

THE LAST PAGAN

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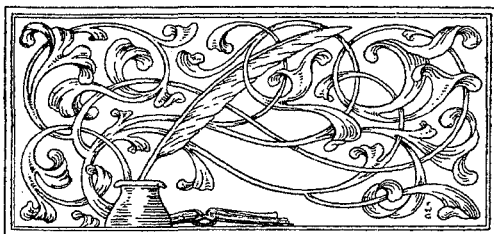
But slow that tide of common thought
Which bathed our life retired ;
Slow, slow the old world wore to naught,
And pulse by pulse expired.
Matthew Arnold, *Obermann Once More.*

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TO
W. H. P.



THE LAST PAGAN



VERY thoughtful man, when he has reached the "forties" of life, must have developed some interest in philosophic thought and have formed some sort of philosophy of his own, perhaps intangible and incommunicable to others, yet sufficient unto himself. Such men have lived in every age, and will continue to be unless the race is to perish of moral inanition.

The history of one such clear and brave thinker of the Middle Ages, hitherto not merely forgotten but utterly unknown, is embraced between the covers of this little book. It is that of a young mediæval student, nurtured in the academic skepticism prevailing at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, who became fascinated with the study of ancient philosophy, especially Neo-Platonism and

Aristotelianism, knowledge of which the Middle Ages acquired through the medium of Arabic and Jewish thought. Finally, captivated by the glamour of the religion of Julian and the dead gods, he secretly became a pagan in thought and feeling.

“The ghosts of words and dusty dreams,
Old memories, faiths infirm and dead,”

to him became “the heritage of splendid, moving things.”

How came this forgotten paladin of paganism to be discovered? From my boyhood the imagery and vision of the famous hymn “Jerusalem the Golden”¹ has had a charm for me, though I am far from accepting its theology. The authorship of this mediæval Latin poem, in the original entitled *De contemptu mundi*, is ascribed to one Bernard of Cluny, of the twelfth century. But who was Bernard of Cluny? Tradition says that he was a Bréton. In the summer of 1906 I attacked the problem of the authorship of this poem, and, as the result of researches which need not be entered into here, came to the conclusion that Bernard, instead of having been a Bréton, was a Provençal, a son of William V., seigneur of Mont-

¹ For every thing pertaining to the authorship and history of this famous hymn of the church see the late Samuel Macauley Jackson's *The source of "Jerusalem the Golden,"* together with a prose translation by Mr. Henry Preble, published by the University of Chicago Press, 1910.

pellier in southern France. This "footnote to history" saw the light in the *Cambridge Journal of Theological Studies* in April, 1907. I never thought of reverting to the subject again.

In the spring of that same year I went to France for study, and there was forwarded to me across the Atlantic once more a letter which was to prove to be the open door to one of the most interesting experiences which has ever befallen me. It was a letter from His Grace, François M. A. de Cabrières, the bishop of Montpellier, written in ecclesiastical Latin, of which this is the translation:

BISHOPRIC OF MONTPELLIER

MONTPELLIER, HÉRAULT, 1907, 20 mai.

Optime Domine:

It was with great astonishment and pleasure that I saw your article recently published in the last number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*.

The town, popularly called Murles, is situated in my diocese; but I had never heard that the pious author of the poem concerning celestial glory was born in it, and Neale himself locates the natal place of our said monk in the town of Morlaix in Brittany, and asserts that he was born of an English family.

But your opinion is very pleasing to me, and I would like to know what has been published about the life, the writings and the poem itself of Bernard, whether in England, or in Germany, or among us.

I presume this much upon your kindness, and ask that you will do me the favor to write a brief summary, in which I may learn to what sources I should go, what books also to read, in order that I may acquire knowledge readily in regard to this matter per-

taining to my diocese, so distinguished by his birth and virtues.

If ever, on any day, in travelling through France, you wish to visit Montpellier, and God be willing to lengthen my days till that time, it will be an honor and a pleasure to me to be your guide to the ancient town of Murles, and we will say our prayers together not far from the ruins of that old castle where, perhaps, Bernard was born.

Believe me, Domine Optime, your humble and devoted servant in Christ,

FR. M. A. DE CABRIÈRES,
Bishop of Montpellier.¹

¹ Optime domine:

Maxima admiratione et satisfactione mihi fuit quod, in ultimo fasciculo *Diarîi de Theologicis Studiis*, nuperrime edito, tuam viderim notam super identitate Bernardi Cluniacensis. Oppidum, vulgo Murles appellatur, in mea diocesi situm est; sed numquam audieram in eo natum fuisse pium auctorem Rhythmi de gloria celesti: et ipse Neale natalem locum dicti monachi nostri in urbe Britanniae minoris Morlaix reponit, eumque e familia anglica ortum affirmat. Tua vero sententia maxima mihi arridet, vellemque cognoscere quidquid de vita, scriptis et ipso rhythmo Bernardi publicatum fuit sic, sive in Anglia, sive in Germania, et etiam apud nos. Illud de benevolentia præsumo quod mihi digneris scribere summam brevem, in qua possim videre quasnam debeam fontes adire, quos etiam libros percurrere ut convenienter de tali diocesano meo, et natalibus et virtutibus præclaro notitiam acquirere possim.

Si quadam die, Galliam percurrendo, Montempesulanum visitare desideras, et Deus dies meos ad hoc usque tempus servare voluerit, ad antiquum pagum Murles te ducere mihi honor erit et gaudium, amboque presec nostras effundemus non longe a ruderibus veteris castelli ubi forsân Bernardus natus est.

Me, Domine Optime, tuus obsequiosus et devotus servus in Christo, crede,

FR. M. A. DE CABRIÈRES,
episcopus Montempesulanensis.

I lost no time in accepting this interesting invitation. The bishop was a perfect type of that charming kind of ecclesiastic of which the French clergy, in particular, are examples. He was tall and spare of figure, with an ascetic beauty of countenance which made his face a benediction; his manners were those of the gentlest and most refined of grand seigneurs of the *ancien régime*. I was glad when Pius X. elevated him to the cardinalate, in which exalted office, alas, he lived too short a time.

The good bishop read English better than he spoke it, and my French was no better, I fear. But we managed to get along well. His library was a place of joy — a great room lighted by diamond-paned windows, with the atmosphere of a monastic scriptorium hovering over it. The visible books were few, save for those upon his table. There were no book-cases. The books were all kept in presses after the manner of the Middle Ages, as they still are in the Vatican Library.

But we did not see Bernard's birthplace together. The bishop's library had more attractions for me than the obscure hamlet in the country near by. Some of his books I already knew, more of them I had read of but not read. But books, except incunabula and those *rarissimi libri* which collectors prize, exist in numbers great or less; examples even of the rarest books may be found in the British Museum or Harvard University Library.

Manuscripts, however, are birds of another feather. There may be, of course, several copies of a manuscript.¹ But many are unique. In the small collection of manuscripts which the bishop possessed was one which soon fixed my attention.

Every one knows the story of Browning's "Old Yellow Book," that crumpled mass of parchment in which he discovered the plot of *The Ring and the Book*, a manuscript now among the cherished treasures of a great library. In a smaller degree such a discovery was then mine. With pride, yet with a certain measure of hesitation, the bishop laid before me a few leaves of parchment for the possession of which he whimsically apologized. It was a mediæval Latin poem composed of two hundred and forty hexameter lines, covering eight pages. The parchment leaves measured six and three-quarters inches in length by

¹ Some ancient authors have descended to modern times in one MS. only, or in a few MSS. derived immediately or with little interval from one. Such are Lucretius, Catullus, Valerius Flaccus, and Statius in his "Silvæ." Others there are whose text, though in the main reposing on a single copy, can be corrected here and there from others, inferior indeed, but still independent and indispensable. Such are Juvenal, Ovid in his "Heroides," Seneca in his "Tragedies," and Statius in his "Thebais" and "Achilleis." There is a third class whose text comes down from a remote original through separate channels, and is preserved by MSS. of unlike character but like fidelity, each serving in its turn to correct the faults of others.

A. E. Housman, Manilius, *Astronomicon*, bk. I, introd. xxx-xxxi.

four inches in breadth. The text itself measured five and three-quarters inches in length by two and three-quarters inches in width. There were thirty lines to a page. As a rule the letters of the manuscript were excellently formed, but small. The first letters of each line were separated from the others, so as to appear like a column of figures. The manuscript was probably of the late thirteenth century. Whether it was the original or a copy of the original I am unable to say. It is certainly the only known example in existence, and I am inclined to believe that it was the original handwriting of the author. Seeing my intense interest in the poem, the good bishop permitted me to make a transcript of it, and I spent two arduous but delightful days in so doing. That is why I never got to Murles with the bishop. At the end of this term I had already imposed too much upon his time. Dear old saintly man, I cherish the memory of him!

The poem is the most startlingly pagan utterance which I know of in the whole field of mediæval literature. It was without formal title, the only indication of such being merely the capital letters D. V. R. at the head of the first page. For a time they had for me the cabalistic mystery of the famous DXV of Dante in *Purgatorio*, canto xxxiii. After some study of the manuscript I came to the conclusion that the mysterious letters stood for *De*

vera religione — "Concerning true religion." This title, I believe, was directly borrowed by the unknown writer from a treatise of St. Augustine with the same title, and was deliberately so chosen. For the whole purpose of Augustine's tract is to prove that there was no religion worthy of the name in the ancient pagan cults; while the whole tenor of this poem is to show that "forgotten things," as Sir Gilbert Murray has reminded us, "if there be real life in them, will sometimes return out of the dust, vivid to help still in the forward groping of humanity."¹

In the history of thought there are cycles, each characterized by a dominant form of thinking and a peculiar quality of the imagination. The lines of partition are not always distinct between these periods, of course, and the edge of one epoch blurs into that of the next. But nevertheless the differentiation is manifest. The Renaissance merged into the Reformation, though the exact point of transformation is undiscernible. The dividing line is really not a point or a mark, but a penumbra.

But great thoughts, and especially great systems of thought or philosophy, rarely wholly die. The Greek and Latin classics still live, and nearly every high philosophy yet has some votaries. Names may be changed, but the teaching remains imperish-

¹ *Four stages of Greek religion*, p. 184.

able. Every philosophic system may be considered both from the point of view of its own time and of all time—from the latter because it presents some solution to the problems which the universe raises that an intelligent mind *may* adopt.¹

Thus it happens that in every age there have

¹ Is Sir Leslie Stephen quite just when he writes: "The briefest possible glance at the old systems of philosophy shows us . . . nothing but imperishable ruins — imperishable æsthetically, but logically mere crumbling fragments. We can still read Plato with delight; but the delight is due to the beauty of style and exposition, not certainly to the conviction imposed by his reasoning. Aristotle's philosophy is a marvel for his time; but his theory of the universe is no more tenable than his natural science. . . . The vast development of scholastic philosophy in the Middle Ages showed only how far unlimited ingenuity and subtlety may lead in the wrong direction, if it starts with mistaken principles. It ended by upsetting the doctrines which it attempted to prove, and had finally to commit suicide or fall before the insurrection of living thought. The great who revolted against its tyranny in its later stages constructed new systems which, to them, seemed demonstrable, but which to us are already untenable. We cannot accept Descartes or Spinoza or Leibnitz or Bacon or Hobbes or Locke as giving satisfactory or even coherent systems. . . . Philosophies of every different variety have been not merely accepted by those who first devised them, but have been taken up in good faith by whole schools of disciples; they have been tested, on a large scale, by systematic application to all relevant questions, and one after another has become bankrupt, has lost its hold on the world, and confessed that it leaves the riddle as dark as it was before."—Leslie Stephen, "The vanity of philosophizing," in *Social Rights and Duties*, vol. 2, pp. 187-89.

been souls out of tune with the prevailing note of their time, whose spiritual affiliation is with a remoter, earlier epoch. The older the race grows, and the greater the variety and accretion of its history, the more numerous do these phenomena surviving from a former period become in our modern life. Whistler was a child of the Renaissance, Newman of the twelfth century.

Such an one is, we say, "misunderstood," when we should say that he is "ununderstood." It is of the nature of man to look askance at the votaries of unconventional things, whether of art or literature, of philosophy or religion. Convention owes much of its force to mass weight, tradition, the inertia of conservatism. It is, therefore, in that degree, a denial in terms of imagination in life. When convention is backed by the authority of state or church to enforce conformity in the form of sumptuary laws governing clothes and attire, or in the form of dogmas prescribing what shall be believed and prohibiting what shall not be believed, then it becomes a tyranny, and the man who manifests unconventional ideas which are not according to the standards imposed is regarded as a rebel or a heretic.

For many years it was the prevailing belief that the Middle Ages were characterized by an absolute ignorance of and hostility to antiquity until the Italian Renaissance; that me-

diæval literature and mediæval art were spontaneously developed, in full originality, without the aid of ancient thought and ancient art. Only of late has this erroneous idea been overthrown, or at least radically modified. Modern research into the history of mediæval culture has conclusively shown that mediæval literature and the fine arts owed much both of their inspiration and their form to the persistence of antiquity.¹

The charm of antiquity exerted its spell over mediæval minds more than we think, in spite of the antagonism between mediæval and ancient ideals. The opposition between the two ideals began to be apparent in the third century. The ancient world saw its genius expiring in the time of the Antonines. After

¹ Anton Springer, *Das Nachleben der Antike im Mittelalter*, 2 vols., Bonn, 1886, and a review of this work by Eugène Muntz in *Journal des Savants*, 1887.

Rahn, *Das Erbe der Antike*, Basel, 1872.

Bartoli, *I Precursori del Rinascimento*, 1876;

Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*.

Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immagiozioni del medio evo*.

Gaston Paris, *La légende de Trajan*.

Gidel, *La légende d'Aristote*.

Sathas, *Roman d'Achille*.

Paul Meyer, *La légende d'Alexandre*.

Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihre antiken Quellen*, Leipzig, 1839.

Boutaric, *La connaissance de l'antiquité chez Vincent de Beauvais*.

Julien, "Alexandre pendant le Moyen-Age," in *Annales archéologiques*, 1847.

them the originality of the mind of the ancient world utterly disappeared; the taste became banal; thought stagnant. Christianity, although in part suffering from the universal decadence, showed a greater intellectual and moral force than the secular world, and began to form its own canons of literature and art. Yet for a long time Christianity was content to borrow from paganism the established formulæ, giving them, however, a new application and a new interpretation. But little by little truly Christian themes developed. Begun during the period of the persecutions, the transformation was completed by the early fifth century. By that time Christian thought and Christian art, even though retaining a great number and variety of motifs which were of pagan origin, nevertheless not only had developed its own types, but had crystallized them. A new world of art and of the spirit had come into being.

During the first period belief in the superiority of Græco-Roman literature and art, at least from the point of view of form, was unchallenged, except among the zealots of the faith. What was denied and opposed was the immorality of the ideas, the license of the portrayal. But the victory of the church in the fourth century altered the relation of things. The persecuted church became the triumphant church. It was for its former adversaries henceforward to plead for clemency.

What attitude did the church adopt towards the literature, the art, the philosophy of antiquity? It was one chiefly of hostility and iconoclasm. "Let us shun the lying fables of the poets and forego the wisdom of the sages of antiquity," exclaims Gregory of Tours in 600 A.D. Yet centuries of spoliation and neglect were required to waste the inestimable heritage derived from the past. Perhaps we may regard the eleventh century as the epoch when the reminiscence of antiquity ceased to be a living force and passed into the domain of history and erudition. By that time only a few strong spirits still cherished in their secret hearts ideals out of a glorious past, and strove to breast the current of prejudice and indifference.

The hostility of both the mediæval church and the mediæval princes to antiquity was partly a matter of principle, partly instinctive. The church and the secular powers were banded together to sustain the Christian religion, the authority of the church, and the polity of a feudal Europe against innovation and change. The memory of ancient Roman republicanism was a prolific inspiration to revolution in certain parts of mediæval Europe and most of all in Rome. In 998 Nicholas Crescentius, the son of a tribune of Rome, attempted to overthrow the papal domination by an impassioned appeal to the glories of pagan and republican Rome. Out of frag-

ments of ancient ruins he built that picturesque little house which still stands facing the Ponto Rotto. In the twelfth century Arnold of Brescia proclaimed the necessity of destroying the temporal power of the popes and the rebuilding of the Capitol. The same enthusiasm for antiquity fired Cola di Rienzi. Yet even in the Kulturdämmerung of the eleventh century there are gleams of the old light. André of Fleury [died circa 1056], describing the architectural changes which his superior, the abbot Gosselin, made in that monastery, uses the famous phrase attributed to Augustus: *urbem laterciam repperi, relinquam marmoream*.

In the twelfth century a new spirit, or rather the old spirit become new, began to blow across Europe, which drew its inspiration from the pagan world. Ancient culture began slowly to come into its own once more. Archbishop Heraclius of Lyons [died 1163] wrote a treatise entitled: *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum*, in which he deplored the destruction of the monuments of antiquity. Pilgrimages to Rome stimulated interest in the remote past.

Bishop Henry of Winchester [1129-71] returned from a visit to the Eternal City with a great collection of ancient marbles, to the astonishment of his people. In Germany Hildesheim early became the seat of a fascinating artistic renaissance. Bishop Bernward

[993-1022], inspired by a visit to Italy, the country most redolent of antiquity and pagan tradition, with the aid of imported Italian craftsmen, created those exquisite bronze doors which separate the west vestibule from the nave in Hildesheim cathedral. Italy itself had nothing approaching them until Ghiberti created those world famous bronze doors of the Battistero in Florence. In twelfth century France "Hildebert of Le Mans was a classical scholar, and in his time unmatched as a writer of Latin prose and verse. Many of his elegiac poems survive, some of them," says Taylor, "so antique in sentiment and so correct in metre as to have been taken for products of the pagan period. One of the best is an elegy on Rome obviously inspired by his visit to that city of ruins."¹

This reviving interest in antiquity did not pass unchallenged. The church was not unwilling to have scholars like John of Salisbury toy with classical literature as an intellectual diversion. But it was quite another thing in the church's eye to have men derive a spiritual inspiration from the founts of paganism. The "pious" and the self-righteous bitterly inveighed against the lovers of ancient culture. "Who now toils to learn the divine writings so much as those that are pagan?" Bernard of

¹ On Hildebert of Le Mans see Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, vol. II, pp. 137-47. His elegy on the ruins of Rome is given in vol. II, pp. 191-92.

Cluny scornfully exclaims. "He that babbles Socrates and has the sinuous utterances of the sophists at his fingers' ends — *he* is made an abbot. . . . A great man is he who knows Agenor and Melibœus and Sapphic verse. The letters of old, the muse of old, are now highly prized and thought the cream of wisdom."

The leaven of antiquity worked a spirit of intellectual revolt in Italy as early as the eleventh century. Vilgard, master of the school at Ravenna, declared that what the ancient poets had said was true, and that they were worthier of belief than the Christian mysteries.¹

In the reign of Robert the Pious of France a considerable sect of heretics developed in the vicinity of Orleans, who declared that miracles were fables and repudiated almost the whole body of Christian mysteries. Many of them were burned at the stake — the earliest example of what became a common practice of the Inquisition in the thirteenth century.² The first conspicuous victim of the church who was condemned because he followed the lure of ancient thought too far was Amaury of Chartres, who was professor of logic and exegesis in the University of Paris, and who fell under the spell of Plotinus and became a Neo-

¹ Rodolf Glaber, *Historiarum*, Bk. II, ch. 12.

² Rodolf Glaber, Bk. III, ch. 8; Rénan, *Averroes et averroïsme*, p. 282.

Platonist, though he borrowed much also from the Stoics and Aristotle. Condemned as a pantheist he was burned with ten of his followers in the first decade of the thirteenth century.¹ Roger Bacon was profoundly imbued with paganism, declaring that "we should seek in the books of the ancient philosophers the soul of truth which revelation placed there; that we should follow up the traces of Christian dogma in paganism [a most penetrating utterance] and thus add all we can to our inherited treasure usque ad finem mundi, quia nihil perfectum in humanis adinventionibus."² He had the courage to say that "contemporary Christians were inferior morally to the pagan philosophers, from whose books they might well take a leaf."³

While it is true, as Coulton has observed, that "the more abstract dogmas inherited from the early ages of Greek discussion—the Greek ages, tinged with Greek philosophy—never seem to have influenced the popular mind very much,"⁴ nevertheless, especially in the thirteenth century, there were many classes of society deeply penetrated by the pagan

¹ For literature on Amaury of Chartres see Chevalier, *Bio-bibliographie*, p. 95.

² See quotation in De Wulf, *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, p. 393.

³ Thorndike, "Roger Bacon," in *American Historical Review*, Jan., 1916, p. 247.

⁴ Coulton, "The Plain Man's Religion in the Middle Ages," *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1916, p. 596.

philosophic thought of antiquity. Plato, Aristotle, and Lucretius were the greatest of these influences. That of the first tended towards pantheism and was far less destructive of established authority than the two others. Enormous and revolutionary as the influence of Aristotle was upon mediæval thought, its effect was wholly among the highest intellectual circles, chiefly at Paris, where the university was deeply imbued with academic skepticism.

The philosophy of Lucretius, on the other hand, pervaded various strata of middle class society and was disquieting and destructive of prevailing authority in both church and state, in especial in the case of the former. Mediæval Epicureanism became the vogue of heretics, of rationalists, of the Ghibelline partisans of the independence of the state from church control in Germany and Italy; in France it backed the arm of Philip IV. in his great conflict with pope Boniface VIII. It is implicit in the teachings of John of Jandun and Marsiglio of Padua. The Florentine historian Villani ¹ records how Florence was twice devastated by fire, once in 1115 and again in 1117, and attributes the double calamity to a judgment of God, "forasmuch as the city was evilly corrupted by heresy, among others by the sect of the Epicureans — and this plague endured long time in Florence until the com-

¹ Bk. iv, sec. 30.

ing of the holy religions of St. Francis and of St. Dominic.”¹

The most positive influence, though, of Lucretius is perceived in the beliefs and practices of the sect of the Cathari, the greatest heretical sect of the thirteenth century. It spread all over southern France, and was largely recruited from the industrial classes of the thriving manufacturing towns of Languedoc.²

“The youthful ‘perfects’ of the sect,” says De Wulf, “were wont to frequent the schools of Paris or throughout Italy in the later years of the Albigensian period [and] to attack the savants of the Dominican Order . . . The Cathari taught in their psychology that the human *spiritus* perishes with the body. . . . Their favorite sources were Epicurus and Lucretius, whose materialistic atomism they reproduced. And having disposed to their satisfaction of the immortality of the soul, they boldly denied the doctrine of reward and punishment for good and evil.”³

¹ It is to this sect that Dante alludes in *Inferno*, canto 10, although the commentators usually take it to be an allusion to Frederick II. and his votaries. So Plumtre and Norton, and Kington-Oliphant, *The emperor Frederick II.*, I, 371. Ozanam, *Dante*, 6th ed., 1872, p. 48, and Rénan, *Averroes et averroïsme*, p. 284, rightly trace the reference to 1115.

² See Alphandéry, *Les idées morales chez les hétérodoxes latins au début du XIIIe siècle*.

³ De Wulf, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 389, 219. For a comprehensive history of the preservation and influence of Lucretius in the Middle Ages see

The result of all this intellectual ferment was a degree of rationalism in the later Middle Ages of which but few are aware.¹ Indeed, in courage and penetration the skepticism of the thirteenth century probably exceeded what is current now. Where to-day is the university professor who would have the hardihood to pronounce the *Impossibilia* of Siger of Brabant? ²

That "eternal spirit of the chainless mind" never has been utterly coerced in spite of thrones and dominions, principalities and

Phillips, *Lucrèce dans la théologie chrétienne du III^e au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1896. A briefer statement is in De Wulf, *loc. cit.*, pp. 59 and 126. Rénan, *Averroes*, etc., pt. II, sec. 12, contains a valuable survey of the history of the introduction of Arabic philosophy into Europe.

¹ For some striking examples see Coulton in *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1916, p. 598.

² See P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin du XIII^e siècle* (1911); *Hist. lit. de la France*, XXI, pp. 121-22.

In Brewer's edition of the *Monumenta Franciscana* (Rolls Series), vol. I, p. 634, is report of a discussion by some mediæval students of the question: "Utrum sit Deus?" Cf. Church's translation of Dante, *Hell*, canto X, p. 79, note 119. The chief Averroistic centres were the University of Paris and the court of Frederick II. of Hohenstaufen at Salerno. The Paris leaders were Siger of Brabant, Boethius the Dacian, and Bernier of Nivelles. Siger flourished 1266-77. In the latter year he was condemned by the church. Raymond Lull, in order to justify the sentence, composed a dialogue in which the "philosophici," represented by Socrates as interlocutor, were badly handled by the theologians. See *Hist. lit. de la France*, vol. xxix, p. 333. Dante praises Siger in *Paradiso*, canto X, 136.

powers, lords spiritual and lords temporal. In every century of the mediæval era there lived souls who would not be wholly shackled.¹

¹ See the article by Paul Fournier, "Un adversaire inconnu de St. Bernard et de Pierre Lombard," in *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, xlvii (1886), p. 394. It is a MS. from the Grande Chartreuse in the library at Grenoble, No. 290 (see Catalogue des manuscrits, Gren. p. 215) entitled *Liber de vera philosophia*. Evidently written after 1179, it shows the abiding influence of the sect founded by Gilbert de Porrée, bishop of Poitiers. "What influence," says Fournier, "this little group had upon the development of the popular heresies which so spread at this time in the south of France is a question which it would be interesting to resolve, and one which merits the attention of scholars."—*Bib. de l'école des chartes*, xlvii, p. 417.

One of the boldest heretical writers of the time—was he *our* poet?—was Vidal de Blois, author of a satire upon scholasticism entitled, "Le livre de Geta et de Birria, ou l'Amphitryonéide," written in Latin, of course. He probably lived in the time of Louis IX. of France, but it is not certain that he was a native of Blois. The poem is daringly pro-pagan. One line reads:

Nil audet magnum qui putet esse deos.

This declaration so scandalized Cardinal Mai, who discovered the manuscript in the Vatican Library in 1833, that he suppressed it in his edition, without indicating the lacuna. See his *Classici Auctores*, vol. V, pp. 463-78. Later editions of this satire are those of Thomas Wright, *Early Mysteries*, 1838, and of Müller at Bern, 1840. For other information on Vidal of Blois see *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, sér. iv, vol. 5, pp. 474-516; *Hist. lit. de la France*, XV, pp. 428-34; XXII, pp. 39-50; *Journal des Savants*, 1886, pp. 421-24; Rénan, *Averroes*, etc., p. 283. A sermon of St. Thomas Aquinas delivered July 20, 1270, and severely reflecting on the votaries of pagan philosophy and those who doubted the immortality of the soul, may have been a rejoinder to this poem of Vidal. See Mandonnet, *loc. cit.*, p. 109, note.

The bravest rebels defied and suffered accordingly. Many such maintained a dual existence, like Roger Bacon, outwardly orthodox, but inwardly living their own intellectual and spiritual life, telling few or none their inmost thoughts; sometimes endeavoring to roll the burden off by committing their reflections to secret pages, or writing them in cipher, like a recently discovered manuscript of Bacon.

What is the function of the heretic? Let Nietzsche answer:

"The philosopher, as a man indispensable for the morrow and the day after to-morrow, has ever found himself, and has been obliged to find himself, in contradiction to the day in which he lives. His enemy has always been the ideal of his day. Hitherto all those extraordinary furtherers of humanity whom one classes as philosophers . . . have found their mission in being the bad conscience of their age. . . . They have always disclosed how much hypocrisy, indolence, self-indulgence, and self-neglect, how much falsehood, was concealed under the most venerated types of contemporary morality; how much virtue was outlived."¹

The same thought has been expressed in other words by the late professor Josiah Royce:

"Philosophical thought that has never been skeptical is sure not to be deep. The soul that never has doubted does not know whether it believes. . . . A study of history shows that if there is anything that human thought and cultivation have to be thankful for it is an occasional, but truly great and fearless age of doubt."²

¹ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, p. 153.

² Royce, *The Spirit of modern philosophy*, p. 7.

Ninety-nine per centum of a man's religion is the result of inheritance and environment. It is the one-hundredth per centum of originality that counts.¹ How the unknown author of this poem, cherishing the ideas which he did, and loving the vanished pagan cults so passionately — almost as passionately, one might say, as the emperor Julian ten centuries before him — survived in the depth of the Middle Ages, it is well-nigh impossible to conjecture. It is small wonder that his identity is not revealed in the manuscript. Even to-day Maeterlinck's works are on the Index of the church of Rome because, to quote from the indictment,

“he has accepted the fiat of the destructive criticism of science. For him religion is a city laid waste, God is a myth as completely dethroned as Jupiter Olympus; Christianity is a discredited system relegated to the regions of exploded beliefs with the crumbled theogonies of Greece and Babylon.”

What would Rome have done with this poet had it discovered him in a century when the inquisition was at its height?

The unknown author of the poem whose discovery has been related was one whose taste and quality of thought made him a “Strayed Reveller” out of antiquity into the scholastic period, a veritable pagan in the age of dogmatic theology. Who he was—I mean

¹The thought is Coulton's, in *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1916, p. 593.

his name—I do not know. When he lived can only be conjectured from internal evidence in the poem; that he was French by birth is certain, and he was surely a cleric. Judging from a striking allusion to “the granite piles of Carnac” and a reference to “Atlantic’s surge” he may have been a Bréton.¹ He must have lived in the thirteenth century. His enthusiastic allusion to Aristotle’s philosophy, which was condemned by the church in 1210, makes one think that he was writing when ecclesiastical authority was vainly trying to seal the books of the great Stagirite to Europe’s increasingly inquiring mind.² A reference to the Lateran shows that the poem must have been composed before the fall of Boniface in 1303, before the removal of the papacy to Avignon. But the most conclusive evidence as to the time when the author lived is offered by the striking allusion to the pyramids, which could hardly have been so vividly mentioned before St. Louis of France’s ill-starred expedition to Egypt in 1248. The reference is so fresh that it is almost impossible not to think of it as derived from first-

¹ Brittany to-day is the most intensely catholic portion of France. But this catholicism dates from the seventeenth century. In the Middle Ages Brittany was notorious for the active influence of many vestiges of ancient paganism. See the thesis of Camille Vallaux, *La Basse-Brétagne*, Paris, 1907.

² On Aristotle in the Middle Ages see De Wulf, *loc. cit.*, pp. 251-53.

hand observation, or at least from one who had seen the pyramids with his own eyes.

There are things in the poem of which Dante, too, makes mention. Each alludes to the legend that pope Gregory the Great deplored that so good a man as the Roman emperor Trajan, because he was a heathen, was not saved. But such allusions are mere accidental identities. Modern research has shown the improbability of Dante ever having been in Paris or elsewhere outside of Italy. Moreover, Dante was born in 1265 and died in 1321. His great poem was not given to the world until close to the end of his life. Our poet, I am sure, lived and died in the thirteenth century. There is one allusion, though, which teases out of thought:

"Nam etiam tenebris immersum Tartaron atra
In lucem de nocte vocant."¹

Did the poet know Dante's *Inferno*? I think not. It is the protest of outraged intelligence against popular belief in a material hell of fire and brimstone. The spirit and temper of this poem are absolutely antithetic to Dante.² The temper is pagan Greek of the fourth century, it is that of Julian and the dying gods. Whoever the author was, he read and cher-

¹ "For there are those who summon hell itself into daylight out of black night and the gulf of shadows."

² The way in which Dante looked upon the "paganism" of the court of Frederick II. is evidence of this. See *Hell*, canto X.

ished in his secret soul Lucretius' noble poem, *De rerum natura*, the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, the *Astronomicon* of Manilius, Vergil, and Aristotle's philosophy. Aristotle was, of course, by the thirteenth century, available in Latin version through the medium of Arabic and Jewish scholarship. The same is true of Plato and Neo-Platonic thought, especially Plotinus, whose influence is apparent in parts of the poem.¹

The problem presented by the undoubted

¹ Most of these authors are too well known to need more than mention. But a word may be in point about Manilius. He lived in the reign of Augustus, being younger than Lucretius and a contemporary of Vergil. His poem, in five books of hexameter verse, is an astrological treatise abounding in zodiacal allusions and mathematical terms like triangles, hexagons, dodecatemories, and the dodecatemories of dodecatemories. Nevertheless, in spite of its apparent absurdity, it is a sober and serious work which well repays reading. Goethe, perhaps the greatest of modern pagans, knew Manilius well and inscribed four of his lines in the Visitors' Book on the heights of the Brocken, Sept. 4, 1784:

Impendendus homo est, deus esse ut possit in ipso;
Quis dubitet post haec hominem conjungere coelo?
Quin coelum posset nisi coeli munere nosse?
Et reperire deum, nisi qui pars deorum est?

Man must be weighed as if there were a god in him.
Who will hesitate to link man with heaven?
Who can know heaven save by the boon of heaven?
Who can find out God save one who has a portion
with the gods?

See Kramer, *Ort und Zeit der Abfassung der Astronomie des Manilius*, p. 24; Ellis, *Noctes Manilianae*, p. viii.

use of Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* by this unknown author is a difficult and fascinating one. Hitherto scholars have been absolutely certain that the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius were unknown to any writer in the Latin West in the Middle Ages, and the same conviction

Two of the five books of Manilius have recently been edited with great erudition by Mr. A. E. Housman, who is both a Latin scholar and a poet, and an English translation of the second book published by Mr. H. W. Garrod, of Merton College, Oxford. The former says of Manilius:

"The last of the poets to feel the impulsion of the *furor arduus* of philosophic speculation, he addresses himself with arresting insistency to men in whom the age-long fact of social and moral confusion had well nigh killed faith in an order of the universe [he had] an unconquerable conviction of the paramountcy of reason . . . [and] a singular freedom from superstition. . . . In his detachment from superstition and in the lofty expression which he gives to this freedom, Manilius is the peer of Lucretius." And Mr. Garrod: "No one of the poets of stoicism has heard more clearly the call of the universe to its children or felt more powerfully the homesickness of humanity aspiring to a reunion with that which is divine." Introd., xii.

The most famous Jewish Neo-Platonist in the Middle Ages was Solomon Ibn-Gabirol, born at Malaga in Spain, 1021, died 1070.

"His poetry is characterized by its finish of form and loftiness of thought. His poems are mostly serious, sometimes gloomy. The most important of these is his 'Royal Crown' ('Kether Malkuth'), a religious-philosophical meditation, which has been translated into almost every European language. Many of his numerous religious poems have been incorporated in the Jewish liturgy. Of his philosophical works, written in Arabic, the principal one is the "Fountain of Life," based on the Neoplatonic system. Its Latin

is attached to the history of Manilius' *Astronomicon*. Our knowledge of both of them goes no further back than the fifteenth century. But this view must now be revised, for at least one bright spirit knew and loved their works in the thirteenth century. So far as we have positive knowledge, the philosophy of Marcus Aurelius was not known to the Latin West in the Middle Ages.¹ No mediæval Latin

translation, '*Fons Vitæ*,' is often quoted by Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Giordano Bruno, and others. He also wrote an ethical work, "Introduction for the Attaining of Good Habits of the Soul" ('*Tikun Midoth ha-Nefesh*'), and a collection of proverbs ("Selection of Pearls," '*Mibhar ha-Penim*')."—(From Century Dictionary of Names.)

There is an excellent article upon him in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

¹"The complete work was possibly left behind at Rome in safe keeping. After the death of Marcus some friendly hand whether of Pompeianus or Victorinus or Severus rescued it from its unworthy surroundings under Commodus and gave it to the world. Perhaps this inestimable service was performed by a daughter, Cornificia, whose only utterance that has come down to us breathes the spirit of her father's *Thoughts*. . . . Posterity had indeed cause to bless the unknown benefactor who caused to be published this *Megalopheléstaton Biblion*. But it does not seem to have attracted much attention at the time, or for centuries after. We can trace it but fitfully through the ages, as known to one here and there, to a Themistius, an Arethas, a Suidas, a Tzetzes. Hardly did it win through to our own days in one MS. now lost and in another that is incomplete, and it narrowly escaped the fate of coming to us merely as *disjecta membra* in one of those anthologies which we owe to the 'moths of history,' the excerptors and epitomizers."—C. R. Haines, "The composition and chron-

translation of the *Meditations* is mentioned by any western writer; the earliest known manuscript, now lost, was in the original Greek and came to light during the Renaissance. Even the internal evidence in the writings of the great philosophic and religious authors of the Middle Age affords no clue that they had any knowledge, direct or indirect, of the *Meditations*. Yet the indebtedness of our poet to him is very large and very evident. He must have had a now lost and unmentioned Latin version of the *Meditations* in his hand, for it is almost impossible to think that he had a first-hand knowledge of Greek and had the Greek original before him, although modern research has shown that a knowledge of Greek in the West in the Middle Ages was deeper and broader than was once supposed.¹ It is certainly of moment in the intellectual history of Europe that even one mediæval scholar has been found who was familiar with the writings of the only philosopher who ever sate upon a throne. We have here a new tribute to the perennial vigor of the Neo-Stoic philosophy.

In every century since its birth the Stoic philosophy, or what is more usually known as Neo-Stoicism, has had some followers. No

ology of the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius," *Journal of Phil.*, xxxiii, 1914, pp. 294-95. Cf. Harris Rendall's translation of the *Meditations*, introd., p. cxv, and pp. 17 note, and 201.

¹ See De Wulf, *History of mediæval philosophy*, pp. 167-68, and especially pp. 243-47.

philosophy covers the whole case of the soul. But men rise on the stepping-stones which other seekers after God have laid.¹

Erasmus said of Seneca: "If you read him like a Christian, he wrote like a heathen. If you read him like a heathen, he wrote like a Christian." Mr. Edwyn Bevan has written:

"If some of the most cultured Christian converts like Justin and Augustine have passed into the church through the portals of the Stoic philosophy in the past, not a few of our modern thinkers have passed through the open door of the church into the porch of Neo-Stoicism, i.e., the application of the inculcations of duty to humanity as a living organism. . . . Neo-Stoicism owes not a little of its content, its earnestness, its moral ardour, to the influence of early Christian nurture."²

¹ St. Ambrose "was strongly influenced by the popular morality of Ciceronian Stoicism, which was widespread among cultured western Christians, and which had, by its combination with monastic morality, brought about, in Pelagianism, the crisis so decisive for the dogmatics of the west."—Harnack, *History of Dogma*, V, p. 49.

[Pelagianism] "is the consistent outcome of the Christian rationalism that had long been wide spread in the west especially among the more cultured that had been nourished by the popular philosophy influenced by Stoicism and Aristotelianism, and had by means of Julian [of Eclanum] received a bias to Stoic naturalism."—Harnack, *Ibid.*, V, p. 172.

² *Quarterly Review*, June, 1910. Mr. Bevan is in error in this paragraph with regard to Augustine. "Louis Gourdon, *Essai sur la conversion de St. Augustine*, Paris, 1900, has shown by an analysis of Augustine's writings immediately after his conversion [A. D. 398] that the account he gives in the *Confessions* is premature. The crisis in the garden marked a definitive conversion from his former life,

The influence of Stoicism upon early Christianity is very interesting. A prefect of Constantinople, in the reign of the emperor Arcadius [395-408], weary of the world, retired to the solitude of the monastery of Mount Sinai and transmuted the *Thoughts* of Epictetus into a manual of devotion and discipline for the monks of the monastery.¹ Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, in the twelfth century, composed a Stoic treatise entitled *Moralis philosophia de honesto et utili*, in imitation of Cicero's *Offices*, in which, with glorious disregard of history, he made Cicero and Seneca the interlocutors. In the preface of this work² he says that he was led in a dream to endeavor to formulate the philosophic thought of antiquity, and that in the dream he was told that Cicero was the greatest moralist of the pagan world.³ Hildebert followed

but it was to the Neo-Platonic spiritualism, and only a halfway stage towards Christianity. The latter he appears not fully and radically to have embraced until four years more had passed."—William James, *The varieties of religious experience*, p. 171 note.

¹ Zanta, *La renaissance du stoïcisme au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1914, pp. 124-28.

² In Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.*, vol. 171, cols. 1003-51.

³ *Moralium dogma philosophorum per multa dispersum volumina contrahere meditabar repente somnus obrepsit, statumque, ut fit, solo animi augurio primum illum esse Latinae eloquentiae auctorem Tullium mihi innotuit; post quem ille moralitatis eruditior elegantissimus Seneca, cum quibusdam aliis.*

For further on this interesting treatise see Zanta, *loc. cit.*, p. 127, and Picavet, *Histoire comparée des philosophies médiévales*, Paris, 1907, ch. vii.

Cicero's division of the subject rigidly. So, too, John of Salisbury, in the same century, in his *Policraticus*, treated the problem of providence after the Stoic manner.

Erasmus, Calvin, and Zwingli admired Seneca more than any other ancient writer. Epictetus was the admiration of Montaigne, and a famous hero of protestantism in the sixteenth century declared that the world could well get along without any books except the Bible, Seneca, and Epictetus. Between the inevitability of Stoicism and the determinism — or, to put it theologically, the predestination — of Calvinism, there seems to have been a certain sympathy.¹

But Stoicism has appealed to others besides Renaissance pagans and Calvinist theologians. Sir Thomas Brown and Spinoza show its influence. What Aubrey de Vere has finely called

“The soul's marmoreal calmness”

appealed to Wordsworth, too. Walt Whitman is saturated with Stoicism. John Addington Symonds wrote:

“In these difficulties I fall back on a kind of stoical mysticism — on the prayer of Cleanthes (which is graven on his tomb), the proem of Goethe's ‘Gott und die Welt,’ the phrase of Faust,

‘Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren,’

the almost brutal optimism of Walt Whitman's

‘I cry to the cosmos, Though thou slay me, yet will I trust in thee.’

¹ See Mr. Bevan's development of this idea in *Quarterly Review*, June, 1910, p. 571.

Can a religion be constructed out of these elements? Not a tangible one, perhaps; nothing communicable to another's heart. But a religious mood of mind may be engendered sufficient for the purpose of living not ignobly."

The greatest of the world's philosophies yet are less "broken lights" than iridescent parts of that "dome of many-colored glass" which "stains the white radiance of eternity." Tennyson makes Ulysses say that he is a part of all he meets. But we are more than that. We are part of all who have gone before, and lived and thought before us. The "thoughtless drift of the deciduous years" may cover the individual. But really great thoughts rarely perish utterly. It is as Goethe has written —

"Heard are the voices,
Heard are the sages,
The worlds and the ages."

Of all the philosophic writings which have survived from antiquity I think there is no doubt that the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius hold the palm for popularity in modern times. Epictetus is his only rival. Plato is unto the Platonists; Aristotle unto the Aristotelians; Plotinus unto the Neo-Platonists; Lucretius unto — not the pessimists, but clear and rugged thinkers who are not afraid.¹ In the

¹ "Is pessimism necessarily the sign of decay, of failure, of exhausted and weakened instincts? [Is there not] an intellectual predilection for what is hard, awful, evil, problematical?"—Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, p. 2.

Roman world of the end of the second century the two chief powers making for righteousness were Stoicism and Christianity. Fortunately for the enduring fame of Marcus Aurelius as a philosopher he lived in an age of transition when Stoicism had freed itself from its earlier almost adamant hardness, without losing its primitive ruggedness of character, and had imbibed some of the ethereal softness of Neo-Platonism, and perhaps of Christianity, too.¹ It is this transitional nature of Aurelius' thought which makes him a connecting link between ancient pagan Stoic philosophy and Christianity, and gives his *Meditations* such a remarkable popularity among serious-minded men even to-day. The charm which this unique soliloquy, originally written for no eyes save those of the author, has for men who live for

"The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration and the poet's dream,"

is a very wonderful one. It is said of Leo XIII. that when he was dying and his mind wandered, the watchers around his bed heard him repeat over and over again the golden

¹"Marcus Aurelius has traveled far from the Cynic and earlier Stoic conception of man as a self-sufficing unit, without quite attaining the Christian ideal, which declares that he can only find his higher self in and through the development of the higher self in others."—Alston, *Christianity and Stoicism in the second century*, p. 9.

sentences of the *Meditations*. "It is one instance out of many of the persistent influence of Stoicism and its undiminished fascination for the noble-minded of any creed, or no creed, in almost every age or country of the civilized world."¹ Spedding called Edward Fitzgerald "the prince of quietists," and said that "his tranquility was like a pirated copy of the peace of God." Fitzgerald was not a professed Stoic; neither was this mediæval poet of ours. But each leans hard upon the Stoic philosophy, nevertheless, and the tranquility of each has a striking resemblance to that of the Stoics.

Whoever our author was, he was one of those men not brave enough outwardly to defy the church's authority; yet true sufficiently to himself at least to tend the flame of the light within his own soul. Thereby he gained a spiritual tranquility within which neutralized the narcotic effect of outward compromise and conformity. While his poem is partly tinctured with the lofty scorn of Lucretius, and much with the tonic quality of the Stoic philosophy and the spirit of the Aristotelian man of inquiring mind, yet it is also imbued with the softer mysticism of Neo-Platonism. But, above all, the poem is pervaded with a rationalism, a scientific quality of mind, rare almost to the point of non-existence in the Middle Ages. Whoever the author was he looked at

¹ Bevan, *loc. cit.*, p. 563.

things with level eyes and in the calm light of reason. He may have outwardly conformed to the precepts of Holy Church, but inwardly he was a free spirit. To him

“Stone walls did not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage.”

The authority of the church had no binding force upon his imagination or meditation.¹

He was a pure individualist. The mass-weight of mankind had no force for him. To him the religion of the time was a vulgar superstition. For him religion had to be, not a mass of credulous beliefs, but a philosophy. He had that antiseptic quality of mind which refused to accept a teaching which violated his intelligence and his reason. He refused to believe doctrines totally incapable of proof. He knew that instinct proves nothing, or everything, as one chooses, and that the argument derived from it is a fallacy.

But I must bring this introduction, already too long, to an end. Instead of being a porch through which the reader might enter into the poem, I fear that I have made it a peristyle instead. In the usual acceptation of the word, perhaps, this poem may hardly be called a translation. While I have often translated

¹“Learning alters us . . . But at the bottom of our souls . . . there is certainly something unteachable, a granite of spiritual fate, of predetermined decision and answer to predetermined, chosen questions.”—Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, p. 181.

literally, I have not infrequently paraphrased the thought. The Latin language was capable of a density, a terseness of expression, which the English tongue rarely possesses in the same degree; on the other hand, a mediæval writer was usually inclined to be turgid. This double characteristic of the original has sometimes led me to expansion, sometimes to contraction of the thought. There are a few stanzas which have no absolute equivalent in the original; these are rather summings up of the author's feelings than literal reproductions of his language. In no case can they be considered as foreign to his mind. For they are in entire harmony with other liberal thought of the time. Sir Rennel Rodd, in his recently published delightful translations from the Greek anthology,¹ has written: "Of the quality of verse translation there are many tests: the closeness with which the intention and atmosphere of the original has been maintained; the absence of extraneous additions; the omission of no essential feature; and the interpretation, by such equivalent as most adequately corresponds, of individualities of style and assonances of language. But not the least essential justification of poetical translation is that the version shall constitute a poem on its own account."

I plead guilty to my critics, of sins both of omission and of commission, if this be the

¹ *Love, Worship, and Death*, London, 1916.

canon law of the translator; for no one knows better than I how far I have fallen short of the ideals here expressed. But one hope I still cherish, namely, that my poem constitutes a poem in form, in subject, and in spirit — that it is a poem in spirit and in truth.

The metre of the original, as said before, is hexameter. But hexameter, even when written by a master in English, fails of the effect its usage possesses in the classic tongue. Mr. W. H. Mallock some years ago gave to the world of the few who were fortunate enough to discover it a translation of parts of Lucretius rendered into the verse-form of Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*.¹ The success of his experiment has emboldened me to court failure by trying to use the same verse structure for this poem. I realize how rash and perhaps impossible a thing it is which I have endeavored to do.

Benson, in his *Life of Edward Fitzgerald*, has said: "There is a certain priestly mood which falls upon those in whom the need for creating what is beautiful is very imperious." This study has been a labor of love with me for several years. In order to understand and to feel the spirit of the theme I have atten-

¹ W. H. Mallock, *Lucretius on Life and Death*, London, John Lane, 1900. Mr. Paul E. More has published in the *Nation* of November 30, 1916, six stanzas, in Fitzgerald's verse form, of a translation of the *Bhagavadgita*.

tively read the history of the most important forerunners and rivals of Christianity, and — may I say it without pretentiousness? — some gleams of the piercing spiritual beauty of those ancient pagan cults seem to have illuminated the page as I have written. Two lines, which every reader will recognize, have been borrowed directly from Matthew Arnold and Tennyson. I have used them because they quite exactly express the sense of the Latin lines, while the beauty of their form imparts a charm to “the argument of mine afflicted stile.”

In the copious notes which are appended to the text of the poem, I have endeavored to trace back every line and every allusion to what I believe to have been the original source of the poet's thought, whether in mediæval or ancient literature, or in the Bible.

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