui ego ipse, excepto quod eum non uidi raptum in corpore, an extra corpus nescio, deus scit, ad mellifluas uisiones et inenarrabiles, nisi quod ipse michi secreto retulit tales se uisus degustasse, quorum comparacione in oblectacione dulcedimis quod in carne quoquomodo existeret penitus obliuisceretur, et omnia temporalia si ulla essent omni modo ignoraret. Credant ergo qui uoluerint et qui uoluerint legant, et qui utrumque noluerint utrumque contempnant et ea despiciant que scripsi de patre filius, dum tamen aduertant semper ignobiles animos degeneres parturire affectus, resque ueritate signatas non aliter approbare quam falsas, id est, iudicio iniuste indignacionis non equi libra examinis. Poterat sufficere ad credulitatem fidelium cordibus

¹ Below, f. 70 d, p. 511, and above, pp. 462, 470.

quod dixi me non nisi que uideram vel que alii conspexerant et michi retulerunt scripsisse ; at prelati duo illi nisi testata non capiunt argumentatione uerborum puplica proclamacione prolatorum, tanquam crimen et uirtus una fidei facilitate fulciantur, ut hoc et illud parem agnitionis discrecionem admittant, cum uirtus utique uelut similitudo lucis ex sui qualitate sese conspicabilem prebeat eciam dormitantibus oculis, crimen autem vicii colore uestitum tanquam figura tenebrarum non facile uideri ualeat, sicut scriptum est¹ : Delicta quis intelligit ? Quicumque igitur quod uerum est credere contempnit, si honesti tamen habuerit lucem quod predicatur, ipse quidem tenebrosum se monstrat auditorem qui luminis imaginem non agnoscit. Nam si lux esset lucis agnosceret membrum quod est verum, quia similia similibus familiarem conspectum prestare consuerunt. Malus autem mali causam tuetur ut suam. Et facilius credit huiusmodi horrorem tenebrarum lucis fulgorem induisse, quam naturam luminis perseuerasse quod fuerat. Prothpudor ! non credunt prelati, negligentes prelati, merita sancti miracula peperisse, cum non sit difficile patri luminum in omnibus quod uoluerit generare, credentibus que christus | promittat² opera eius admirantibus : maiora hiis facietis. At qui bona non facit non credit. Qui autem faciunt credunt. Non autem credere non possunt que operantur. Boni ergo maliue actio fidem recipit uel contempnit. Mali igitur subsannant facta bonorum. Non itaque mirum si tales titubant accomodare fidem uirtutibus patris nostri. Tuum est prorsus repugnare³ nolentibus obaudire. Oppone turbam testium⁴ temeritati eorum et conuince ignauiam hesitare non gratiam. Dico : Intellectus bonus omnibus facientibus eum. Quia enim non faciunt bonum intellectum, non intelligunt rectum. Quid autem rectius quam ut intelligamus sobrie et pie et iuste uiuentibus a deo dari uirtutis opera ? Siquidem omni habenti dabitur et habundabit.⁵ Rectissime tu, ergo, pater mi, tibi enim loquor, tu inquam crede me scripsisse ea tantum que uidi et audiui de patre meo, nec plane omnia uerum et nonnulla pretermisi relacione dignissima. De quorum eciam multitudine hic iam in hac epistola quatuor ponam que tibi placere non diffido.

¹ Ps. xviii., 13.

² Joh. xiv., 12 : Qui credit in me opera, quae ego facio, et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet.

³ MS. *repugnare*.

⁴ M.S. *testum*.

⁵ Matt. xiii., 12.

Igitur infantulus iacebat in cunis Aldredus et ecce aduenit ad domum patris eius archidiaconus quidam nomine Willelmus filius Thole uir preclare gratie.¹ Erat autem idem propinquus Aldredi secundum carnem et multum quoque matrem eius dilexit et patrem. Is ergo intrans in domum, ut dixi, ubi Aldredus iacebat in cunis, uidet faciem illius in speciem solis conuersam et splendidissimis chorscare radiis et tantum sibi mutuasse luminis, ut sue manus apposite umbra succederet a parte auersa, cum in plano palme quod respondebat ad faciem infantis quasi solaris lucis fulgore splendescere uideretur, tamque serenus innotuit intuentis aspectibus paruuli uultus ut tanquam in speculo in hoc sui perfecte imaginem intueretur. Miratur homo nouum solem exortum in domo, parentibus refert incomparabilem gloriam in nati sui facie sibi apparuisse. Fit gaudium audientibus hec et felicitatis exordia in primordiis Aldredi pululasse intelligentes exultant. Affirmant illum in matura etate hominem uirtutis esse futurum cui tam eminens gratia in etatula infancie arrisise. Hec pater Aldredi narrauit illi, hec mater, hec fratres retulerunt cum ad intelligibilem peruénisse etatem, hec ab ore illius accepi, hec ab eo et alii audierunt, Radulfus de Rodewell, Henricus Beuerlac, Radulfus paruus ceterique quam plures.

Verum et cum puerulus esset ad modum paruulus rediens a ludo quem habuit cum | coetaneis suis in locis publicis paternum f. 62 a. ingreditur domicilium. Quem pater intuens : eia, inquit, fili, quales edicis rumores ? Et ille, archiepiscopus Eboracensis² hodie obiit, pater mi. Ridet homo hiis auditis cum uniuersa familia et lepida urbanitate Aldredi uaticinium commendans : vere, fili, ait, ille obiit qui male uiuit. Et puer : aliter iste, pater, nam carne solutus ultimum hodie uale fecit mortalibus. Ad hec stupefacti omnes qui audiere, mirantur pueri animum circa talia occupatum et de absentibus indicare uelut prophetando, cupiuntque transitum antistitis quodam modo iam fuisse, ut annunciantis uerbum consistat in uero. Set quia locus ubi archiepiscopus obiit ab eis longo distabat itinere pendet in dubio exitus prophecie, nec eo die nec altero ulla certitudinis auctoritate roboratur. At in tercio celebris rumor per prouinciam uolitat, fertur

¹ I have suggested above (p. 339 n.) that this archdeacon was probably the William, named Havegrim, who was present at the translation of the book of St. Cuthbert in 1104.

² Thomas II., who died at Beverley, 29 February, 1114. Above, p. 340.

passim et per omnes pontificis transitus, tuncque qui ante ridebant quod puer Aldredus predixerat flere incipiunt et lamentari, non quia illa prophetauit sed quia papa occubuit. Nam de Aldredo dulcissimo illi qui hanc rem eum predixisse cognosciunt adiuuicem dicunt: Quid putas puer iste erit? etenim dominus hoc illi reuelauit. Et pater eius repletus gaudio conseruabat hoc quod de eo dicebatur, conferens in corde suo. Qui Aldredo facto monacho ueniens Rieuallē hoc ipsum plurimis fratribus loci eiusdem dulcissimum duxit indicare. Et ipse pater noster Aldredus uenerabilis Radulfo de Rodwell et Radulfo breuis stature et michi de hoc a parentibus audisse professus est.

N.L., I., 41;
II., 547-548, al.
most verbatim.

Porro in hospicio Rieuall' cum esset pridie antequam reciperetur in cellam noniciorum tale quid per eum dominus operari dignatus est. Ignis ualidus accensus in ede illa porrexit perpurentes flamme globos, primo usque ad trabes, dein eciam usque ad laquearium iuncturas superiores, et ita seuiens vehementer preualebat ut culmen edificiū in momento consumere crederetur. Fit in abbathia lacrimabilis ululatus, velox concursus conuersorum monachorum mercenariorum hospitumque ad illud genus infortunii, qui omnes modis omnibus, quibus tante miserie subuenire credebant, uti pro necessitate non cessarunt. Alii aquis, alii uino, alii liquoribus ceteris edacissima incendia temperare conabantur. Set quanto plus desudabant sedare liquidis calida tanto plus in aridis et humida consumebantur. Unde desperacio tandem cum dolore comitatur, quia inaniter | tantarum conamina indicionum¹ impenduntur. Aldredus autem eadem hora cum ceteris ad mensam sedebat in latere australi eiusdem domicilii. Qui utique in omni perturbacione illa non est motus corpore uel animo set cum singuli dicerent, ue nobis ue nobis, non est ultra spes, ille cum uirili grauitate subridens apprehendit ciphum qui coram eo ponitus fuerat in mensa plenus angelicis poculis² et cum fiducia miserationis domini lenauit eum et extensa dextera siceram quam continebat uasculum illud projecit in medio flammarum et, mirum dictu, statim conciderunt et uelut mare inundarum ibi extincte sunt.³ O qualis tunc exultacio inter pauperes fratres. O quam solempnis laus ad deum, qualis deuocio in Alredum. Huic rei dominus Gualo interfuit, que tanta eius cordi quoque admiratione adhesit, ut hucusque concepti stuporis impressa uestigia obliuionis

¹ N.L., II., 547: moliminum.

² N.L., "angelicis potibus".

³ End of passage in N.L.

incuria obliterare non possit. Et ut per quatuor quater¹ huius continencia epistole insinuare studeo Alredum nostrum per omnes etatis gradus, quos attingit, uirtutis dedisse indicia, et sicut hoc predicto miraculo ignis ualidissimi sedauit incendium, ita et sequenti addiscas eum eciam aque fluidam substantiam a cursu proprio suspendisse, queso paucis aduerte.

In Galwadiam pergens ante duos annos² quam de corpore migraret, peruenit Dundrenan,³ sic enim uocatur abbathia quam ibi fratres Rieuall' construxerunt, et in eodem loco mansit diebus sex seu septem. At quoniam in terra illa patriote casas pastorales et tuguria uilissima potius quam domos uel quadrata edificia inhabitant, et abbathia illa parum ante ceperat edificare officinas regulares, in parua domuncula dominum abbatem cum suis fratribus deuotissime collocarunt. In cuius domatis angulo lectisternia patris ministri strauerunt et quam sedulo potuerunt, in quo quiete pausaret, lectum parauerunt. Set quia statim etiam ut tenuosissimam pluuiam de nube descendere contigisset furtiua detursione totum solebat madidare pauimentum, timuerunt fratres huius inquietacionis iniuriam uirum uenerabilem indebita molestia perurgere debuisse. Iam ne duorum quidem pedum spacium per tectum domus eiusdem ab imbrium infusione quin instillaret minime seruabatur. Set postquam Alredus ibidem dormiuit pluuiarum decursus a solitis latrociniis cohibiti defecerunt, et quamuis ingens et fere continuus fieret per illos sex dies descensus imbrium et super aliorum omnium cubilia, qui cum eo in specu illo quiescebant, largiter influerent per dissipati culminis hiatus latissimos, nunquam tamen tanto tempore super lectum patris uel una quidem guttula agnoscitur | cecidisse. Quod postquam aduertunt, ecclesie uide-^{f. 62 c.} licet illius prepositus, et ceteri fratres supra quam credi potest admirantes non ob aliud quam ob uiri sanctitatem Deo gratissimam fieri arbitrantur, ut aqua sue nature obliuisceretur, que, cum sit fluida et humiditate labilis et ponderose liquiditatis, cursum debitum non teneret sed uacuum foraminum subter se patencium contorta deriuacione declinaret.⁴ Nam ut pro certo tota huius nouitatis mirabilis

¹ The writer is describing miracles from infancy, childhood, youth, and old age.

² For the date, see above, p. 480; and, for other visits, below p. 512.

³ See above, p. 462.

⁴ This type of miracle is very common. For a more startling story, see Jocelin's "Life of St. Kentigern," c. 35, ed. Forbes, *The Historians of Scotland*, V., 221 (Edinburgh, 1874).

mutacio merita commendaret Aldredi et extunc nil dubii resideret in cordibus fratrum, quin ad eius gloriam facta fuisset loci predicti desiccatio singularis, statim postquam stramenta patris exinde sublata sunt et celum dedit pluuias, ibi ubi dormierat, sicut alibi per omne pauimentum ipsius edis, more solito dissipate stipule disiunctiua reflexio aquarum infestas copias infundere non cessauit. Istud delectabile miraculum ueritatis testimonio sufficienter corroborat dompnus Walterus monachus noster et sacristes, quondam autem capellanus Walteri Espec, qui etiam tempore illo, quo hec in Galwagia facta sunt, in domo de Dundrenan prioratus officio functus ; rem quam uidit fideliter solet enarrare. Habemus et alium hoc ipsum contestantem Ogerum, uidelicet Rieuallie filium et testem fidelissimum. Dabo et tercium Henricum, scilicet Beuerlacensem, uirum eque amabilem et ueracem.

Ecce habes epistolam, onustam quidem littera, sed non uenustam eloquencia, non auream uel deauratam, sed ferream et deargentatam, eiam miraculis gemmatam et testium astipulacione confirmatam. Que licet iam hic congrue finiretur, ante tamen duobis amicis meis breuiter respondere temperabo equidem simplicissimus, qui me reprehendendum putarunt, quod Alredum nostrum quasi monachum uixisse in curia Regis Scocie ab primo inuentutis flore asseuerare uoluerim. O ignaros homines rethorice discipline que splendore colorum suorum sub multimodis figuris faciem artis delectabiliter specificando illuminat. Nam quid cause pretendunt? Idcirco uidelicet quod Alredus eodem tempore uirginitatem suam aliquociens deflorauerit talem hominem a me non debuisse monacho comparari. Ego autem illo in loco non de castitatem Alredi sum locutus sed de humilitate. Hanc itaque commendaui nomine monachi, non lasciuiam introduxi. Triticum ostendi, non lolium predicaui. De uiciis tacui, uirtutes insinuaui. Et quando, queso, frumentum nichil habebit acuris? ¹

f. 62 d.

Sic nemo mundus a sorde, nec infans cuius est | diei unius uite super terram. Est autem figura rethorica que intellectio appellatur per quam res tota parua ex parte cognoscitur aut de toto pars. Hac uero ibi usus sum ut nomine monachi Alredo designarem, de toto astruens partem, uocans eum monachum, non quia castus tunc ad modum fuerit, set quia ualde humilis. Humilitas et castitas proprie monachum faciunt. Et quoniam sine humilitate bonus nunquam est

¹ So the MS. for *aceris*, genitive of *acus* (Columella, Pliny, etc.).

monachus et res tota parua ex parte cognoscitur, nec per hoc dicendi regula infringitur sed landibiliter seruatur, bene pro humili monachum dixi, male ergo uituperauerunt me amici mei isti. Et hoc inquiunt quod in libello tuo corpus Alredi defuncti luxisse ut carbunculum et ut thus redoluisse professus es? non satis caute posuisti, immo regulariter, at rusticis et idiotis aliter non immerito oportuit uideri. Talpa nempe licet oculos non habet solis tamen radios reformidat. Et amici mei ceci offendere in lumine non erubescunt. Etenim superlacio est oratio superans ueritatem alicuius augendi minuendique causa. Hoc colore mater sapientia in pictura eloquentie cum ceteris artificiose operatur. Hinc est illud Henrici dicentis cuius ore sermo melle dulcior profluebat. Et in libris nostris, aquilis uelociores leonibus forciores. Illudque in uita beati Martini, uitro purior lacte candidior. O hebetes! note iste non sunt notabiles, immo plane commendabiles, res magnas commendantes et stultos reprehensores irritantes. Quid enim? Alredi corpus num mihi non luxit cum lauaretur defunctum? Vere lux nobis omnibus qui affuimus. At quomodo? Plus multo quam si carbunculus affuisset. Quod etiam super odorem thuris redolebat, sic nobis uisum est, sic sensimus omnes. Nec mirum. Nunquam enim antea in uita sua carnem sic candidam gessit pulcher ille et decorus quomodo¹ quando iacebat defunctus. Dico sine scrupulo mendacii nuncquam ego tam candidam carnem uidi alterius cuiuslibet uiui uel defuncti. Ignoscite ergo michi quod rem incomparabilem licita superlacione merito magnificauimus. Alioquin auctores eloquentie stoliditatem uestram publica redargutione dampnabunt. Ego interim parco uobis. Et hoc propter te, domine mi pater Maurici, ne prolixitas epistole intencionem exasperet animi tui sitque finis protractus onerosus auribus occupatis. Igitur ecce iterum ad te uenio. Libenter audi, nam breuiter dicam miracula patris Alredi. Magna sunt, bene nosti. Si magna non essent nemo minderet. Et enim splendida et gloriosa, non fusca et despica | bilia; emulacio f. 63 a. sequitur inuidencie. Sit ita? ita est; magna sunt miracula patris nostri. Set miracula et magna habere possunt homines mali. Set perfectam caritatem quam habuit Alredus boni possident soli. Si habuerim omnem fidem, ait apostolus, ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero, nichil michi prodest.² Quis non dicat

¹ The same use of *quomodo* at the foot of f. 63 a.

² 1Cor. xiii. 2.

magnum esse miraculum transferre montes? Et tamen sine caritate pro nichilo reputatur quicquid homo fecerit, licet possit uno digito suspendere molem uniuerse terre. Ergo caritas res mirabilis est, res dulcis, res amabilis, res utique que nunquam caret fructu remunerationis eterne suauitatis. Hanc habuit Alredus et talem certe qualem describit apostolus, id est, benignam, patientem, non inflatam, non agentem perperam, non querentem que sua sunt sed que Christi Jhesu.¹ Habitum ego miser monachi porto, ego tonsus, ego cucullatus, ego talis loquor, ego dico contestor confirmo iuro in eo autem uiro, qui est ueritas, Christo Domino nostro, ego caritatem Alredi plus miror quam mirerer si *iiij^{or}* fuisset suscitator mortuorum. Rideant auditores mei, derideant sermonem meum, proiciant epistolam in ignem, quod uoluerint agant, ego in hoc perseuero et perseuerare me spero, quia caritas Alredi omnem superauit miraculi nouitatem, quam habuit ex corde puro et consciencia bona et fide non ficta secundum apostolicam diffinitionem.² Et ut breui quasi argumento probem me sentire bene, audi, mi pater, narratiunculam filii tui perspicuam quamdam proferentem caritatis imaginem.

Quodam tempore pacificus Alredus, laborans passione colica et torcione calculi, super nattam uetustissimam stratam secus focum limiauit miserabiliter doloriferos artus, et quasi membrane folium iuxta ignem appositum totum corpus in tantum contorsit, et inter genua capud prorsus habere uideretur. Etenim incomoditas saeuissima urgebat eum et dum lenire putabat dolorem per calorem prope modum linguam flamme liniatum lambere corpusculum crederes. Ita ergo dum conquiniscit nunc hac, nunc illac, ego filius cum patre solus affui sedens mestus ad modum, quia tristis anima mea conturbauerat me, nec tamen sic dolebam mentis proprie acutissimum stimulum quomodo patris incomodum. Nobis igitur solis duobus in domo consistentibus ecce quidam epicurus monachus iratus utique criminaliter | aspectu taurino, motu turpissimo, ingrediens ad nos uenit usque ad locum in quo iacebat Alredus. Fremens itaque crudeliter et dentibus frendens apprehendit utrisque manibus latus unum natte cum patre qui desuper iacebat, et excuciens utrumque totis uiribus, uirum certe centum monachorum patrem fratrumque laicorum quingentorum, tam in ignem, quam in cineres, proiecit, clamans et dicens, O miser, ecce,

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5.² 1 Tim. i. 5.

modo te occido, modo te morte dura perdo. Quia hic iaces fictissime, uanissime, stultissime, amodo non erit quod menciariis, quia nunc utique morieris. Ego hec respiciens contabui et patris periculum non pociens, concepi ardorem indignacionis contra tyrannum et consurgens cepi hominem per barbam durissime, uolens uicem reddere in momento temporis. Ille autem gigas corporali mole in me post patris iniuriam insurgebat et ego, quia uiuacis animi eram et magni cordis, resistebam uiriliter et conatus iniquitatis retardabam. Inter hec monachi ueniunt et inueniunt lupum super ouem stantem, immo pastorem inuadentem et quasi dentibus discindentem et ore deuorantem crudeliter. Ut autem uiderunt, contabuerunt et zelo accensi uoluerunt inicere manus in filium pestilencie, set pater oblitus infirmitatis et caritatis memor precepit et ait: Nolite, nolite, queso, nolite, filii, patrem uestrum tunica paciencie spoliare. Non sum commotus, non sum lesus, turbatus non sum, quia filius meus est qui me proiecit in ignem et per hoc purgauit, non peremit. Filius meus est set infirmus est. Et ego quidem corpore non sum sanus, sed sanauit me in anima infirmus ille, quia beati pacifici quoniam filii dei uocabuntur. Itaque apprehendens caput eius uir beatissimus deosculatur, benedicit, amplectitur, et quasi doloris nil sensisset ex infirmitate corporea nullaque mestitudine tangeretur ex illata iniuria, ita dulciter linire studuit furorem irascentis in se sine causa. O caritas hominis multis maior miraculis! Non iussit eum a monasterio expelli, non uerberari, non iussit quasi freneticum ligari uel compede constringi, non eum denique uel uerbo increpatorio patitur a quoquam conueniri. Quia ruguit in persona mea peccauit, ego, cum uoluero, uindicabo, sed ego nunquam | quia caritas in patre uestro non est destruenda, set per talia f. 63 c. pocius perficienda iugiter usque in finem, et sic salui erimus. Quando non, ubi non, cui non placet ista tam perfecta caritas que, a minore tam grauitur exulcertata, talionem non reddit, immo quod est perfectissime dilectionis insigne, pro temeritate beneficium impendit. Ista, mi pater Maurici, lege, queso, duobus prelatis illis ut sciant Alredum merito miracula perpetrasse, qui tales protulit fructus in caritate, iureque fecisse uirtutes qui tam extitit benignus ad sibi subiectos fratres. Et reuerencie et iterum tociens exemplis huiusmodi formam uite sue decentissime subornauit cocci bis tincti¹ mirabiliter ille artifex. Hanc uero

¹ MS. *cocti bis tincti*. The phrase is scriptural, e.g. Exodus xxv. 4.

epistolam ad capud libelli nostri deorsim quidem apposui ut ad eam uelut ad capitula quedam recurratur maxime cum opus fuerit rerum gestarum testes nominatim producere. Ora pro me pater mi.

[In the MS. the life follows the letter to Maurice without a break. As the chief facts are given in the summaries printed in Horstmann's edition of the *Nova Legenda*, I have not given the text in full. All passages throwing light on Ailred's personality or adding definite information about him are given, also Walter Daniel's comments on the monastic life, the true methods of theological study, and similar matters. I have omitted nearly all the detailed descriptions of Ailred's miracles, as they do not, as a rule, contain anything of particular interest which cannot easily find parallels elsewhere. I have added the numbers and headings to the chapters, which are clearly marked by illuminated capitals in the MS.]

f. 63 c.

[I. *Prefatory letter to Abbot H.*]

Virorum dulcissimo abbati H. suus W. Daniel, laborem et salutem. Quum quidem pater noster obiit et quasi lux matutina euanuit e terra nostra et multorum animo insidet ut radius tanti luminis refundatur ad memoriam et illuminationem futurorum, immo eciam et quorundam presencium quibus et ipsum lumen emicuit in fulgore suo, non possum, fateor tibi, in hac re sensus mei rationem et scienciam denegare, cuius debeo pro uiribus parere preceptis et maxime in caritatiua iussione que non sine uexatione anime poterit preteriri. Bene dicitur: Pre uictima est obediencia et ante pinguium arietum oblationem.¹ Ad hanc nihilominus tuam intentacionem accedit et imminet recens patris abscessio² que nos ultro prodire prouocat, obedire iubet, et tuis ammonet parere mandatis. At quid faciam miser inter has ambages discriminis, que sic latera mea stringunt et constringunt affectum et uoluntatem retundunt? Nam ille quidem plus cupit quam potest, hec uera tantum tenere suadet. Sed quid? Oret pro me paternitas tua et tuorum deuocio filiorum suis meo astipuletur conatui precibus et ueris uincam opinionem multorum. . . .

ff. 63 d-64 b.

[II. *Ailred's youth at King David's court.*]

Igitur pater noster in puericia mirabilis fuit et fere uirum fecit preclarum cum minusculam etatem ageret, nisi quod ibi habuit maiorem uirtutem ubi uicium esse non potuit. . . . Licet enim seruicium domini

¹ 1 Kings xv., 22.

² Ailred died in January, 1167.

sui, regis utique magni, secundi David, Regis Scocie, talem puerum, tam egregium florem uitae uere, teneret in seculo, in celo tamen mente ac uoluntate conuersabatur, et iam plane infantulus fecisset ne ulla ex parte seruiret mundo, nisi tam pure sanctitatis domino pro tempore in quibusdam deservire uoluisset. . . . | Denique uitam prefati Regis f. 64 a. luculentissimo stilo composuit sicut postmodum declarabimus.¹ A quo tanto amore complexus est ut eum faceret magnum in domo sua et in palacio gloriosum, ita ut rebus preesset multis, mancipiis plurimis et omnibus palatinis quasi dominus alter et secundus princeps haberetur, egrediens et ingrediens ad imperium regis, in uniuersis fidelis, bonis tamen familiaris et cum amore gratus, malis uero terribilis et cum dilectione seuerus. Jam enim tunc adimplebat: "diligite inimicos uestros," et non dissimulabat illud: "omnia omnibus factus sum ut omnes facerem saluos". Unde Rex uehementer amabat eum, et magis ^{N.L., I., 41, II. 24-26; II., 545.¹} ac magis de die in diem ad altiora prouehere cogitabat in tantum ut eum episcopatu nobilitasset primario terre sue, nisi ad cisterciensem religionem cicius aduolasset. Erat tamen cum eo echonomus³ domus regalis et preter illum nichil agebatur intus uel foris, omnibus per omnia placens et in nullo unquam delinquens. . . . In tantum enim seruebat spiritum, in regali triclinio positus, ut magis monachus⁴ putaretur quam secularis potencie et pompatici ministerii officialis discipulus. . . . Hinc est quod sepe dum staret coram Rege ad prandium fercula distribuens et particiones diuidens ciborum uiritim unicuique conuescencium | f. 64 b. prout uolebat, ut primor⁵ in hac parte, uidelicet mense regalis dapifer summus, inter prandendum obliuiscens exteriora et que futura sunt cogitans, quasi per agoniam raptus ad superos, uentrium negocia obliuisceretur. . . . In uestimentis quoque et ornatibus corporis taliter incedebat comptus et coopertus ut nulla superfluitas notaretur in superficie uel uane glorie seu cupiditatis affectus, prognosia quadam ueraci future uite sue prophetans laudabilem paupertatem. . . . (*The rest of the chapter on Ailred's virtues is summarized in N.L., II., 545*).

¹ Below, f. 70 b.

² The summary in the Bury MS. contains a sentence not found in Walter's text: "in curia David regis Scocie, cum Henrico filius regis et Waltheno postmodum abbate de Melros, nutritus fuit et educatus". (N.L., II., 545, ll. 20-21). See above, pp. 336, 343.

³ See above, p. 343.

⁴ Above, p. 471.

⁵ So MS. for primus or primoris.

N.L., I., 41,
II. 30-42, I. i.;
II., 545-546.

[III. *The story of the scurrilous knight who attacked Ailred.*]

f. 64 c.

Erat enim quidam durus et rigidus ualde stolidique cordis et penitus indomabilis qui militaris quidem discipline nomine tenus exercebat insignia et satis uiribus et crudelitate proficiebat in malum. Hic insaniens contra iuuenem eo quod a rege pre omnibus amaretur, omnibusque placeret in palacio, utpote inuidens et frendens dentibus ille infelix super hiis que uidebat, gratie donis quibus decorabatur noster Joseph adeo ut tanquam pater a militaribus ceteris coleretur, ueneraretur et solempniter publice et priuatim precipuus predicaretur, cepit persequi uirum uirtutis uir ille et graui odio insectari. . . . | Tandem inflacione sua commotus et agitatus rancore miles malus magno impetu insurgit in bonum hominem et benignum, rege presente et aulice frequentie solempni comitatu; sicque oracionis principio galeam impudencie innectit ut spurcissimis¹ uerbis et horrorem concucientibus illis qui audiebant, meretricis non militis litem et luxuriam redolerent, dicens et contestans indignum esse hominem regales dispensare diuicias, regio uultui assistere, tante glorie nomen et laudem optinere. Addit ad hec quedam que silencio premitto propter fetorem uerborum ne fedent os nostrum et aures audiencium, euomens contra electum Domini et future felicitatis heredem. (*Ailred treated this attack with such humility and generosity that the knight was abashed and finally sought forgiveness. King David's regard for Ailred was increased and he was admitted into his confidence in important matters. . . .*) | Congruit eciam eius nomini interpretatio magni consiliiarii, quod, uersum in latinum totum consilium uel omne consilium facit. Etenim "Alred" anglicum est, illudque quod diximus exprimit in latino. . . .

f. 64 d.

f. 65 a.

[IV. *Ailred's desire for the cloister.*]

f. 65 b.

[V. *Ailred's journey to York where he hears of Rievaulx.*]

N.L., II.,
546-547.

Paulo post namque in partes Eborace ciuitatis pro quodam negotio deueniens ad Archiepiscopum eiusdam diocesis,² didicit a quodam familiarissimo³ sibi rumore laudabili quosdam monachos ferme ante duos annos ex transmarinis partibus uenisse in Angliam, mirabiles

¹ So I read the MS. Some words seem to have been omitted by the copyist.

² Archbishop Thurstan.

³ Perhaps Waldef, who about this time had been elected prior of Kirkham.

quidem et religione insignes, uestituque albos et nomine. (*The rest of the chapter, describing the Cistercian rule and Walter Espec's foundation near Helmsley is summarized in the Bury MS. N.L., II., 546-547, but the following passage is much abbreviated.*)

Omnia illis constant pondere, mensura et numero. Panem libra, potum | emina, olus et faba conficiunt pulmenta duo. Si cenauerint f. 65 c. partes prelibatorum iterum in publicum veniunt, excepto quod pro coctionibus binis quedam si affuerunt succedunt nascencia leguminum. Singuli et cincti lectis repausant suis, cuculla et tunica estate uel hieme nunquam minus habentes. Nichil possident proprium preter quod non loquuntur simul, nec propria quid quis aggreditur uoluntate. Ad nutum prelati excitata que geruntur simili exitu flectuntur ad quelibet.¹ Pusillus et magnus, puer et senex, prudens et ydiota una lege tenentur ad mensam, ad processionem, ad communionem usumque ordinum ceterorum. Personalitas idemptitatem parit, singulis unam ipsamque omnibus similem, nec est gratia² quemlibet excepcionis indicium preponderans equitati,³ nisi quem maior sanctitas aliis potuerit anteferre. Sola hec distincio digniorem approbat que nouerit dinoscere meliorem. Quanto ergo quis humilior tanto et maior est inter illos. Et quanto⁴ abjectior fuerit secundum estimacionem propriam, tanto aliorum opinioni et arbitrio plus placebit.⁵ Januas monasterii sui

¹ The punctuation in N.L. differs from that of the MS.

² N.L. *erga*. The Bury text appears to be better here.

³ N.L. *equitatem*.

⁴ MS. *quanta*.

⁵ Most of this passage is taken, sometimes verbatim, from the rule of St. Benedict or from the Cistercian constitutions. It may be compared with Ailred's description in the *Speculum Caritatis* (P.L., CXCIV., coll. 559-560). In one of his sentences Walter Daniel wrote a eulogy of the Cistercian rule in more general terms: "ordo cisterciensis est ut lampa inter astra, ut thiara Aaron inter pontificalia, ut ephod Dauid inter regalia, ut urna aurea inter tabernaculi testimonii uasa cetera. Dixit autem Dauid sponso de sponsa: astitit regina a dextris suis in uestitu deaurato circumdata uarietate. Ita pulchre sponse uarietas quasi uisibilibus distincta coloribus; nitore coloris albi albos cisterciensis ordinis monachos signare uidetur. Sicut enim uidetur. Sicut enim color albus pre ceteris coloribus naturali quadam uenustate oculos mulcet intuentium, ita ordo cisterciensis pre ceteris professionum sectis, pictura quadam egregia et spirituali, omnes in se recapitulat uirtutes in quo si quid minus habetur, hoc earum chatalogo certum est omnino deesse. Sciunt plane illi uera esse que dico, qui eundem ordinem strenue custodiunt quomodo a prioribus patribus in primordii sui est incoatus exordio. Ego etiam hec optime noui, quod professionis huius observatores perfecti pro uirtutum pulcher-

mulieres non ingrediunt, non accipitres, non canes nisi tales qui frequenti latratu fures ab edibus abigere consuerunt. Pestem indignacionis et omnem plantacionem iracundie superbieque fumosas figuras e medio sui exsufflant nimia dileccione, quibus secundum actus apostolorum cor unum creatum est et anima una spiritus sancti gratia et amore. . . .

f. 65 d.

[VI. *Ailred leaves York for Helmsley.*]

N.L., II., 547.

Hucusque uir uenerabilis ab amico fabulam non fictam sed factam audiens, et "eia," inquit, "que est uia que ducit ad istos angelicos homines, ad hec loca celestia?" "Noli," ait ille, "turbari, nam iuxta te sunt et nescis, facillimeque reperiri possunt si quesieris" O, inquit, "desidero plane multum et uehementer sitio aspectum illorum et loci prefatas opportunitates conspiciari". "Aggredere," refert ille, "iter, sed prius ab archiepiscopo licenciam pete et accipe benedictionem eius, et post ante diei presentis occasum si uoueris, implebit deus desiderium tuum". Currit cicius ad presulem, cupiditate ductus futurorum, et recepta licencia et benedictione antistitis ad hospiciu concitus recurrit, equos ascendit nec moram innectit ingressui domus, immo pene insalutatos apud quos hospitabatur relinquens, iumenta urget ire quo nescit. Sed relator prefate fabule illum post se cogit sequi et sic agitantibus caballis et ualde uelociter ante noctem castellum introeunt Helmsley, quod a loco distabat miliaris duobus. In quo dum eos ouanter recepit uir nobilis et fundator illius cenobii Walterus Espec, noctem illam cum eodem letam duxerunt. Qui et ipse presencia quedam preteritis addens de religione monachorum illorum humillimi, Alredi spiritum magis ac magis gaudio accendebat inenarrabili.

[VII. *Ailred enters Rievaulx.* This chapter, like the last, is summarized at some length in the Bury MS. The chief omission in the latter is the fact that Ailred did not decide to become a monk on his first visit to Rievaulx, but on the following day, after he had begun his journey back to Scotland.]

N.L., II., 547.

Mane igitur facto peregit pater cum eo ad monachos et uernaculi nonnulli cum illis ueniunt. Occurrit prior, hospitalis et portarius, ducunt ad orationem iuuenem lacrimis faciem abluentem et cor conterentem

rimos flores [*sic*] tricesimum et sexagesimum centesimumque faciunt fructum. Sit pax et veritas cum his omnibus usque in finem. Amen." (Centum Sententiae, no. 97, f. 37^v-38^r.)

humiliter in confessione domini. . . . Tamen non illo die imperavit animo locum ipsum eligere ad ibi manendum, sed remeans cum domino W. Espec ad castrum ante nominatum alteram in eo peregit noctem priori consimilem. Loquuntur simul | qui aderant sufficienter de f. 66 a. pluribus et post dormitum est usque ad illud exortum stelle que primo mane micando resplendet et lucifer appellatur. Clamat iam expergefactus a sompno ille tociens nominatus quatinus ministri equis frena suspendant. Sellas eciam superponant et alia equitancium instrumenta componant. Quibus patratu uale faciens nobilissimo Waltero iter arripuit in Scociam ad dominum suum regem. Quum autem oportebat eum transire per montis supercilium qui descendebat in uallem monasterii de quo diximus, et ducebat ad portam illius, cum uenisset illuc inflammatus calore spiritus sancti, amore uidelicet domini Jhesu, interrogauit quendam suorum, uocabulo amicum, utrum uellet descendere ad abbatiam et plenius quod pridie conspexerat contemplari. (*The event was decided by the desire of the companion to go down to the abbey, and Ailred became a monk, with one of his company.*)

[VIII. *Ailred in the probatorium.*]

f. 66 b.

Completo igitur in hospicio quaternario dierum numero recipitur in N.L., II., 548.¹ probatorium; ante tamen coram toto conuentu conuentus de proposito quod spondit et ibi quoque ut alibi responsis gratie que procedebant de ore illius omnes commouit in fletum. In probatorio uero non facile dixerim qualiter extitit. Ibi enim terra in aurum uersa est. Adhuc in carne superest qui eum erudiuit in scola illa et est religionis famose uir ille, Simon uidelicet abbas de Sartis.² Qui licet senio lassatus iam iamque propinquet ad brauium, tamen interim dicat qualem uiderit patrem nostrum amantissimum Alredum in probatorio noniciorum. Dic, senex, dic, dic de illo, dum uiuis, ueritatem. Noli timere illud ne laudes hominem in uita sua, quia iste iam obdormiuit in domino et porrexit ad celum. Vere, inquit, socius meus fuit non discipulus et industria magisterii uicit doctorem. Ergo, o tu bone senex, super te predicas bene uixisse quem te in bono astruis meliorem. (*The rest*

¹ After the summary of the previous chapter, the story of the fire in the guest house follows in the Bury MS. This was taken from the later letter to Maurice. See above, p. 486. In his summary of Chapter VIII., the compiler omits the references to Simon, Abbot of Sartis.

² Above, p. 453.

of the chapter, which is briefly summarized in N.L., II., 548, deals with Ailred's virtues as a novice.)

66 c.

[IX. *Ailred makes his profession.*]

N.L., II., 548.

Igitur cum orbita tocius anni uolueretur et ad sui principium tempus rediret et ipse totum expendisset in cella ubi Christi probantur tirones, ante altare, ut mos est, in oratorio coram omnibus uotum suum firmavit professione litterali, quam et manu sua scripsit, ut beatus ammonet Benedictus.¹ Deinde uestitur stola sancta, cuculla uidelicet abbatica benedictione sanctificata, et deinceps in congregacione reputatur. Et quoniam aliquantulum rufus erat ut Dauid, pulcher et decorus aspectu plurimum delectacionis intuencium oculis ingerebat. Qui tribus quoque incia milicie monachatus decorabat insigniis, uidelicet sancta meditacione, pura oracione, honesta exercitacione. Extra horum unum repertus est nunquam. In hiis delectabatur sicut in omnibus diuiciis. Aut enim meditabatur in lege diuina aut deum suum deprecabatur aut utili actioni operam dabat. Primo autem circa que meditacio illius fuerat intenta propalemus.

ff. 66 c-67 b.
N.L., II.,
548-549.

[X., XI., XII. *Meditation, prayer, work. The nature of Walter Daniel's reflections is sufficiently indicated in N.L., II., 548-549.*]

t. 67 b.

[XIII. *General eulogy on Ailred as a monk, written in the manner of the Centum Sententiæ.*]

In hiis igitur et in huiusmodi uirtutibus uicitans miles inuictus, qui quasi apis argumentosa per campos uolitabat uirtutum, apothecam cordis tribus impleuit speciebus, melle uidelicet oleo et butiro. Et mel dixerim contemplacionem quia celestia oblectamenta hauriebat, oleum pietatem quia lucebat, butirum compassionem proximi quia pro eorum peccatis preces ad deum fundebat. In contemplacione mel sensit et gustauit per quam gustatur et uidetur quam suauis est dominus, sicut dicitur: "Gustate et uidete quam suauis est dominus".² Per pietatem expertus est lucem miseracionis domini, quia sicut oleum in superficie lucet, ita et pietas in miseracione resplendet. Comedit eciam butirum³ proximo compaciendo, quoniam sicut butirum ad ignem liquescit ita compassio in proximi subuencione resoluta infirmam animam refrigerat.

¹ Walter Daniel follows the *constitutiones*. See Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, p. 220.

² Ps. xxxiii. 9.

³ MS. *buturum*.

Quod propheta considerans dicit deo : "Remitte mihi ut refrigerer prius quam abeam et amplius non ero."¹

[XIV. *Ailred and Abbot William. The journey to Rome. Novice master.*]

Cum ergo sic floreret uir religiosus Alredus, considerans laborem eius et sollicitudinem in bono abbas suus dominus uidelicet Willelmus cogitabat admittere illum ad consilii sui secretas interrogaciones et necessarias causas examinandas domus Ryual'. Quod cum fecisset decuplum inuenit in eo sapienciam ac prudencie super quam estimauerat. Nam res difficiles graues et permaximas multo facilius quam opinabatur expressit in lucem et prouexit ad gloriam. Neque desperare potuit de bono rei exitu uenerabilis Willelmus si eius ingressus Alredum non latuisset. Nam cognitis causarum principiis ad instar alterius Danielis solucionem earum | et finem prudenter inter-f. 67 c. pretabatur. Hinc est quod eum prefatus abbas Romam dirigens pro dissensionis Eboracensis causa² maxima mitiganda tanta gracia receptus est a domino papa, tam strenue negocium expressit et consummauit ut rediens multis admiracioni fieret et honori. Cui quoque reuerso iniungitur a domino Willelmo cura nouiciorum, quatinus uasa eos faciet digna deo et accepta ordine et quasi quedam perfectionis exemplaria eorum qui bene bonorum gestiunt formam emulari. Quod et fecit et tam dolatos ex illis monachos tradidit ut eorum quid adhuc in carne superstites illius predicabilem industriam tam morum suauitate quam uiua uoce affirmant, quorum conuersacio³ inter candidos flores candidiores ut ita dixerim flosculos preferunt, et maiorem pretendunt uenustatem decoris incomparabilis. Et ut uno compassio cordis eius et perfectio religionis intelligatur audiant, qui audire uolunt, quid proferre quodam fecerit uel potius quid deus per illum fecerit pro fratre illo.

[XV. *The story of the clericus scolaris.*]

Venit aliquis illo tempore scolaris clericus ad Rieuallum monachi ^{N.L., I., 42, II. 4 19; II., 549, II. 9-26.} nomen et officium desiderans adipisci. Recipitur primo in hospicio,

¹ Ps. xxxviii. 14.

² See above, p. 347.

³ Two or three words seem to have been omitted here.

⁴ The summaries of this story in the Sanctilogium Anglie (N.L., I., 42) and the Bury MS. (II., 549) are equal in length and very similar, but are clearly independent. E.g. the former takes the word *clericus* from Walter Daniel, the latter omits it.

paulo post in cella nouiciorum ubi Alredus precipiebat ut magister. Qui clericus ualde instabilis animo persepe ad diuersa titubabat, nunc huc nunc illuc, ut arundo pro aura mutabilis uoluntatis ferebatur . . . (*explicit*) Iam in sancto habitu frater ille per puram oracionem Alredi inter eiusdem patris manus uite finem terminauit.¹

f. 67 d.

[XVI. *The spring in the probatorium.*]N.L., I., 42,
II. 19-23.

Nec pretereundum quomodo in probatorio cassellum testeam ad modum paruule cisterne sub terra fabricauerat, cui per occultos riuulos aqua influebat. Os autem eius lapide latissimo claudebatur ne a quoquam cerneretur. In quam Alredus machinam intrans, si quando secretum silentium reperisset, et aqua frigidissima totum corpus humectans calorem in sese omnem extinxit uiciorum.

[XVII. *Ailred's writings during this period.*]N.L., II., 549,
II. 26-30.

Per idem tempus cepit scribere ad diuersas personas epistolas quidem sensu serenissimas et litera luculentas. Scripsit eciam tres libros secundum iudicium meum pre omnibus quos scripsit laudabiles, quos uocauit speculum caritatis, eo quod opus illud sic in se contineat imaginem Dei amoris et proximi, sicut in speculo imaginem considerantis constat peruideri. Et hic plane uolumus, deo nos adiuuante, ingenii eius limatam paulisper detegere subtilitatem.

[XVIII. *Ailred's intellectual qualities.*]³

Nempe acceperat animam ingeniosam, acceperat et habebat. Quid modo habebat, qui parum sciens in seculo, tanta postmodum sciuit eaque que sciuit tam sapide sciuit? Artes quos liberales uocant auctores iste magis palpando sensit quam bibendo gustauit, quantum attinet ad erudicionem illam que ore magistri discipuli pectus ingreditur. Alias autem omne tulit magisterium secum, intelligens bene super eos qui scolaria didicerunt rudimenta iniectione uerbi pocius quam infusione spiritus sancti. Et isti aristotelicas figuras et pitagorici computationis infinitos calculos doctore indicante vix capiunt, iste autem omnem numerum transuolans uelocitate ingenii sui et omnem compositionem | figure fictæ uel factæ supergrediens, ipsum intellexit in scripturis et docuit, qui solus habet immortalitatem ubi non est numerus

f. 68 a.

¹ See above, p. 312; and below, pp. 502, 504-506.² Above, pp. 454-455.³ Above, p. 473. This important chapter was not summarized by Tyne-mouth nor by the author of the summary in the Bury MS.

et lucem habitat inaccessibilem ubi non apparet figura sed ipsa ueritas que finis recte intelligitur uniuerse doctrine naturalis. Qui non fucos quesiiuit assumere uerborum in assercione sua, que dignitatem sensus magis onerant quam honorant, nam amputant a uero indicium ueritatis dum post se trahunt quod aliena declinacione non indiget et in hoc ducunt quod ueritas dedignatur. Se sola enim ueritas contenta est nec uerbis indiget ad deprecandum compositis uel intelligendum. Sicut sol nullius rei opus habet ut luceat quo magis luceat quam lucet, si autem ei aliquid aliud coniunxeris iam minus lucet, ita ueritas se sola sufficit intelligenti ut uideatur, cui si aliquid aliud inpresseris uel admiscueris, eo minus comprobatur sufficiens, quo dignitatem propriam aliena munire presumit insipientia. Neque enim uerba sine ratione, que membrum quoddam est ueritatis ad boni aliquid suadendum uel deprecandum uel tenendum, ulla sufficiencia fulciuntur. Nam innumera uerba esse possunt sine sensu et nichil distabunt a latratu canis. Quod iccirco dico quia pater noster refutabat omnino regulas gramaticas ueritati anteferre, quas illi ubique postposuit, utpote cultum contempnens eloquiū superuacuum reique de qua diceret,¹ approbans puram et meram ueritatem. Nec tamen ad modum rusticus in pronuntiando sermonem innotuit, cui et deserto suppecit splendidissima et non parue glorie uenustam eloquiam habundauit. Habuit autem ad manum facile dicere quod uellet et ita proferre ut deceret. Sed de hiis satis. Siquidem scripta illius ostendunt sufficienter qualiter sit locutus que manu mea et labore memorie posterorum reseruate sunt. Jam ergo ad sequencia procedamus.

[XIX. *Foundation of Revesby.*]

Domus igitur Rieuall' concipiens in utero terciam filiam² genitui tumeris distensione partum propinquum nuntiauit.³ Que uero cum peperisset, obstetrices Alredum nostrum ad prolem recentem fusam gerulum et nutricium elegerunt, affirmantes cito grandiusculam futuram, si eius sollicitudinis lacte nutriretur. Et factum est ita. Quid? Elegerunt illum in abbatem fratres qui de Rieualle ad locum quemdam mittendi fuerant in provinciam Lindisse, qui locus a Lincolnia ciuitate f. 68 b. regia uiginti distat milibus.

¹ *diceret* in margin.

² The two earlier daughter foundations were Wardon and Melrose.

³ MS. *minictauit*.

f. 68 b.

[XX. *Ailred as Abbot of Revesby.*]N.L., II., 549,
l. 33 to 550,
l. 3.

Veniens igitur cum illis illuc in paruo tempore numerum fratrum multiplicauit uehementer gratia Jhesu Christi. Abbacie autem nomen bipartitum est, nam de sancto Laurencio dicitur eo quod in uilla qua eadem constructa est abbacia ecclesia olim sancti colebatur Laurencii, que usque modo manet ; et ex uilla alterum sortitum est uocabulum que Reuesby dicitur, unde uero et abbacia sic appellatur. In hac pater sanctus miraculis florere cepit. (*The rest of the chapter describing the growth of the abbey and Ailred's busy life, for he found favour both with King and bishop, is given almost verbatim in the Bury MS.*)

f. 68 c.

[XXI. *Ailred cures the subprior of Revesby of a fever.*]

Supprior itaque eiusdem domus uir religiosus et timens Deum acutissimis febribus tenebatur longo iam tempore. . . . Et ecce pater sanctus cellam infirmorum ingrediens lectulosque inuisens singulorum, tandem in illum inpingit, et eum intuens iacturam domus et inuisam uiro uoletudinem dedignatur, sicque tandem affatur iacentem : "Cras in nomine domini ad ecclesiam perge, in spallencium chorum irrumpe, canta cum illis, ora deum et per ipsum, ut credo, sanitate pocieris". (*The monk did so, recovered his health, and lived long.*)

[XXII. *The unstable monk again.*]N L., I., 42,
II. 23 43 ; II.,
5 0, II. 3-30.
f 68 d.

Eodem tempore isdem frater de quo in superioribus diximus, ille uidelicet cuius animam deum rogauit Alredus ut sibi daretur, pristinae mutabilitatis incendio conflagratus de monasterio recedere uolebat. (*After a conversation which is copied in the summaries, the monk went to the gate, Ailred to pray.*) . . . Jam accedens subcellerarius ad eum, proximus uidelicet ei secundum carnem, dicit, "O tu, quid facis, excecans oculos tuos pro miserrimo illo ? Insuper et uotum fecisti ut te fame occidas si non redeat ille." Et sanctus, "Quid ad te ? Noli, queso, dolorem dolori meo addere, nam crucior in hac flamma, et cito morior nisi subueniatur filio meo. Quid ad te ?" Fugitiuus autem ad portam ueniens exire festinabat. (*The rest is given in the summaries. The monk, although the gates were open, was invisibly restrained from proceeding.*)

[XXIII. *The monk with the dead arm, who was cured by Ailred's staff.*]¹ N.L., I., 42,
II. 43-45.

Per idem tempus frater quidam in monasterio eius artificiosus ualde unius brachii mortificationem incurrens, totum corpus perinde arbitrabatur mortiferum. Nam uis inualitudinis totum occupans membrum triplici reflexu tanquam arietis cornu interius replicauerat et manum emortuam infra triplicationem eandem miserabiliter contorserat, ita ut in lecto super latus partis infirme nunquam pausare potuisset, quoniam uni membro infirmanti cetera omnia compaciebantur. | Erat isdem f. 69 a. monachus bene simplex et admodum religiosus et bone fidei innitens ualde. Qui cum quadam die adiret ecclesiam quatinus missarum sacris interesset solempniis, intuens baculum abbatis infixum in ligno quodam secus ostium oratorii, eadem uirga per merita beati uiri et gratiam Jhesu Christi sanitatem recuperare presumpsit. Accipiens enim sana manu eundem baculum trina circuicione circumduxit eum infirmanti particule, signo crucis tercio repetito, et mox ad tertium circuitum ligni et tertium salutiferi signi brachium resilit ad solitam longitudinem, manus redit ad naturalem mobilitatem et sanitas abegit omnem incommoditatem.

[XXIV. *Death of Abbot William.*]

Cum igitur multis aliis et huiusmodi uirtutum et miraculorum splendidissimis radiis pater uenerabilis Alredus fulgeret, domino Willelmo abbate Rieuall' ultima inimica mors extremum clausit diem uite presentis.² Cuius uita uere in benedictione est quia benedictionem dedit illi dominus et testimonium suum confirmauit super capud eius. Ex eo siquidem tanquam ex indeficiente fonte religionis riuuli ad posteros deriuati sunt, qui usque hodie in domo Rieuall' et in filiabus eius sufficienter fluunt et superfluunt, ad potum habiles et commodi, et ad ablucionem infirmorum salubres et indeficientes effecti.

[XXV. *Abbot Maurice.*]

Huic successit Mauricius magne sanctitatis uir et preclare prudentie utpote qui potauerat a puero uiuum leticie spiritale in claustro Dunolmensi, et ex pane Cuthberti uiri Dei refectus creuerat in sub-

N.L., II., 550,
II. 30-35.

¹ For this cf. above, p. 466. Tynemouth devotes three incorrect lines to this miracle; the Bury MS. omits it.

² Abbot William died 2 August, 1145. See the references and extracts in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 108-109.

lime ita ut a sociis secundus Beda cognominaretur ; cui reuera erat in tempore suo tam uite quam sciencie prerogatiua secundus. Hunc uero ego ipse uidi et bene noui et scio quia paucos tales modo terra tenet morientium. Hic autem moleste ferens inquieta onera cure pastoralis portare, uilicacioni abrenuncians post duos annos in claustro maluit consedere.

N.L., II., 550, [XXVI. *Ailred elected Abbot of Rievaulx. His critics.*]
 ll. 35-40.

Cui Alredus a fratribus iure subrogatus amplius solito lucere iam cepit et quasi sol in centro eleuatur claritatem sue lucis is latius effudit. Quidam uero ad huius domus regimen proprie uoluntatis ambitione ascendisse illum arbitrantur, quod falsum esse boni omnes nouerunt. Quid enim mirum si uirtus uiri emulos ad falsum prouocauit ? Res est uirtus que nunquam caret inuidia. Et quantos male zelantes pacificus ille sustinuit ? Adhuc uiuuu eorum aliquanti, sed mors eius preciosa in aspectu domini errorem inuidencium amputauit. Et in uita quoque | sua monstra placauit. Quasi enim monstra quidam insurrexunt in eum malignantes et peruersi homines quorum lingua contra iustum locuta est mendacium, et superbia eorum qui oderunt eum ascendit semper. Alii dicebant " quia bonus," alii " non, sed est homo uorax, potatorum uini et publicatorum amicus, balneis et unguentis dedens corpus suum ". Quibus respondeo.

[XXVII. *Walter's answer to Ailred's detractors. This chapter is summarized sufficiently in N.L., II., 550, l. 39 to 551, l. 4.*]

[XXVIII. *Ailred's prophetic vision of the death of the unstable monk.*]¹

Qui plane eodem tempore per sompnum futura manifesta uidit de supradicto uidelicet fratre cuius exitum per portam in seculum prece sua retardauit. Iam idem frater missus cum domino Daniele patre meo et quibusdam aliis de domo nostra a uiro uenerabili Alredo ad abbatiam quamdam religione Cisterciensi ab eis illuminandam, nomine Swinesheued,² in redeundo domi appropinquabat. Nocte autem illa

¹ Above, p. 312.

² The abbey of Hoiland or Swineshead, in Lincolnshire, whose abbot, Gilbert, was a friend of Ailred (above, p. 312) was founded by Robert Grelley and settled by monks from Furness (see Tait, *Mediæval Manchester*, p. 132). The statement in the text that Daniel and his companions were sent to enlighten or advise the monks of Swineshead suggests, so far as it

que diem crastinum induxit in quo ad portam Rieuall' uenturus erat uir ille, | abbas Alredus dormitans uel dormiens, nescio, deus scit,¹ in lecto f. 69 c. suo iacebat. Et ecce homo uultu uenerabilis astitit coram eo et dixit, "Abba, mane hora prima ille tuus monachus ad portam monasterii apparebit. Fac ergo eum ingredi claustra monasterii, quia post paucos dies grauissima infirmitate corripietur et inter manus tuas morietur." Quibus prophetatis uates in uisione disparuit, et uir sanctus a sompno euigilauit. Recedente itaque nocte dieque subsequente secundum ordinem temporis prima lucis hora mundum ingreditur, et homo prophetatus pre foribus abbathie adesse abbati nunciatur. Qui mandans patri quatinus ad eum dignetur exire, et (*sic*) libenter paret sanctus ad illum descendere. Quem, ut uidit, osculatus est dulciter et de uisione cogitans fleuit super eum ualde suauiter. Rogat eum ingredi et letari spiritali leticia, quia "iam, iam," inquit, "deo uolente perficeris in gloria". Cuius eloquium non capiens homo subridet et submurmurat ut "quid inquietis, intrabo ad mortem illam interminatam quam semper paciuntur claustrales? Immo uel saltem per unum mensem licencia tua uisito parentes meos et cum eis uel tantillo tempore fruor bonis presentibus et sic iterum ad te redeo." "Non erit ita, fili mi," ait pater, "sed nunc intra, quia sine te diucius non uiuo nec tu sine me morieris". Blanda igitur allocucione illexit monachum ut secum intraret in monasterium. Quo introeunte supra quam credi potest gaudet abbas et in corde iucundum licet occultum festum inchoat celebrare. Transactis autem quinque diebus uel sex hospes² qui aduenerat infirmatur et fortissimo languore concutitur. Sanguis ex naribus profluit sine intermissione; incipiunt fratres omnes de illius uita desperare. Inter hec currit et discurrit pater solaciando filio et seruitoris officium sedulo inpendit egroto. At post dies perpauca eger urgetur reddere animam, pro qua exeunte de corpore abbas more solito solempnem recitat letaniam³; sed, cum dicit, sue uisionis immemor

goes, that the abbey had been recently founded and thus supports the date 1148 (given in the *coucher* of Furness) as against the less likely date 1134 given in other sources. For the date see *Coucher Book of Furness*, ed. Atkinson (Chetham Society), I. i. 11-12.

¹ MS. *sic*.

² Walter, of course, is not using this word in a precise sense.

³ Consuetudines, ch. xciii in Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, pp. 206-207.

manibus morientem non amplectitur; unde semel atque iterum letaniam concludit et tercio eandem incipere cogitur. Tandem in mentem reducens que uiderat, caput inter manus apprehendens, proclamat, "Sancte Benedicte, ora pro eo". Qui cum caput tetigit et sanctum nominauit, statim inter manus eius ultimum monachus spiritum efflauit. Sed iam sequencia prosequamur.

[XXIX. *Rievaulx under Ailred.*]

f. 69 d.

Hic ergo domum Rieuallē fortissimam reddidit ad tollerandas infirmos, | ad fortes nutriendos et perfectos, ad pacem habendam et pietatem et ad plenissimam possidendam Dei et proximi caritatem. Quis ibi licet abiectissimus et contemptibilis locum quietis non inuenit? Quis debilis unquam¹ uenit ad eam et in Alredo non reperit paternam dilectionem et in fratribus debitam consolacionem? Quis aliquando fragilis corpore uel moribus a domo illa expulsus est nisi eius iniquitas uel uniuersitatem offenderet congregacionis uel propriam omnino salutem extingueret? Unde quidem ex exteris nacionibus et remotis terre finibus conuolabant ad Rieuallē monachi misericordia indigentes fraterna et compassione reuera, qui ibi reperunt pacem et sanctimoniam sine qua nemo uidebit Deum. Et utique illi qui uagantes in seculo quibus nullus locus religionis prestabat ingressum, accedentes ad matrem misericordie Rieuallē et portas apertas inuenientes libere² introierunt in eas confitentes Domino. Quorum si quis postea insulsos mores cum strepitu iracundie reprehendere presumpsisset, "noli," Alredus inquit, "noli, frater, occidere animam pro qua Christus mortuus est, noli effugare gloriam nostram a domo ista, memento quia et nos peregrini sumus, sicut omnes patres nostri, et hec est suprema et singularis gloria domus Rieuall' quod pre ceteris didicit tollerare infirmos et necessitatibus compati aliorum. Et hoc est testimonium consciencie nostre, quia sancta est domus hec, quoniam pacificos filios generat Deo suo. Debent," inquit, "omnes, et infirmi et fortes, locum in Rieualle pacis inuenire, ibique, uelut in maris latitudine pisces, gratam et iocundam ac spaciosam caritatis possidere quietem, ut de illa dicatur: Illuc ascenderunt tribus, tribus domini, testimonium Israel ad confitendum nomini Domini.³ Tribus utique forcium et tribus infirmorum. Neque domus illa religiose creditur que infirmos tolerare

¹ MS. *unquam*.

² In margin.

³ Ps. cxxi. 4.

contempnit. Imperfectum meum uiderint oculi tui et in libro tuo omnes scribentur.”¹

[XXX. *The same subject continued.*]

Nec pretermittendum quomodo creuerit sancta hec habitacio, uide-
licet domus Rieuall', sub manu uenerabilis patris. Omnia duplicauit¹, 43 to 552,
in ea, monachos, conuersos, laicos, fundos et predia et suppellectilem
uniuersam. Religionem uero et caritatem triplicauit quidem. Videres
festis diebus in oratorio, tamquam in alueolo apes, fratrum turbas con-
stringi et conglomerari, nec pre multitudine usquam progredi ualentes,
set consertas aduincem et collegiatis unum quoddam | exprimere corpus f. 70 a.
angelicum. Hinc est quod post se Rieualli reliquit monachos bis sepcies
decem et decies sexaginta² laicos fratres pater recedens ad Christum. N.L., I., 43,
Substancias eciam tantas dimisit illis que ad uictum et uestitum maiori¹, 4.
sufficiant multitudini, si res cum prudencia tractentur, et preteris super-
habundent. Qui uero in recipiendo uolentes conuerti ad ordinem
fingebat se longius ire, ut fratrum precacionibus nolens urgeretur ad
consensum; unde factum est quod plurimi exciperentur in monasterio
quos ipse ignoraret. Nam sepe illorum iudicio et discrecioni relinque-
bat ut quos uellent assumerent. Erat nempe uerecundissimus et
condescendens imbecillitati singulorum, nec quemquam adiudicabat
contristari, preces ad illum porrigentem causa caritatis.

[XXXI. *The privileges allowed him on account of his illness.*]

Hic igitur tam sanctus uir per decem annos ante obitum suum N.L., II., 551,
artetica passione nouos pristinis adiectos persensit sepiissime cruciatus, qui-
bus tam horribiliter detentus est ut uiderim eum in lutcheamine³ iniectum
per quatuor eius inicia, quatuor manibus uiro-
rum apprehensa, inter celum
et terram suspendi, et sic ad necessitatem nature deportari, uel ad
lectorum alternacionem remoueri; qui cuiuslibet attactu corpulencie,
uelut diri uulneris mucrone percussus, clamando doloris magnitudinem
indicabat. Causa uero huius passionis in generali abbatum capitulo
apud Cistercium concessum est illi, quatinus in infirmatorio manducans

¹ Ps. cxxxviii. 16.

² The original reading was apparently “decies quinquaginta,” a figure given in both the summaries. The total number subject to the abbot in 1142 was about 300, if a passage in the *Speculum Caritatis* can be taken literally (P.L., CXCV., 563).

³ Probably a local Latinised word; cf. the Yorkshire dialect word, *lutch*, to lift.

et dormiens et cetera necessaria infirmitati sue sedulo exhibens, non tamen se in officio suo ut infirmus haberet, sed potius per omnia in conuentu quando uellet ordinis sui administraret negocia, cantando uidelicet missas publice et priuatim, ad grangias pergendo et quando uellet redeundo horas regulares in curia ubi sibi placeret decantando, et in chorum temporibus ceteris abbatibus non determinatis ueniendo, et nonnulla alia utilitatibus ecclesie sue subministrando. Quam liberalem condicionem uerecunde quidem suscipiens et grauiter ferens, iussit sibi fieri mausoleum iuxta communem cellam infirmorum et ibi consistens duorum solacio fratrum curam totius infirmitatis sue subiecit, omnem detestans uoluptatem deliciarum et blandinas uanitatis. Quod quidem tugurium patris ad tantam consolacionem fratrum edificatum est, ut uenientes ad illud et in eo sedentes uiginti simul uel triginta¹ singulis diebus conferrent ad inuicem de spiritali iocunditate scripturarum et ordinis disciplinis. Non erat | qui diceret eis, "recedite, abite, lectum abbatis nolite tangere," sed super grabatum illius ambulantes et decumbentes loquebantur cum eo ut paruulus confabulabatur cum matre sua. Dicebat autem eis, "Fili, loquimini que uultis, tantummodo non exeat de ore uestro uerbum turpe, detractio in fratrem et blasphemia contra deum". Non sic infrunite agebat cum suis ut est quorundam consuetudo abbatum insipientium qui, si monachus socii manum tenuerit sua (*sic*) uel aliqua dixerit quod illis displiceat, carpam postulant. Non sic Alredus, non sic. Decem et septem annis uixi sub magisterio eius et neminem in omni tempore illo de monasterio fugauit mansuetus ille super omnes qui morabantur in terra. Quatuor tamen de illo interim exierunt eo nesciente, sed omnes reduxit dominus preter unum cuius conuersacio sequitur Sathanam. Plane in angulo supradicte celle quasi quoddam interim cubiculum constituens, claudi illud lignea interiectione precepit. In quo crucem et reliquias quorundam sanctorum collocans, locum ibi orationis dedicauit. Et cogitans quia non dormitat neque dormit qui custodit Israel, tanquam ipsius uicarius et ipse parum dormiuit in lecto, plurimum orauit in eodem loco. Ibi permittente infirmitatis eius quamculacumque quiete² flexis genibus patrem pulsabat precibus in animo contrito et spiritu ueritatis.

¹ The Bury MS. reads "nunc x., nunc xii., nunc etiam plusquam uiginti monachi simul conferrent ad inuicem" (N.L., II., 551, ll. 17, 18).

² *quiete* in margin.

[XXXII. *Ailred's writings.*]

Multa in illa mansione memoria digna conscripsit. Ante tamen ^{N.L., II., 551} hoc tempus uita Dauid Regis Scocie sub specie lamentandi edidit cui ^{ll. 19-43.} genealogiam Regis Anglie Henrici iunioris uno libro comprehendens adiunxit.¹ Eciam ante illud tempus de lectione euangelica que sic incipit, *cum factus est Jhesu a inorum xii^{cim}*, expositionem nobilem et tripharia distincione, historica uidelicet et morali atque mistica fulgentem, cuidam monacho de Sartis, nomine luone, ex bibliotheca sui cordis transmisit.² Ac in illo secretario supramemorato triginta tres omelias super onus babilonis in Isaia et quedam de sequentibus ualde subtiles et utiles manu sua scribendo consummauit. Post quas edidit tres libros de spirituali amicitia sub dialogo. In quorum primo luonem supradictum se interrogantem introduxit et me in sequentibus loquentem secum ordinauit. Et post hos unum librum scripsit sorori sue incluse | f. 70 c. castissime uirgini, quo docebat huius professionis sequaces, institutum inchoacionis, eiusdem feruorem et illius perfectionem.³ Quo completo uitam edidit sanctissimi Regis Edwardi literali gloria magna lucentem et fulgore miraculorum. Deinde euangelicam lectionem exposuit ad honorem eiusdem sancti et ad eam legendam in eius solempnitate ad uigilias, que hoc modo incipit, *Nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio sed super candelabrum*. Hec scripsit rogatus a Laurencio abbate Westmonasterii cognato suo et fratribus ibidem Deo studentibus complacere.⁴ Post que de anima, id est de illius natura et quantitate ac subtilitate, atque nonnullis aliis ad animam pertinentibus, duos libros perfecit, et tercium pene usque ad finem deduxit, set ante finem suum in hac uita eius in terra finem non conclusit. Nam debitum uniuerse carnis antequam ille fineretur exsoluit.⁵ Inter hec epistolas ad dominum

¹ The description of Henry as *junior*, shows that Walter Daniel wrote his life of Ailred before the coronation of the young King Henry in 1170.

² This is the "de duodecimo anno aetatis Christi" or "tractatus de Jesu puero duodenni," edited by Mabillon with the works of St. Bernard, and reprinted in Migne (P.L., CLXXXIV., col. 849 ff.).

³ The "liber de institutione inclusarum" was printed by the Benedictines of St. Maur with the writings of St. Augustine and is reprinted by Migne in the same connection (P.L. XXXII., col. 1451 ff.). The medieval English translation was made from a fuller text. See Horstmann's edition of the translation (Vernon MS.) in *Englische Studien*, VII., 305-344 (1884).

⁴ Above, pp. 349, 479.

⁵ For the existing MS. of the *De Anima*, see above, p. 477.

papam, ad regem Francie, ad regem Anglie, ad regem Scocie, ad archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et Eboracensem, et fere ad omnes episcopos tocius Anglie atque ad illustrissimos uiros regni eiusdem et maxime ad comitem Leicestrie, illustri stilo exaratas transmisit, et ad omnem ordinem ecclesiastice dispensacionis, in quibus uiuentem sibi reliquit imaginem, quia quod ibi literis commendauit hoc in uita ipse compleuit et multo melius uixit quam ibi dicere potuit. Sermones disertissimos et omni laude dignos in capitulis nostris et in synodis et ad populos perorauit, qui ad ducentas infallor determinaciones peruenerunt.¹

[XXXIII. *The miracles.*]

Igitur cum tales fructus parturiret uenerabilis pater, comitabantur eum nichilominus miracula que nunc ueraci stilo prosequemur. In- iustum enim indicamus testam,² lignum, es et ferrum,² quibus in exterioribus habundauit pater, ostendere legentibus hoc opus, argentum uero et aurum et lapides preciosos, quibus in spiritu superhabundauit, reticere.

N.L., I., 43,
13-17; II.,
52 II., 6-10.

[XXXIV. *The monk with heart trouble who became dumb.*]

70 d.
N.L., II., 552,
11-13.

[XXXV. *The opilio who was dumb for three days and was brought to Ailred.*]

70 d.

[XXXVI. *The young monk with syncope, who lost the use of his senses.*]

N.L., I., 43,
17-20.

Adolescentem quemdam monachum sincopis passio perurgens urgebat spiritum eius relinquere corpus. Oculi enim nil uidentes et aures nichil audientes. . . . Pater uero illa hora in pomerio cum cellerariis quarundam causarum acta residens disponebat. Et ibi

¹ The writer in the Bury MS. (N.L., II., 551, ll. 36-42) tries to give an idea of the extent of Ailred's literary work. His summary modified the original as follows: "Sermones eciam disertissimos in capitalis et in synodis centum perorauit. Inter hec epistolas ad papam et regem Francie et Anglie et Scocie, ad archiepiscopos cantuarienses et eboracenses, et fere ad omnes episcopos Anglie et alias plures personas, trecentas edidit. Opuscula autem eius in libris et tractatibus pretactis, et aliis similibus, ad uicinarium numerum uel ultra pertingunt, preter sermones centum, et xxxiii omelias in oneribus superius memoratis et preter epistolas trecentas." In the fifteenth century John Boston refers to a copy of Ailred's letters in the library of Glamorgan (Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, II., 294).

² Daniel ii. 45.

presens affui, cum ecce quidam nunciauit abbati sic se habere fratrem. Et adiungens, "festina," inquit, "domine, priusquam moriatur". Erat autem nox. Cerneret tunc senem cursitantem offendere pedibus et repurgium baculi, quo semper utebatur, contempnere. Ast ubi uenit ad miserum extinctum putauit, quia signum uite ubi quesunt nullum inuenit. Nam a pulsu motus omnis abscesserat. Cucurrit itaque tristis et gemebundus magister ad oratoriolum suum et inde assumens reliquias quorundam sanctorum et textum euangelii Iohannis quod super se portauerat annis multis, indutus cilicio ad nudum tulit omnia et ad pectus infirmi astrinxit et cum lacrimis proloquens dixit, "Dilecte fili, sanet te dei filius". Et confestim dolor omnis conquieuit.

[XXXVII. *The mysterious death of the scurrilous abbot of a daughter house.*]¹

Eodem tempore spiritualis quidam sponsus unius filiarum Rieual' uisitandi gracia peciit matrem suam. Qui quoque abbas promptulus ualde ad conserendas contumelias et male astutus ad tendenda retia ante oculus pennatorum, irruit eciam in patrem nostrum et impetens illum cum iaculis maledictionum uehementer, et multarum blasphemiarum spiculis persequens crudeliter, comouit spiritum eius ad indignationem contra se et merito in se prouocauit iratum. Nam lis eius iniusta controuersiam confecerat contrariam sibi, quam dum nititur excedere, ruit ipse in malum et luminis rebellio super se congerit densum lucum, dum cor sancti lustratum luce iusticie opinatur extinguere. Quam uiri maliciam grauitur ferens, ueritatis amator ad celum eleuat oculos unacum illis in altum dirigens manus, uerba exserit terribilia nimis aduersum seuientem linguam hoc modo: "Domine rex eterne glorie, sentiat, queso, cito iste finem malicie sue, quia tu scis falsa esse que nomini meo stomachatur ascribere". At quid? Postquam uero delirus ille animo inflato satis egerat reumatizando in patrem sputa mendacii, rediit ad domum suam sine benedictione uenerabilis patris Alredi cum magna eciam indignatione omnium fratrum Rieuallis. At quum sanctorum uerba non pereunt, quorum non unum quoque iotha sine causa prolatum cognoscitur, idem ipse, qui paulo ante incinnuerat contra iustum, mox ut tangit proprie limen domus miserabiliter decidit in lectum et die septimo post initium mali uite finem cum magnis cruciatibus terminauit.

N.L., I., 43,
ll. 20-27.

¹ See above, pp. 462, 470, 483.

[XXXVIII. *Ailred's visit to Galloway. Social conditions.*]¹

N.L., I., 43,
ll. 27-43.

Post hoc pater in Galwadiam descendens ad filiam unam Rieuall' uisitandam et consolandam, inuenit regulum terre illius contra filios suos iratum nimis et filios in patrem seuientes et in se inuicem fratres. Est autem terra illa fera et homines bestiales et barbarum omne quod gignit. Veritas ibi non habet ubi caput suum reclinet, quia a planta pedis usque ad uerticem non est in terra illa ulla sapiencia. Nam neque fides neque uera spes neque caritas constans perdurat in ea longo tempore. Ibi castitas tociens patitur naufragium quociens libido uoluerit, nec est inter castam et storcum ulla distancia nisi quod castiores inibi per menses uiros alternent et uir pro una bucua uendat uxorem. Quidam tamen homines terre illius, si fuerint in domo quauis regulari constituti, redduntur ad modum religiosi, aliorum tamen consilio et ducatu, nam propria industria uix aliquando in uirum occurrent perfectum; sunt enim naturaliter ebetes et animalem habentes spiritum ac per hoc semper intendentes uoluptatibus carnis. In hoc tamen barbarie plantauit Rieuall' plantacionem unam, que nunc fructificat fructum plurimum adiutorio dei, qui dat incrementum nouelle plantacioni.³ Quam, ut dictum est, uisitans pater inuenit principes illius prouincie dissencientes inter se, quorum odia et rancores animorum et tirannidem ad inuicem nec rex scocie humiliare potuit | nec episcopus mitigare suffecit, sed filii in patrem consurgentes et pater in filios et frater in fratrem et e conuerso multo sanguine infelicem terrulam polluerunt cotidie. Quos omnes conueniens Alredus

. 71 b.

¹ Considering that Walter Daniel wrote within ten years of the events which he describes, his chronology is strangely confused. He says that Ailred's visit to Galloway, during which he reconciled the prince (regulus) and his sons, took place four years before his death (i.e. in 1162-3). But Fergus of Galloway resigned and took vows at Holyrood, Edinburgh, in 1160 after the subjection of Galloway by King Malcolm in three campaigns. He died in 1161 at Holyrood (see the passages from the annals of Melrose and Holyrood, quoted by Lawrie, *Anna's of the Reigns of Malcolm and Il il iam*, pp. 56, 67). It is clear from Walter's narrative that Ailred's visit occurred before the campaigns of 1160, or at least before their victorious completion. Probably the writer has combined the events of two different journeys, one in 1159, in which year Ailred is known from the life of St. Waldef to have been in Scotland (above, p. 479), and another in 1162-3. Ailred was again in Galloway in 1164-5 (above, pp. 480, 487).

- See the last note.

³ Dundrennan Abbey.

pacificus uerbis pacis et uirtutis natos iratos firmissima pace federauit in unum dilectionis uinculum, et ueteranum genitorem illorum religionis habitum suscipere uiuaciter admonuit et admonicione mirabili ad quod intimaui flexit, et illum qui multa milia hominum uita priuauerat, uite participem eterne fieri docuit et docendo ad hoc profecit, ut uir ille in monasterio religiosorum fratrum¹ diem uite clausurit extremum, et iam de eodem recte dici possit, ubi ceciderit lignum ibi erit.² Filii uero eius, postea colentes patrem multa ueneratione, adhuc perdurant in tranquilla pace.³ Hiis quasi per excessum expeditis ad miracula reuertamur.

[XXXIX. *The young man who swallowed a frog while drinking.*]⁴

Itaque cum in terra illa reuertens Rieuallum cum suis dominus^{N.L., I., 44, II. 1-6; II. 552, II. 13-22.} equitaret, obuam sibi habuit adolescentem distentum ante et retro, et tergo uidelicet et uentre horribiliter tumidum . . . (*explicit*) Deinde^{f. 71 c.} ceptum carpens iter ad filios abbas in breui prospero cursu consummauit. Hec ab eo acta sunt ante ⁱⁱⁱ^{or} annos transmigracionis eiusdem ad celestia.

[XL. *The last four years of Ailred's life.*]

In illis autem annis quatuor quomodo, tanquam alter quidam Noe, archam uite sue in unius cubiti latitudine constrinxit, et sarca tecta templi mundissimi sui corporis restaurauit in melius, et omnes lapides sanctuarii immaculati pectoris polliuit et quadratos reddidit et perpendiculari arctioris conuersacionis in parietem perfectionis copulauit, breuiter deo uolente comprehendam. Non enim omnia scribimus que mirifice ab eo factitata noscuntur. Set uelut quibusdam laudabilibus notis⁵ militis Christi designamus triumphos aliquantulos, pro modulo ingenii quo innitimur . . . (*He will describe only fully attested and well-known facts.*)

¹ Holyrood, see p. 512, note 1.

- Cf. Ecclesia tes, xi. 3.

³ The two brothers, Gilbert and Uchtred, revolted in August, 1174, after the capture of King William the Lion at Alnwick in July. In September Gilbert murdered his brother (William of Newburgh, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 186-187). If proof were needed, this reference to the peaceful condition of Galloway under the two brothers is additional evidence of the early date of Walter Daniel's work.

⁴ Above, p. 471.

⁵ MS. *noctis*, the *c* punctuated.

f. 71 d. [XLI. *During the last four years of his life his austerities increased and, rejecting the advice of his physicians, he considered only the welfare of the soul.*]
 N.L., I., 44,
 ll. 6-11.

[XLII. *His private devotions.*]

In uigiliis autem et orationibus ita extunc se armauit assiduitate infatigabili et uelut inmersit in contemplacionis abyssu ut multociens in oratoriolo inclusus regulares horas obliuisceretur et cibi refectionem. Solito enim sedulior in lectione, in oratione, in contemplacione, neglexit ex multa parte presenciam et se iugiter representauit futuris. Legebat autem libros quorum litera¹ lacrimas elicere solet et edificare mores, et maxime confessiones Augustini manibus portabat assidue, eo quod illos libros quasi quasdam introductiones habebat cum a seculo conuerteretur. Sedebat eciam in fouea quadam in solo prefati oratorioli sui et cogitans quia pulvis esset; in ea singulis diebus flebat et dicebat deo in oratione: "Quam diu, domine, ista complectetur miseria, quam diu nox, quam diu tenebre circumdabunt me, quam diu abhominabuntur me uestimenta mea?"

f. 71 d-72 a. [XLIII. *His heavenly visitors.*]²

N.L., I., 44,
 ll. 15-17. Set non erat in tenebris pater noster in illo loco. . . .

f. 72 a. [XLIV. *The spirit of prophecy given him so that he knew the sins of the brethren before they confessed them.*]
 I id., ll. 17-20

I i., ll. 20-25. [XLV. *His comment, when he was told that two monks, tempted by the devil, had cried out in the dormitory at night.*]

Ib., ll. 26-32. [XLVI. *His sermon in the chapter house.*]

f. 72 a-c. [XLVII. *The vision which one of the monks had about the death of Ailred.*]
 Ib., I., 44,
 l. 32 to l., 45,

l. 19. [XLVIII. *The Abbot's sufferings during the last year of his life. His words in chapter.*]
 f. 72 c.

Igitur per illum annum integrum qui decessionem patris precessit, tussis quidem sicca pectus eius uentilans eciam cum aliis plurifariis infirmitatum generibus in tantum debilitauit eum et cuiusdam tediosa lassitudinis affecit, ut non nunquam rediens de oratorio missarum solempniis celebratis in cellam suam et per unam horam nec loqui nec

N.L., I., 46,
 ll. 19-23.

¹ N.L. lectio.

² The Sanctilogium Anglie (N.L., I., 44-45) gives a full summary of the following five chapters. The Bury MS. omits them.

mouere se usquam preualens, cubaret in stratu quodammodo insensibilis. (*After describing the nature of the cough Walter Daniel proceeds:*) Hanc itaque molestiam paciens per annum, ut dictum est, integrum, tandem in uigilia natalis Domini cepit non solum dolore corporis solito plus torqueri, uitamque presentem inualitudinem agitare,¹ set et animo ualidissimo et inuictissimo cupere dissolui et esse cum Christo. Unde dicebat, “cum Christo,” inquit, “esse | multo magis f. 72 d. optimum, fratres. Et quomodo diu durare potero in hac durissima molestia carnis? Ego igitur uolo et desidero, si deo placet, quatinus me de hoc carcere cito educat et in locum refrigerii deducat, in locum tabernaculi admirabilis usque ad seipsum.” Hec fratres audientes, nam in capitulo ista dicebat, hoc, inquam, audientes fratres, suspirabant et lacrimabantur. At unde suspiria eorum, unde lacrimae? Quia nimirum uiderunt infirmitatem et uoluntatem patris unius esse consensus et per hoc occurrebat mentibus filiorum illum quantocius migraturum ab eis. Quo die multum illos edificans testimoniis diuini uerbi reuersus est in cellam suam.

[*L. Ailred's last days. He calls the brethren together.*]

Qui ad uesperas ueniens et iterum nocte ad uigilias et mane ad capitulum² sermonem habuit ad nos humillimo coronatum proemio et prolatum cum affectu cordis et corporis multa fatigacione. Affuit eciam ad missas et ad uesperas quidem illo die sedens iuxta gradus presbiterii. Vesperis autem completis in cella sua recipitur et per manus ministrorum in lecto reclinatur. Iacet ergo quasi per duas horas uelut insensibilis et demimortuus, cum cite venio et uideo patrem sudare pro angustia et faciem uersam in pallorem subrufam et oculos lacrimantes et pirulam narium fluctuantem et labia constricta dentibus, et dico cuidam fratri, “Vere, dominus abbas ualde dure patitur modo; nam sunt indicia magni doloris iste uarietates membrorum”. Ille autem dulciter me intuens, ut erat dulcissimus, “ita, fili mi, ita, ita,” inquit, “est ut loqueris, ualde uxor ualitudinis huius cruciatibus ac cito finis erit calamitatis tante per uoluntatem domini ihesu”. Volebant illa hora loqui cum eo fratres quidam super domus negociis et stabant circa lectum eius. Ille uero rogauit me quatinus eis dicerem, quod non sufficeret spiritus eius ad formanda uerba et languor intencionem circa

¹ So the MS.

² Christmas Day, 1166.

se¹ retineret. Quod feci et non sine lacrimis. Nocte uero sequenti lenius aliquid senciens et die postero, et me uenientem ad illum hilariter respiciens dixit, "Heri, fili mi, turbati fuimus et parum potuimus loqui et iccirco non parum doluimus, maxime quia consolari fratres non suffecimus uerbis nostris, nec sicut quidem fecimus nudius tertius". At subsequens nox dolorem patri magnum induxit, nobis autem maximum, quia illius corporis tantum erat, noster uero animi merentis et contristati pro eo uehementissime. Siquidem deinde carne nimium fragilis, spiritu tamen fortissimus existens, corpore sensim deficiebat ex nocte illa et in reliquum quinque, animi virtute semper idem, qui esse solebat, perduraret. Exinde enim lecto decumbens assidue hanela uoce loquebatur, et de die in diem corpus illius debilitabatur in tantum ut iij^o Non Januarii² iusserit ante se vocari omnes monachos, quos hoc modo allocutus est :—

[Li. *His speech.*]

f. 73 a.

"Sepe pecii a uobis licenciam uel cum transfretare habuissem | uel debuisssem ad remotas quasque prouincias propare uel institissem regis curiam petere ; at nunc uestra cum licencia unacum orationum uestrarum suffragiis uado de hoc exilio ad patriam, de tenebris ad lucem, de hoc seculo nequam ad Deum, quia iam tempus est ut me recipiat ad se qui me redemit per se sine me, sibique gratia sua inter uos uite melioris uinculo dignatus est colligare arcius. Satis est, inquit, quod hucusque uiuimus, quia bonum dominum habemus et uultui eius assistere iam placet anime mee. Vos autem ipse custodiat in bono semper et ab omni malo liberet, et qui sanctos suos non deserit unquam nunquam uestri obliuiscatur qui est benedictus in secula." Quibus respondentibus "Amen," adiecit piissimus pater : "ego cum bona consciencia conuersatus sum inter uos, quia dominum testem inuoco in animam meam utpote constitutus, ut cernitis, in articulo mortis quod nunquam postquam habitum huius religionis accepi cuiuslibet hominis malicia uel detraccione uel litigio in illum exarsi aliqua commocione, que diei finem in domicilio cordis mei expectare preualuisset. Semper enim pacem diligens et fraternam salutem et propriam quietem, hoc gratia christi animo imperaui ne turbata mentis mei paciencia solis

N.L., I., 45,
ll. 23-29.

¹ MS. originally read "languor circa intencionem se retineret". The scribe put a mark of omission before the word *se*, and added *circa* in margin. The first *circa* is crossed through by a later hand.

² 3 January.

occubitus pertransiret.” Ad hec uerba fleuimus omnes, et pro lacrimis uix uidit quis proximum suum, et maxime cum ille flens diceret nobis, “scit ipse qui scit omnia deus, quod uniuersos uos diligo ut me ipsum, et sincere ut mater filios cupio uos omnes in visceribus ihesu christi”.

[LII. *His advice on the choice of a successor.*]

Post hec precepit afferri coram se spalterium glosatum et confessiones augustini et textum euangelii iohannis et reliquas quorundam sanctorum et paruulam crucem que fuerat bone memorie archiepiscopi Henrici Eboracensis,¹ et dixit nobis, “ecce hec in oratoriolo meo penes me retinui et in hiis pro posse delectabar, solus in eo sedens cum uacarem ocio; argentum et aurum non est michi, unde non facio testamentum, quia nichil possideo proprium, uestrum est quicquid habeo et ego ipse”. Admonuit nos etiam ut in electione successoris eius queremus non que nostra sunt set que sunt dei, et ut iuniores priores domus et maturiores et sapientiores in hoc iudicio maxime sequi dignarentur.² Deinde dedit omnibus paternam benedictionem et optauit diuinam.

[LIII-LXI. *Ailred's death.*]

Die uero altera oleo sanctificationis perlinitur a Rogero venerabili abbate de Beilandia³ et uiatico uniuit misterii sacrosancti dominici corporis et sanguinis, illo cum lacrimis clamante, “domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum”. Quibus completis faciem uiuacitatem et corpulentorem mutuassee uidebatur, et toto die illo et sequenti usque ad secundam horam noctis uegetacionem eandem in uultu pretendebat. Nullus tamen masticabilis cibus in os eius insumitur a die x^{mo} usque ad obitum.

[LIV.]

Igitur post secundam horam noctis alterius postquam sacramentum sacri dei suscepit, cepit etiam in verborum deficere prolatu et quasi iam

¹ Henry Murdac.

² “In abbatis ordinatione illa semper consideretur ratio: ut hic constituatur quem sibi omnis cohors congregationis secundum timorem Dei siue etiam pars quamuis parua congregationis saniori consilio elegerit.”—Rule of St. Benedict, as observed by the Cistercians (Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs*, p. 51).

³ Roger, Abbot of Byland (c. 1146 to 1196). This was 5 January, 1167.

interesset celestibus terrena sapere minus. Sensus quinquepartiti perdurantes in eo integerrimi et inuiolabiles usque in finem, verba tamen breuissima | et diuisa fatiebant. Iam omnes in uno conuenimus et de itinere patris ad deum non dubitamus et pio zelo unusquisque contendit paterne infirmitati ministrare necessaria. Eramus autem circa illum nunc xii^{im}, nunc xx^{ti}, nunc vero xl^{ta}, nunc etiam monachi centum quia sic vehementer amatus est a nobis amator ille omni nostrum. Et beatus ille abbas qui sic a suis amari meruerit. Hanc enim ille maximam beatitudinem estimauit ut sic amaretur dilectus a deo et hominibus cuius memoria in benedictione in eternum.

[LV.]

Et ego fateor in diebus illis sensi et ter[r]ribile nimis lecto illius assistere, sed porro plus iocundum. Terribile quantum ad hoc quod, ut conicio, angeli confabulantur cum eo, sed illo solo audiente quibus ni fallor sine intermissione respondebat. Hoc enim iugiter ex ore illius sonuit in aures nostras, "festinate, festinate". Quod multociens per nomen christi commendauit, et anglice quidem, quia nomen christi hac lingua una silliba continetur et facilius profertur, et dulcius quodammodo auditur. Dicebat igitur, ut uerbis suis utar, "Festinate, for crist luue," id est pro christi amore festinate. Cui cum dicerem, "quid, domine?" extendens ille manus quasi ad celestia et oculos erigens ut lampades ignis ad crucem que ibi aderat in facie, dixit, "ad illum quem uideo ante me, regem glorie, dimittite me quamtocius abire. Quid moramini? Quid agitis? Quid expectatis? festinate pro christi amore, festinate." Dico uniuersis qui hunc locum lecturi sunt nuncquam sic compunctus sum in omni uita mea ut uerbis istis tociens repetitis, ita terribiliter prolatis, et tali uero et in tali hora, a uiro uirtutis et in hora mortis. Et hec quidem verba per tres dies continue procedebant de ore illius. Tribus namque diebus lento hanelitu spiritum trahebat, quia, spiritum fortissimum in corpore tenero possidens, etiam corpore deficiente ipse uix morti cedere potuit.

[LVI.]

Eodem tempore quidam ex sociis nostris, unus uidelicet ex seruitoribus patris, resupinus dormitabat pro tedio et ecce pater illi apparens, ut erat infirmus, dixit, "quando, frater, putas transibo?" Ad quem ille, "domine, nescio"; et pater, "pridie Idus Januarii migrabit ancilla domini anima mea a domo sua terrena quam hucusque

inhabitauit". Quod ita euenit ut dormienti fratri pater predixerat. Nam secunda die postea quam hoc audiuit frater a patre, pater recessit a corpore.

[LVII.]

Pridie sane quam obiret, abbas de fontibus¹ et abbas de Beilandia Rogerus | assistebant illi et pene omnes monachi et non nulli conuersi. f. 73 c. Legebat autem quidam frater passionem domini, illo audiente, qui verba iam formare non ualebat ut intelligerentur. At tamen ubicumque aliquid est recitatum uel ex humilitate domini uel ex constancia discipulorum, quum eloquio nequibat signis manuum mirabiliter collaudabat lectionis leticiam et interdum mocione labiorum et similitudine cuiusdam risus prorsus spiritalis. Alias autem, ubi uel Petrus negat uel Iudei accusant uel Pilatus addicit uel miles crucifigit, lacrimatur et significat digitis crudele esse quod agitur, et uultus tocius contristata figura. Inter hec uideres gaudia omni et dolores concurrere simul, risus et lacrimae, uox exultationis et suspiria uno ex ore, uno in tempore, eadem in omnibus et omnia ex singulis in rem quandam publicam progredi; quia pium fuit gaudere cum patre, piumque cum patre dolere, dum et filii sit obitum patris plangere et eiusdem nichilominus patris leticie congaudere.

[LVIII.]

In illo die sedi ego et sustentaui capud eius manibus meis, aliis longius consedentibus nobis. Dixi autem demissa uoce, nemine nobis intendente, "domine, respice ad crucem et ibi sit oculus tuus ubi est cor". Statim igitur palpebras eleuans et pupillas luminum porrigens ad figuram ueritatis depictam in ligno, dixit ad illum qui pro nobis in ligno pertulit mortem, "Tu es deus meus et dominus meus, tu refugium meum et saluator meus, tu gloria mea et spes mea in eternum. In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum". Hec ita locutus est aperte ut scripta sunt, cum tamen ante per duos dies tanta simul non sit locutus, nec deinceps quidem tria uerba simul. Statim enim nocte sequenti spiritum solito lentius trahens usque ad quartam pene uigiliam sic iacebat. At tunc nobis² eum iam iamque obitum sencientibus, positus est super cilicium et cinerem more monachorum, filiorumque turba circa illum adunata cum abbatibus quatuor qui affuerant, in

¹ Richard, abbot of Fountains (c. 1147 to 1170).

² *Nobis* in margin.

manus patris inpollutum spiritum emittens, quieuit in Christo. Obiit autem circa quartam uigiliam noctis pridie Idus Januarii, dominice uidelicet incarnationis anno millesimo c° lx^{mo} vi^{to}, qui fuit annus vite illius quinquagesimus septimus.¹

N.L., I., 45,
II., 33-36; II.,
552, II., 22-24.

[LIX.]

f. 73 d.

Cum autem corpus eius ad lauandum | delatum fuisset et nudatum coram nobis, uidimus quodammodo futuram gloriam reuelatam in patre, cuius caro uitro purior, niue candidior, quasi quinquennis pueri membra induerat, que ne parue quidem macule neuus fuscabat, sed erant omnia plena dulcedinis decoris et delectacionis. Neque defectio capillorum cateruum fecerat eum nec longa infirmitas curuum, nec ieiunia pallidum nec lacrimae lippum sed, integerrimis partibus corporis existentibus, lucebat pater defunctus ut carbunculus, ut thus redolebat, appareret in candore carnis ut puerulus purus et immaculatus. Non me potui abstinere ab osculis quibus tamen pedes elegi, ne damnaretur michi affectio magis quam amor, et pulcritudo dormientis plusquam dilectio sic iacentis. Adhuc non me capio pre gaudio illius admirandi decoris cum de hoc cogito. Set quando non cogito? Quando non rumino dulcedinem illam, illam venustatem, illam gloriam? Deus meus, non obiit ille sic ut mortui seculi, non, domine, in obscuris set in limine tuo, quia in limine suo uidimus lumen tuum.

[LX.]

Cum igitur corpus eius pro consuetudine, non pro necessitate, baptizatum fuisset, nam aque ipse ab eo limpidiore reddebantur, cum ergo baptizatum esset aureum illum uasculum, in uasculo quodam parum balsami attulit quidam ad nos, quod ipse pater habuerat ad medicinam. Hoc ergo liquore, immo guttula liquoris huius, nam uasculum quidem quo continebatur uix amigdale magnitudinem excedebat, hac, inquam, guttula ego tres digitos patris dextere, pollicem uidelicet indicem et medium inungi adiudicaui, eo quod illis digitis multa de deo scripserat; alii autem linguam, alii faciem, maluerunt, cum tamen nulla uideretur sufficiencia uel ad unius articuli peruncionem habundare potuisse. At cum uenerabilis abbas Rogerus de Beilandia summitate pollicis totum pene tenuisset unguentum extractum

¹ 12 January, 1167 (n.s.). The Bury MS. adds, "et anno xx° postquam domum Rieuallie suscepit regendam". (N.L., II., 552, I. 24).

a uasculo iniectioe minutissimi ligni, patris faciem inunxit, frontem aures et collum oculos et nasum totumque capud et adhuc tantum uncture illius superfuit quantum uidebatur esse quo incepit. Miramur omnes unguinis habundanciam tantam et mirantibus nobis manus patris abbas Rogerus unguere aggreditur et eadem copia perunxit qua cepit, nec sic in aliquo minuisse balsamum deprehendimus. | Unde f. 74 a. quidem et brachiorum partem non minimam ab eodem perfusam fuisse agnoscimus. Et nec sic utique cessauit unctio, set pendebat e digitis abbatis Rogeri infuse copie celestis benedictio. At nos, conuentu fratrum expectante, festinauimus patrem ad illos reportare, tuncque tandem balsamum cessauit habundare.

[LXI.]

Post que delatum est corpus eius in oratorium et in crastino, missis celebratis debitis circa patris exequias, obsequiis exhibitis et consummatis, in capitulo traditur sepulture iuxta predecessorem suum uirum uenerabilem et sanctum primumque abbatem Rieuall' Willelmum, cuius in superioribus fecimus mencionem. Cum quo iure pro meritis et gratia saluatoris per eum gaudebit et exultabit ante deum et dominum nostrum ihesum christum cui gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit uita uenerabilis Alredi abbatis Rieuall'. Incipit lamentacio auctoris uite eiusdem de eadem re.¹

¹ Walter Daniel's lamentation follows, f. 74 a-f. 75 b.