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ROME

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CONTENTS

Editorial	214
Notes on Cardinal Pole in Rome	215
A Musician's Rome	223
Thoughts From Abroad	227
Plus Ca Change Plus C'Est La Meme Chose	231
A Letter From Bishop Brewer	235
Catholic Pentecostal in Rome	238
The Roman Poor	242
Richard Crashaw's Final Years in Rome	245
Ex Cowleo Cowleo Digna	251
Demise of the Office of Bootman	257
Personal Reflections of Diaconite Work in England	261
The Pronunciation of Greek	264

EDITORIAL

Editorial apologies for long delays between issues of the *Venerabile* are practically a standard feature now. Mysterious phrases hinting at 'editorial difficulties' raise a curious eyebrow among discerning readers who see them as a cover-job for laziness.

This present issue has suffered a spectacular number of such 'difficulties', the main one being the disappearance of most of the editorial staff to work in England under various reorganised programmes of study.

Since the last appearance of the *Venerabile* the College has undergone major surgery. Both the Rector and the Vice Rector have been replaced and many new members of staff have joined the team. Only those who studied at the College during the past seven or eight years can fully appreciate the difficulties which were undergone and the real and positive changes which were brought about in the College in the time of Monsignors Alston and Brewer. They were in office during a time of general ferment in the Church, and consequently in the Seminary as well. The concept of authority was undergoing radical and painful revision. What emerged at the English College was quite a unique atmosphere of mutual trust and inspiration between staff and students, something not easily expressed or understandable to outsiders, but something very worthwhile for all members of the community. Monsignor Brewer left to become Auxiliary Bishop of Shrewsbury, and Monsignor Alston to his first taste of Parish life at Southport. They will be remembered affectionately by all.

In their places we welcome Mgr. Cormac Murphy-O'Connor as Rector and Fr. Peter Coughlan as Vice Rector. Fathers Michael Cooley and Thomas Atthill have joined us as Tutors.

This number has been a long time in preparation. It contains some original articles of real scholarship in the historical and literary fields, as well as the usual diet of College news. The editor would be grateful to hear from anyone who has any constructive comments to offer on the contents of this edition, or any views on what would be acceptable in future editions.



NOTES ON CARDINAL POLE IN ROME¹

1. FIRST VISIT

While he was a student at Padua from 1521 to 1526, Reginald Pole seems to have paid only one visit to Rome. His biographer, Beccadelli, who became well acquainted with him later, wrote of it:

“ . . . for the Jubilee which was taking place in Rome that year, he wished to pay a visit there before returning home. This he did, with a few companions.² His journey was not, however, so secret but that he was presented and welcomed in Florence and in many other places without his knowing who (was responsible): it was, however, (as he told me later) by courtesy of Mons. Gio. Mattheo (Giberti) Bishop of Verona. Though the latter had not met him, he caused him to be honoured on the way, and even more in Rome. He did not stay there long, but visited the Holy Places without appearing at the Papal Court . . .³

When did this journey taken place? We should like to think of the young man as being in Rome at Christmas 1524 when the Jubilee began, and attending the anniversary dinner of St. Thomas Becket on December 29th, along with other English notables.⁴ In fact Bembo in Rome wrote to Pole on December 24th and again on January 23rd, making no reference to a visit. Pole is located twice in Venice in February, twice in April, and again in June; and in July and August he was in Padua or in the country.⁵ The journey would take something like a month,

1. Addition to *The English Hospice in Rome*, in *The Venerabile*, vol. XXI, 1962.

2. Four of his attendants were licensed to carry arms in Padua in 1523. (*Calendar State Papers Venetian*, IV, no. 1053).

3. “. . . volle per il Jubileo che a Roma quell ‘anno correva andarla a visitar prima che a casa tornasse: il che fece accompagnato modestamente da’ suoi ma non fu pero cosi tacita l’andata, che a Fiorenza, & in molti altri luoghi per camino non fosse presentato, & accarezzato senza saper da chi; la qual cosa (come esso poi mi disse) nacque della cortesia di Mons. Gio. Mattheo Vescovo do Verona, che senza haverlo veduto lo fece honorar per strada, & molto piu in Roma, nella quale non dimoro molto man visitati li Luoghi Santi senza farsi vedere dalla Corte del Papa.” *Vita Poli*, in *Poli Epistolae*, V, 359-60.

4. *The Venerabile*, XXI, 201.

5. The evidence is supplied by the entries regarding Pole in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. IV, part I; in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, vol. IV; and in the letters of Leonico translated by Cardinal Gasquet in *Cardinal Pole and his Early Friends*. (London, 1927).

allowing up to ten days for the nearly four hundred miles to Rome, and another ten days for a leisurely look round the city. Pole might have made the journey in March, that is for Lent; but he would then have stayed on for Easter (April 16th) and could not have been back in Venice for the St. Mark's celebrations on April 24th, which he did in fact attend. He might have gone in May, or in one of the autumn months, and Beccadelli does indeed seem to have understood that the journey was made well on into the year.

Whatever the time of the year, Pole would almost certainly have stopped at the English Hospice. A visitor who was second cousin to the King would normally have been mentioned in the Hospice books, although they usually recorded only the daily number of visitors; the fact that Pole's name is not mentioned in this way suggests, though it does not prove, that he was there after October, when the record book is discontinued.

Other stopping-places in Rome suggest themselves for one determined to go inconspicuously. The English Ambassador, John Clerk, Bishop of Bath, was in Rome until November 1525, when his place was unofficially taken by Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, just back from England; certainly Pole could expect to be looked after by either one. Richard Pace, envoy to Venice until October 1525, had often lived in Rome, and could have directed Pole to a friend there. Of Italians, Bembo was in Rome until the summer of 1525, and in correspondence with Pole; if Pole had seen him there the fact would surely have been mentioned in Bembo's letters. In any case, Bembo was entitled to be annoyed by the Englishman's coy behaviour in refusing to appear at the *Curia*, for Bembo had taken pains to put him in touch by letter with two important persons in Rome; Sadoletto, apostolic secretary, was one, and Giberti the *Datario*, and, in effect, the foreign secretary, was the other, and in attempting to assure Henry's help in the critical situation in Italy following the battle of Pavia in February. Bembo had persuaded Pole to write letters of self-introduction to the two personages, and in January 1525 he reported that Giberti was specially impressed. This last fact will explain the welcome that Pole was given at Florence and elsewhere on his way to Rome as prompted (he learned later) by Giberti. But he did not see either Sadoletto or Giberti in Rome if he avoided the *Curia*, and it was only later he became intimate with both.

2. CARDINAL POLE'S HOUSE IN ROME

Pole seems not to have gone to Rome again until 1536, when he was summoned from Padua by Paul III to serve on the committee which was to issue in the next year the *Consilium de Emenda Ecclesiae*, and presently to be created cardinal. English intelligence kept track of his journey to Rome, and within a month of his

arrival in October, it was known in England that he was being entertained by the Pope in the Vatican, and was expected to be made cardinal.⁶ It has long been known that the Vatican had to acquire extra beds for Pole and his company, that is, the *Tesoreria Segreta* beds from a *materazzo* for “*il R. do signor Raynaldo Inglese*” for one month, from December 14th 1536, as probably for two months before that, paying 4 ducats 50 *baiocchi* for the month. On January 16th 1537 the *tesoriere* paid 34 ducats 70 *baiocchi* for outright purchase of “*alcuni letti che ha dati al R.mo Inghilterra.*”⁷ (The treasury paid 10 ducats on January 20th for new “*berrette di rosato*” for the new cardinals.)

The obvious emergency it now seems had been foreseen. I owe to the kindness of Mr. Dermot Fenlon of Peterhouse, Cambridge, the transcript of a letter written on the way to Rome by one of Pole's party in a tone of loud complaint.⁸ The writer was Marco Antonio Flaminio, the poet, who was travelling not with Pole but with Bishop Giberti; the third dignitary with Pole and Giberti was Bishop Carafa of Chieti. Flaminio's letter was to Cardinal Contraini in Rome, a leading member of the reform commission, and Pole's special sponsor. Part of the letter asked help for Pole, since presumably the two bishops would look after themselves.

“Also in the party is Signor Renaldo Pole; unless your Lordship helps him, he will perhaps be incommoded in that he has no house and no furniture. So it rests with your Lordship to use his influence with his Holiness in favour of these friends, who deserve the most acceptable accommodations. Even more, they will be most grateful for notice of the accommodations available, and in order that they may know where they will lodge when they arrive, it would be suitable if your Eminence would be so good as to arrange that they may learn on the road what they need to know.”⁹

This rather impertinent language seems to have achieved its end, and Pole, with beds, was lodged in the Vatican. What did he do with them when he left on his mission to France in mid-February 1537? Where did he stop in Rome thereafter? He was back on October 18th, remaining until March 23rd 1538, when he left with the Papal party for Nice. Back in Rome on October 25th 1538, he left on December

6. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. XI, no. 1100.

7. Leon Dorez, *La Cour du Pape Paul III*: vol. II, *Les Depenses Privees* (Paris 1932), pp. 94, 102.

8. Cod. Pal. (Archivio di Stato, Parma) 1022, fasc 10, fol. 16v.

9. Viene anchora il Sor Renaldo Polo, el quale se vostra Signoria non lo avisa, forse si trovera in qualche incommodo non havendo ne casa, ne supralettile; perilche tocca a vostra Signoria dare a questi suoi amici tutto quello favore appresso Sua Santita, che meritano le loro dignissime conditioni, et tanto maggiormente, che havra carissimo di esser avvertita delle cose pertinenti al comodo di questi signori; et perche sappiano dove alloggiare, quando arriverano, saria molto a proposito, che strada si sapesse qua su (?) bisogna.

27th on his mission to Spain, from which he returned a year later in December 1539. From then until August 1541 his station was at Rome; he was then posted to Viterbo as governor of the *Patrimonio* until 1550, but was often in Rome for consistory, and he regularly spent summers in the country. Where did he live in Rome?

It was in March 1538 that he was appointed Warden of the English Hospice, and the English members of his familia and other Englishmen rotated in office there, and sometimes must have stopped there. I have found no evidence of the Cardinal stopping there himself, though he sometimes came to dinner, and probably attended at times the anniversary of St. Thomas Becket on December 29th. I had supposed that he was the guest of his munificent Farnese patrons, particularly the young Cardinal Alessandro, grandson of Paul III, in the palace which is now the *Cancelleria*, or in the new Farnese palacæ or in the sumptuous country palaces. I can now report mention of his own house.

The account-books of the Hospice contain two notices. On June 4th 1543 payment was made by the Hospice, apparently of a fee of two ducats, to a notary of the Vicariate of Rome

“*pro domo quam Reverendissimus tene in borgo*”.

This entry was crossed out, being evidently in error, and a token amount of 5 *baiocchi* was paid for

“*domus in borgo pro Reverendissimus.*”¹⁰

The only other notice of the house during the Cardinal's lifetime was the reported fact that Flaminio the poet died there in 1550, and was buried in the Hospice church by order of the Cardinal.¹¹

The house was at length identified in the will of Cardinal Pole, made and witnessed in England, but concerning his property in Rome. Alvisi Perini, as executor, filed the will on April 16th 1559, describing the property as

“a certain house and stable with a garden, situated and placed in Rome beyond the Borgo gate where stands what is called in the vernacular the Torrione of Pope Nicolas, on the street facing the tower.”¹²

The legatee was Carolus Gualterutius of Fano, well known as a *facciendiere*, or financial agent of Bembo, Flaminio, Giovio, Seripando, and now obviously of Pole.

The street at the foot of the Torrione would be the present Via Santa Anna

10. Liber 21, fols. 22v., 60v.

11. As described in a letter by Jeronimo Ponte in the *Flaminiorum Carmina* (Padua, 1743), p. 342. and in the life of Flaminio by Francisco Maria Mancurtio. *ibid.* p. xxxi.

12. “. . . in quadam domo et stabulo sitis et positis Rome extra illam portem Burgi ubi vulgo dicitur il Torrione di Papa Nicola iuxta viam publicam a facie anteriori et alios suos (?) veriores limites et confines cum uno horto et alijs eius diversis pertinentijs . . .” (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Instrumenta Misc. 4012).

within the present Vatican walls, or its prologation, the Borgo Pio, just outside the Porta Angelica. The 1562 anonymous map (Egger *Rom'sche Veduten*, II) shows there only open country except for the church of Santa Anna, and one or two houses about it, not then walled in. We wonder if Pole's house was here by the church, or whether it was perhaps further down the hill towards the Castel Sant' Angelo. For the Du Perac map of 1577 shows many more houses, indeed a continuous line of them, down the hill, and it is possible that the region was more developed in 1559 than the 1562 map shows. At any rate, the Cardinal owned a house in the Borgo near the present entrance to the Vatican City, but we cannot know if this was the same house as that referred to in 1543, or indeed if it was the Cardinal's official residence.

3. POLE IN ROME TODAY

Cardinal Pole was titular of three successive Roman churches: first was Ss. Nereo ed Achilleo, the ancient church near the Baths of Caracalla, which was to be restored by Baronius, a later titular; this was followed by Ss. Vito e Modesto, near S. Maria Maggiore; and finally there was S. Maria in Cosmedin in the Velabro (1540). I have not discovered traces of the Cardinal in these churches or in their respective histories.

The English College significantly continues to remember him in an annual memorial mass. Moreover, the College possesses a portrait of Cardinal Pole by an unidentified painter.¹³ The portrait shows a long face with an extraordinary long nose, the black chin-beard and the hooded eyes giving an especially sombre appearance; but the unwrinkled face allows the belief that the subject's eyes could light up in the affable manner characteristic of the Cardinal. This is undoubtedly the most compelling of portraits. The only other significant one is that ascribed to Sebastian del Piombo which is in the Hermitage in Leningrad.¹⁴ It is clearly a full-dress portrait, showing a shortened and rounded face, dignified by full-cheek whiskers, and marked by an air of command. It is appropriately called by Pastor "a noble portrait,"¹⁵ but in comparison with the College portrait it is clearly an idealisation. One of these two paintings gave Vasari his model for the small figure in the large fresco in the Cancelleria Palace showing Paul III rewarding achieve-

13. Reproduced in *The Venerabile*, XXI, opposite page 203.

14. Reproduced in black and white in Pietro D'Achiardi, *Sebastian del Piombo* (Rome 1908), fig. 66, from a Hanfstaegel print; also in Wilhelm Schenk, *Regina'd Pole* (London 1950), frontispiece; in colour in Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Sebastian Viniziano* (Milan 1944), from a Bruckmann print.

15. *History of the Popes* (English version), vol. XII, p. 602.

ment.¹⁶ Cardinals Contarini, Pole and Bembo, together with Bishop Jovius, are at the Pope's right hand; Pole is unmistakable with the narrow face enclosed by the beard.

Another portrait in Rome has been thought to represent Cardinal Pole. This is the painting in S. Francesco Romana showing Paul III with a rather burly individual; that the latter is not Pole has been demonstrated by Professor Venturi, and should have been apparent to anyone who had seen the other portraits.¹⁷ Finally mention should be made of the rather undistinguished portrait in the National Portrait Gallery in London, showing a clearly elderly and worn face.

To the two Roman portraits, as we may call them, it is difficult to assign a date. Sebastian died in 1547, and the portrait in Leningrad would have been done before that date. The English College portrait seems to describe a somewhat younger person, at some time, then, after 1536, when Pole was made a Cardinal. Neither portrait quite fits the description of the Cardinal by his biographer Beccadelli, who knew him first when Pole was 32, and saw much of him thereafter:

“As to his person, he was of medium height, thin, his complexion between white and red, as with Englishmen generally. His face was somewhat broad, his eyes quick and friendly, and his beard when he was young was almost blond.”¹⁸

One last sad relic of Cardinal Pole in Rome remains to be mentioned: it is the empty shrine of Quo Vadis Domine. This is not the church now so named, but a shrine some two hundred yards south of the church beside the Via Appia Antica. Friar John Capgrave described the scene in *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, the first English guide to Rome, written about 1450.¹⁹ He wrote:

“*Marie de palma* is a church in the hey wey as we go fro *porta appia* on to sebastian's cherch. This is a pratty litil cherch & a place annexid where there is comounly a taurene to the comfort of pilgrimess . . . there is left our lod jhesu seint petir when he sent him a geyn to rome to receyue his deth . . . be yond this cherch not fer litil more then a boweschote stant a cross thei clepe it

16. Reproduced in colour by Armando Schiavo, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria* (Rome 1964), tavola XVII, Vasari print. The frescoes, for which Vasari only drew the cartoons, are described at some length by Pastor (XII, 605-6); they were done in the autumn of 1546.
17. The *Enciclopedia Italiana* article on Pole includes a print of this painting as representing Pole, while the article on Paul III, giving the same print, calls the figure that of an unknown. The article by Adolfo Venturi on Siciolante da Sermoneta, now supposed author of the painting, calls the figure that of a secretary.
18. *Vita Poli* in *Epistolae Poli*, ed. A. M. Querini, V 383: “Quanto all persona fu di statura mezzana, & magro, di color tra bianco, & rosso, come sone comunemente gli Inglesi, la faccia haveva alquanto larghetta, l'occhio allegro & benigno, & la barba quanto fu giovane era quasi blonda.”
19. Edited C. A. Mills for The British and American Archeological Society of Rome (London, 1911). The description of church and shrine is given in part III, ch. VII (pp. 162-3).

domne quo vadis. Ther met our lord with petir when he fled his martirdam . . . Thus walkid thei fro that crosse on to this cherch our lord and he to gidir and sodenly at that place where this cherch stant our lord passid from hym . . . (The stone bearing Jesus' footprints was now kept at St. Sebastian's) because the place is desolat save when pilgrimes be there . . ."

The church was rebuilt in the reign of Clement VIII in 1620, and a new façade added by Cardinal Barberini in 1637;²⁰ it was still called S. Marie della Palma, but the alternative name Quo Vadis was also used for the church, and has persisted, and the stone with the footprints was returned to it.²¹

Meantime the original cross marking the Quo Vadis meeting was replaced by Cardinal Pole. His contemporary Onuphrio Panvinio described the shrine as "an ancient sanctuary, renewed in our century by order of Reginald Pole, Cardinal of Britain, at the expense of the English Hospice."²² As a servant of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Pole's own patron, Panvinio should have had authoritative knowledge. Ciaconis, also a contemporary of Pole, spoke of the shrine as a *templum* which the Cardinal built at his own cost (*suis impensis extruit*),²³ as if it were built new not rebuilt. The Rossi speak of "una Capella rotunda," noting that "Il Card. Rgginaldo Polo Inglese fece rinuoare nel 1536 la suddetta Capella rotunda, posta nel mezzo della strada."²⁴ One wonders if these writers ever saw the structure.

Our latest authority Armellini notes "un edicoletto di forma circolare" which Pole "eresse . . . in questo luogo che era proprieta del collegi inglese" because the church of S. Maria in Palmis was in ruins, and a memorial was needed.²⁵

Presumably the date 1536 was a mere guess, prompted by the date of Pole's appointment. I have found no record of the Hospice spending money on the shrine; moreover, the regular inventories of the Hospice property show none south of Rome. All we can be sure of is that Pole built a shrine in place of the cross that Capgrave saw; and knowing Pole, we can well suppose that he paid for it.

What actually remains, at the first kilometer stone (as Armellini notes) beside the Via Appia Antica beyond the Porta San Sebastiano, and some 200 yards beyond the church, is a cylindrical domed structure in a farmyard. It is some

20. Mariano Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 704.

21. Michel'Angelo e Pier Vincenzo Rossi, *Descrizione di Roma Moderna* (Rome, 1697), p. 185.

22. "Sacellum antiquitus conditum fuit, nostro saeculo Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis Brittani iussu, impensa Hospitalis Anglorum renouatam": *De Praecipuis Urbis Romae sanctioribusque basilicis* (Rome, 1570), p. 106.

23. Alphonsus Ciaconius, *Vitae et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum S.R.E., Cardinalium* (1677), vol. IV, col. 638.

24. Rossi, op. cit in note (21).

25. Armellini, op. cit in note (20) (3rd ed., 1942), II, 1108.

twenty feet high and some fifteen feet in diameter, made of brick, but with the dome tiled and surmounted by a metal cross. No door or window remains, but an open front which might have revealed an altar or a carved figure, with space for one or two persons inside. The structure stands close to the road and near a house and barn; it is empty, but some years ago was surrounded by iron frames stacked as for some building purpose. Except for the cross, it might be a farm building of strange shape, perhaps to water animals, though clearly unused. It was Armellini's judgement that the structure is of the sixteenth century.. It deserves rehabilitation.

GEORGE B. PARKS,

DOUGLESTON, NEW YORK.

AN APPEAL

The Library is trying to build up a collection of the back numbers of the *Tablet*. We would be more than grateful if anyone who is willing to donate any copies would send details to the Librarian.

Offers of other periodicals, on any subject, which may fill gaps in the Library stocks would also be most welcome. Postage will be paid.

A MUSICIAN'S ROME

“One must resign oneself to hearing no music while one is in Rome.”

With this rather unhappy statement, Hector Berlioz draws together his observations on the musical life of Rome as he experienced it during his stay in the city from March 1831 to May 1832. It must be read, however, in the light of the bold, sweeping, colourful, but rather exaggerated style of the composer's writings. Many of his writings show the young composer to be highly self-opinionated, but none more so than his recorded impressions of the musical Italians.

The sheer volume of material written by Berlioz on the subject indicates that the trouble was not so much the lack of music in the city, but more the standard and style of performance. Berlioz was at least a very talented young Frenchman who had come straight from Paris, the musical centre of Europe at the time. More important, perhaps, was the fact that he was the freshest laureate of that city's most respected institution, the *Conservatoire*. As part of his first prize in Composition for the year 1830, he had to spend one year at the French Academy in Rome. The French Academy, the Fine Arts section of the French Institute, occupied the Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill.

Berlioz did not really want to leave his beloved France in the first place, and so it is not surprising that he did not feel particularly enamoured of the Eternal City when he was finally persuaded to come. Certainly all his writings at this time are coloured with this dislike of the whole affair, but many of his observations correspond to the opinions formed by another musician, Felix Mendelssohn, who was staying in the city at the same time as Berlioz. They first met at the *Cafe Greco* near the Spanish Steps, and their friendship grew as they discovered their common delight in music, and their common disappointment with the Roman musical scene, which they considered barren and backward in relation to the other cultural centres of Europe.

It is a common enough experience that, shortly after his arrival in Rome, the pilgrim will find himself standing in St. Peter's Square marvelling at the sight before his eyes. Berlioz was no exception. He was deeply impressed by the basilica, by its

size and by its majesty, "the intense stillness, the solemnity . . . the rich harmonious colours."¹ Here must be great music, music fit to be the soul of this magnificent building, music great enough to make these vast spaces vibrate with the eternal hymn of praise to God—the organ! Here must be an organ of immense proportions to fill these spaces, a true King of Instruments!

The organ at St. Peter's was Berlioz's first disappointment, the first of many. It was a smallish affair, hidden behind a pillar. But perhaps musical instruments are frowned upon in this church, and anyway the instrument was clearly designed to give notes to the choir. The choir . . . To be in proportion to the building, the choir must have hundreds of singers. What a splendid sound they could make!

The Sistine Choir numbered 18 for normal services and 32 for special feasts. Berlioz was bitterly disappointed with such poverty among such richness. The disappointment was not long lasting, as Berlioz soon heard the choir in their proper surroundings in the Sistine Chapel. He was impressed by this experience, and it restored some of his waning confidence in the musical ability of the Italians.

"At least, however, the music of the Sistine Chapel has preserved a suitable dignity and solemnity, whereas the other churches in Rome, by neglecting their old traditions, have lapsed into an incredible state of decay, one might even say degradation."²

This is a reference to the practice of organists throughout the city playing the overtures of popular operas during the Mass. Berlioz recalls hearing organists entertaining the congregations with the overtures to 'The Barber of Seville'³ 'La Cenerentola',⁴ and 'Otello'. "These pieces seemed to be the particular favourites of the organists. They gave an unusual flavour to the Divine Service."⁵

As for theatrical music, it was about as dramatic as the church music was religious. The Opera was, of course, the most important musical form in Italy at the time, and there were plenty of good singers developing with the medium. But there were no important premieres in the city while Berlioz was there. (Milan had the only important premieres of that year with 'Norma' and 'La Sonnambula', both by Bellini.) Choruses were generally feeble and the orchestras in Rome were amateurish dis-organisations, leaving much to be desired even on the basic technical level. Mendelssohn writes:

"The orchestras are worse than anyone can believe . . . The few violinists

1. H. Berlioz, *Memoirs*, ed. and trans. Cairns, p. 216.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

3. Premiere at the *Teatro Argentina*, 20th February 1816.

4. Premiere at the *Teatro Valle*, 25th January 1817.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

play according to their individual tastes and make their entrances as and when they please; the wind instruments are tuned too high or too low, and they execute flourishes like those we are accustomed to hear in farmyards. I heard a flute solo in which the flute was more than quarter-tone sharp; it set my teeth on edge, but no-one noticed it and there was a trill at the end they applauded."⁶

This says little for either the orchestra or the audience, but beggars cannot be choosers. Certainly the Orchestra of the *Teatro Valle* would have found life difficult if they had tried to improve quality by reducing numbers. Its entire cello section numbered one, and he was not a professional cellist, but preferred the more stable life of goldsmith.

At that time there was no need for a large, well-disciplined orchestra, because the Symphony as a form had not yet made its mark in Italy. The names Mozart and Beethoven were still practically unknown (in 1831 Beethoven had been dead 4 years, and Mozart 32). The whole of the musical scene was divided between liturgical music and that of the stage—Opera and Oratorio. And since neither of these latter art forms made any severe technical demands on the instrumentalists, the standard of performance suffered as a consequence.

Finding the almost daily disappointments on the musical scene (and also the heaviness of the city air) rather depressing, Berlioz was a frequent visitor to the hills around the city. He enjoyed walking in the Alban Hills, and gives special mention to Castelgandolfo, Albano and Tusculum. His favourite hill-town was Subiaco, and he would walk up the Anio valley from Tivoli to Subiaco taking his gun with him to shoot on the way.

It was in Subiaco that he first became acquainted with the "pop-Mass" that we mentioned before. Here in this village, miles from the city, he heard the village organist (who was also the director of the Subiaco Philharmonic Society) playing the overture to 'Cenerentola' during the Palm Sunday service.

But it was in these hills that, for Berlioz, the most fascinating music came, music that made his journey to Italy worth while. It was music quite unlike anything he had heard in Paris, or even in the country around *La Cote Saint-Andre*, where he was born and spent most of his youth. This was the music of the Abruzzi shepherds. It reached back to antiquity, seemingly as ancient as the volcanic mountains that form the background to this untamed, outrageously decorated form of folk melody. The tunes were sometimes coarse, sometimes mournful, supported with droning bagpipes, or brightened with the most complicated improvised ornaments played by two players executing very intricate polyphony. It was music that lingered in the memory and haunted the listener, music which one carries back to one's homeland. It is so rooted in the desolation of the Abruzzi that the memory of it

conjures up images of the grey, lonely crags so far from civilisation.

This was a concept of music so new to Berlioz that it quite excited him, and it acted as a small consolation for the lack of "civilised" music in this part of the world.

M. JACKSON.

6. F. Mendelssohn, 'Letters', ed G. Selden-Goth, p. 608.

THOUGHTS FROM ABROAD

Some people are in favour of the abolition of seminaries altogether. We are told that where this extreme plan has been tried, the result is the absence of all candidates for the priesthood—hardly the purpose of the experiment. Others ask for some kind of mini-seminary, small groups living together under the guidance of selected priests, closely in touch with parish life in the vicinity, and preferably able to attend some local university for their courses in theology. If this scheme were carefully planned, it might work well. What I feel sure of is that our present seminaries are institutions of enormous value as they are. All have experienced great changes recently, and for the good: this is apparent to any outside observer. This article is an attempt to express what I have experienced from a privileged position on the inside—by privileged I mean that to have lived in a seminary during these past few years particularly has been a privilege for which I shall always be grateful beyond words.

With apologies to myself and others for using jargon, I was able partly at least to cross the generation-gap. Close contact with the young is the only way, and not guaranteed at that. A deal of sympathy is required, and patience, or perhaps classical *ataraxia*; indispensable is a readiness to listen. One must be willing to undergo a catharsis of acquired prejudices, to endure shocks to ingrained feelings, to change one's ideas of what is not socially acceptable. At the same time it is necessary to cling tooth and nail to bed-rock principles, and to preserve one's sense of balance. A sense of humour goes a long way, and perhaps what I have called a benign cynicism—though one must not be openly cynical by way of joking. Over and above all, one must love and be loved.

Charity must be the binding force of any Christian community. I have certainly seen this realised both in theory and in practice, and watched the effect spreading out to embrace guests, strangers, the sick, the aged and the lonely. Here, I am sure, is the justification of the seminary community. Such training and experience in Christian living would be hard indeed to obtain elsewhere; it is this which will stand a young priest in best stead in whatever community he has to work. His principal labour in a parish will be to reproduce what he knew in his seminary.

Two main factors have been responsible for this development. In passing I must say that charity is not a new feature, absent in the past. To imagine so would be to

wrong many good men. But it remains true that the present generation are much more aware of it, much more open in their pursuit of it. One of the factors, then, is the more visible expression of what the Eucharist means in the community. When every Mass is a concelebration, with full participation by all, the sense of unity is palpable. The liturgical reforms have done what they were intended to do. This very deep feeling explains certain stresses and strains connected with the liturgy, which go far beyond dilettante preference for this or that music, this or that language. Secondly there is prayer, especially in groups, practised freely and without embarrassment. Here is something new, of immense importance. I would go so far as to say that it is the anchor of hope in these confused times. These two factors work on men whose awareness of the needs of their society is ever so much keener, open as they are to all methods of communication. Impossible for them to comprehend why not so long ago their forerunners were forbidden newspapers and radios, were severely limited in their reading, were discouraged from mixing with people outside the walls. It does seem inexplicable, doesn't it? Anyhow, to relate prayer to actual needs seem much easier now.

We must thank the Holy Spirit for this consciousness of the value of prayer, and after Him the spiritual directors who have concentrated their efforts thereon. There was a danger that emphasis on strictly liturgical activity, with the consequent weakening or disappearance of traditional 'devotions' might lessen appreciation of 'private' prayer. This danger was increased by the dislike of fixed time and place for 'meditation'. So thankfulness for what has in fact happened should be real and sincere.

The speed and the nature of liturgical changes since the Council have exceeded even what the enthusiasts expected not a dozen years ago. My memory is rather hazy about the stage we had reached when I took over the Rectorship in 1964—the Latin dialogue Mass, wasn't it? But it is easier to remember the College dress of that date, practically unchanged since the days of the Martyrs: cassocks, wings, and large furry hats . . . hats by then, in fact, seldom worn, and to my surprise generally allowed to degenerate to disgraceful tattiness! One remembers the pride with which they used to be smoothed and polished to shining glory. But by now hats and wings are literally museum pieces, regretted only by rather elderly ladies. The changes to 'civvies' was one that I welcomed. I must admit that few of the shirts and ties now favoured are what I would have chosen as ideal College wear. But this is one of the prejudices that an elderly statesman must keep to himself. For the important occasions dress is neat and sober enough. Bushy hair, side-burns and beards also one learns to live with! They are fashionable, and youth is conformist, despite all protestations to the contrary. It is possible to discern the man beneath the hair.

The appointment of Fr. Herve Carrier as Rector of the Greg., in 1966 if memory serves me correctly, was a turning-point in the history of the University. This is not the place to describe or discuss his sweeping reforms. I should like to place on record my personal admiration for Fr. Carrier's work. He should be given credit for the way in which he forestalled the troubles which have beset so many other universities, by arranging student representation on all University committees, including the Senate, and setting up the office for liaison with the professors. There have been minor disturbances, but nothing to compare with what has happened elsewhere. Of equal importance is the drawing together of University and Colleges into something approaching a community. This has been most useful in academic matters. In the social sphere, too, relationships are more cordial: one would like to see them grow even more so. A great deal depends on the student body. As happens with other institutions, only a minority take much interest. I suppose that is partly due to the quick rate of change among students, partly also to pressure of other commitments.

In discussion about priestly formation, the need for practical 'pastoral' training is one thing on which all agree. Against training abroad it is often objected that such pastoral work is not to be had. One may answer first of all that our priority in Rome is in the academic field. There is a crying need for trained theologians whose apostolate can be primarily intellectual, in a university milieu, in seminaries, in pastoral institutes and so on. It is simply false to limit 'pastoral' work, in esteem, only to, parochial work. If a man has the talent to become a useful theologian, surely he is obliged in conscience to do so, and should be given every opportunity. The demand is getting louder and clearer for priests to be trained in other special fields too. But all this considered, it is obvious enough that pastoral experience in the narrow sense is very desirable. There is less scope abroad, as one must admit, but what possibilities do exist are by no means negligible. The Sermoneta youth work has proved valuable to all concerned, short though the period is; I hope it may continue, whatever the rest of the summer programme may be. The regular 'soup-kitchen' rota, visits to the sick and the lonely, assistance with retarded children, ecumenical discussion—these are all of great value. Anyone who is willing can prepare himself pretty well for the future. As regards pastoral liturgy, Rome provides a wider variety of practice than most priests in England are likely to see, or would be able to imitate, at least at present. Familiarity with this will stand us in great stead. I feel confident that the new management in the College will pay considerable attention to pastoral and liturgical training, and look forward to interesting developments.

There is a great deal I could say of a more personal nature; but I preserve my reticence. I don't think that any apologia in the literary sense, or any apology in

the moral sense is needed for the changes effected during these past eight years. I thought, and still think, that they were inevitable, given the times we live in, and the psychology of the men growing up in these times. I thank them and those who worked with me (working harder than me, often enough). There are still 'areas of concern'; but we have avoided major crises and upheavals. Please God there will be a sufficient supply of men as good as their predecessors to enjoy the riches of Rome, for only the obtuse can deny that these exist, and that they serve to enrich the Church in England. It is very much to be regretted that we have lost Lisbon, where many outstanding men were trained. To have no seminaries abroad would, in my opinion, lead to an insularity that would be damaging. Positively, you, my friends in Rome, have ever so much to contribute when, like myself at least, you find yourselves at work among the people of God in this well-beloved but not so happy island.

J. LEO ALSTON.

PLUS CA CHANGE PLUS C'EST LA MEME CHOSE

Some thirty years ago I wrote an account in the *Venerabile* of a new man's impressions of Rome and the College. After a recent visit I rashly agreed (no, volunteered) to set down some reactions and reflections on the changing regime. I have been practising a voice-from-the-grave technique, but cheerfulness will keep breaking through.

Any visitor to the college will find changes; and the longer it is since his last visit, the more noticeable the changes will be. Before calling his dudgeon and climbing into it, he may well reflect that, if the college has changed, so has he. He may be surprised at losing his way in the Martyrs' corridor or at finding no superiors' table at supper, but the shock will surely be less than that of discovering at some reunion a group of aging and slightly decayed clergy who prove, on closer inspection, to be his own contemporaries, last seen perhaps on the rugby field or in the back row of the chorus. Change is a sign of life, and every training college has shown signs of it during the past few years; we need to remind ourselves of this when we listen for a bell that does not ring, look for a cameriere who is not there, or brace ourselves for a long grace that is not said.

Changes may be divided into three parts: changes in the appearance of the place, changes in the time table, and changes in the atmosphere, the connotation of your actual Romanita. At first view the college is reassuringly the same. In a world where birettas, maniples and preces feriales are all liquidated or at least in very bad shape it is comforting to discover that the garden corridor including the Salve bench, remains solidly the same. It no longer acts as a hat stand for Roman hats but is festooned with copies of the Prayer of the Church. However, the vast pots from which we used to fish the key of the garden door for a late night swim still stand, to remind us that, in spite of appearances, we really were young once. The chapel has changed little, apart from the addition of a choir altar for concelebration, and the subtraction of a few choir stalls, no longer needed by a smaller community. There seems to be a little more dust in the air than formerly, but that may be due to the failing eyesight of middle age, through which everything is seen wrapped in a gentle fog. The students still line up for white choir in the corridor, still in the

cas:ocks and cottas which a student from a secular university referred to as 'all that transvestite jazz.'

The showers and changing room (which seems no longer to be called the Queen Mary) look the worse for wear; but, as they started falling to pieces soon after they were completed, the wonder is that there is anything left at all. Near the vestibolo is a lift—for the use of superiors, naturally, but there are still steps up to the *Monserra* corridor, so one may presume occasional informal journeys by weary students. Before you say that we were made of sterner stuff before the war (any war, first, second or Napoleonic) remember how often we pointed out that there ought to be a lift—and we were not thinking of the help it would be to the superiors. The Cardinals' corridor still looks opulent, just as we remembered it, give or take a few portraits, none of the new ones being a patch on Acton. In passing, I am sorry that the most vigorous portrait in the house, that of Bishop Stanley, now hangs in the *salone*, where it can no longer serve as a tonic to jaded students. The *salone* wanders into what used to be the flats leading to the rooms prepared before the Council for the hierarchy. The area usually rings with the happy laughter of post-graduate students, but when I was there it was silent and dark like a lunar landscape. Changes elsewhere in the house have been described in a recent number of the magazine, showers and washplaces in unexpected places, the horseboxes walled up—not, I hope, with the studious inhabitants still inside—the Captain's bridge obliterated. The room where the Jesuit General was imprisoned is still recognisable, as is the room where I spent first year.

It used to be said that an account of Rome could be divided into yells, smells and bells. The yells and smells which came mainly from outside the college have lessened in intensity and variety (or again it may be that my senses have become blunted); the bells were dominated by the college bell which called one to pray, to get up, to go to bed, to go for a walk, or just to stop what one was doing and find out why the bell had gone. This bell is now silent. This is not due to its having broken down beyond repair, but to a theory which like many excellent theories may not take into account all the practical difficulties. In a presbytery there may not be bells, but the housekeeper can shout 'grub up' or some equivalent rallying cry. Without it punctuality is hard to achieve and prompt appearance at meals is prized by many parish priests beyond rubies. However, bells never annoyed me as they did some of my contemporaries. I regarded them as informative rather than dictatorial. So I must not undervalue this particular application of what has been called the basic theory of seminary training: cure is better than prevention. The modern system gives an idea of who has been naturally endowed with a built-in alarm clock and who is genially unaware of the passing hour. What can be done with this information is another thing.

Programmes now are more and more adapted to the needs of students, students are not to be bent to the needs of the programme. The English College, involved from its earliest days in a demand for realistic training, is making a particular effort to avoid the criticism, sometimes levelled in the past, that it was training men to be monks rather than pastoral priests.

I did not see the college in the throes of a University term and during Christmas week a certain relaxation prevailed. But the demands of lectures, seminars, tutorials, essays and the other accepted trappings of a modern course of theology in Rome, or elsewhere, keep students on their toes in a way undreamed of (or at least unrealized) in the past. The respacing of the day allows greater scope for a student to plan his own spiritual exercises—Mass is a shared act of worship, the office plays a greater part than formerly, the spiritual director is kept busy, prayer groups are widespread, and that great modern educator, conversation, is turned on Christian Life as much as on Theology, academic and pastoral. In spite of the fact that few modern retreats and conferences would be considered complete without the study groups, seminars or discussion groups, it is still a temptation to write off a group of students chatting as wasting their time. Yet often they are covering as useful ground as if they were in a lecture or a spiritual conference. The coffee and cigarettes that may be in evidence are not a distraction but an aid to concentration. Grasping all these opportunities puts considerable stress on self-discipline and responsibility. These are qualities that we all like to think we possess, while remaining sceptical about whether others have them to the required degree.

One aspect of the changing face of the college that I saw at close quarters was the Christmas week programme. There were fewer students than formerly, they are more occupied with study, and they have various extramural commitments. So the traditional round of plays, films and less formal entertainments has given way to one theatrical activity, a pantomime three times presented for a greater variety of guests than we were accustomed to, with heavy emphasis on the youngest members of the English residents in Rome. This year's pantomime was brilliantly written, carefully produced and acted, artistically mounted; but obviously it had taken less time to prepare than the complicated series of events that made the old-time Venerabile Christmas such a remarkable and exacting affair. This trend is matched in other colleges and is in line with the death of the opera, *Chi lo Sa?* and the college songbook. As the college life becomes more open to pastoral, social and academic activities outside the college, the need to let off steam in home-grown entertainment is naturally less. At the same time it was characteristic of the same modern trends that much of the music sung during Christmas should come from resident composers. As with Plain Chant and polyphony the standard was uneven; if nothing was as perfect as the Introit for Midnight Mass, nothing was as dreary as the

Offertory for S. Stephen, and the best was very good. It seems that, as in the past a man with time on his hands and ideas in his head would turn out a paper for the Wiseman Society or draw a few pictures for *Chi lo Sa?* now he jots down a setting for Vespers or a sung Mass.

Another minor variation of programme made it possible for those with the taste and money to set off after Christmas for a few days to savour the damp delights of Venice or Milan in the December mists; or to indulge their relish for plain living and high thinking at the Villa; or to eat out on New Year's eve in one of the many excellent *Trattorie* which have opened within easy distance of the college. Whether we like to admit it or not, and whether we can explain it or not, life is more tense now than it used to be, but owing to such sensible outlets being provided, there seemed to be less tension in the life of the students.

All these variations from the Roman life that we knew years ago or more, have done strange things to the Spirit of the House. This awesome spectre, regularly conjured up at public meetings, answered to the name of Romanita: everyone paid homage to it, though no two people could agree on its definition. Nobody talks about Romanita or sings O Roma, or tells highly coloured stories about the great men of the past; like all young people they are firmly rooted in the seventies of the century and they look with polite incredulity at anyone who can remember the war. Naturally the after supper common room circle, which ran on college spirit, is no more, although an afterlunch circle of coffee and chat between students and superiors has risen from the ashes. This lacks the overpowering bonhomie of the traditional circle; it has undergone a process of dehydration or demythologizing which makes it less of a vexation to the spirit, though I wonder what frustrations build up in the souls of extroverts who have lost their captive audience. Perhaps these are as extinct as the dinosaur, certainly I saw no sign of any. This does not mean that companionship has gone, quite the reverse. It has been well said that the seminary should be a school of friendship and in the climate of today young people would not let it be anything else. It develops empirically, outward from a circle of friends who are drawn together by common tastes to brew coffee in one another's rooms and provide their own blue prints for utopia. But such groups are not exclusive and kaleidoscopic patterns are formed; talk and silence and music blend restfully at the end of the day. This is human and part of a human and humane regime; no other would be thinkable. It works remarkably well.

FR. JOSEPH PLEDGER.

A LETTER FROM BISHOP BREWER

Carissimi,

The Editor asked me to write a short article containing "any thoughts on Seminaries" for the next issue of *The Venerabile*. In view of the fact that it is now almost twelve months to the day since I received my marching orders to return to England after seven years spent in Rome, I thought a few random thoughts on my impressions of the English Catholic scene might be more appropriate.

I have just been enjoying the letters and drawings sent me by the seven year old pupils of a school I visited last week. Each of them was asked to compose a cartoon of "The Daily Life of the Priest". I am assured that no one told them what to draw. Without exception each shows the priest rising early in the morning with alarm clocks variously registering 5, 6 and 6:30 a.m. He then kneels down for half an hour's prayer, and descends for a breakfast of eggs and bacon (washed down, says one, with Port or Shandy). Having read the daily papers he goes to the church to pray for half an hour before saying Mass. Most of them have him go to the school to talk to the children and then round the hospital and homes for the aged taking Communion. After lunch he writes letters and 'meets people', before visiting the houses of his parishioners. Most of the late evening and night is spent 'praying and preaching and writing sermons'. No one thought of his watching TV. He goes to bed after another half hour's prayer.

One cannot be surprised at the amount of praying which the children imagine to be the constant occupation of the priest. Barely does a day go by without someone asking the priest to pray for a special intention. What is more interesting is the "preaching and writing sermons". It is so true that the priest, particularly through the influence of the homily, is indeed a preacher. The Bishop is even more so. Last Sunday I preached nine times. Throughout the week I have preached six times, given two addresses to large gatherings of people, and it is still only Thursday. What the children do not mention are the meetings and conferences. They, after all, do not have any impact upon them. But neither would the praying and the preaching unless these activities meant something to them.

Some of your eagerness for a show of leadership in the College Staff—although, when it was shown, it often failed to evoke much response—must have rubbed off on me. One looks for this characteristic among the priests, teachers and laity. It is heartening to find it, to find a clergy realising the need to up-date their knowledge

of theology and pastoral techniques, teachers in schools demanding to know what (not how) to teach the children in religious education, parents and lay organisations thirsty for a knowledge of the Faith. Their loyalty to their Bishops makes one's task so simple. I cannot recall any request of mine to have been refused. Recently I asked nine priests if they would be willing to undertake special training in youth work: all nine dropped everything and went. The ability to teach theology and a desire to be inspired to action is what the faithful ask of their priests and the priests of their bishop.

Some of the old attitudes still exist with regard to the relationship of the people to the priest and the bishop. A feeling that the priest and bishop are there to grant permissions and not to have bright ideas. A priest wrote to me yesterday asking me what I thought of house-masses. A group of young people in his parish had heard of them and wondered if they could have one. The priest told them that he should have to consult the bishop (fair enough) and said that he personally was in favour, but considered it only fair to add that other groups might begin to ask for the same thing. I have suggested in my reply that an occasional house-mass is a very wonderful experience for those present, and that, for this reason, he might take the initiative by being the first with the idea instead of waiting for it to be made by the other groups.

The recent statement of the Shrewsbury diocese concerning abortion has also revealed a similar attitude of people at large with regard the Church. It is apparently unusual for the Church to depart from the realms of dogmatic or moral principles to offer unconditional, positive help to any mother-to-be faced with the agony of choosing between birth and abortion. So unusual in fact that I have had to appear on TV and the Radio to assure the general public that the Church had not gone mad. The effect of the statement was electric. Hundreds of letters (and cheques) have reached us pledging help and support. A small number of requests for our help have been received—some twenty one unborn infants are still alive since the statement was released three weeks ago who would otherwise have perished—but the number is quite small. The national press, even the Church critics, have given at least grudging praise to “the initiative”, as they call it. The question which I ask is why it should be regarded as an initiative, and why it should have caused any stir at all. Surely such an offer needs no advertisement. No priest, worthy of his collar, would ever have dreamed of doing less than what was stated. Yet priest and people have been enthusiastic in their appreciation of the statement and 100,000 people were prepared to march through the streets of Liverpool 10 days ago to show that they meant it.

Catholics are crying to the Bishops to give a positive lead. The people are crying to their priests for positive leadership. But to lead requires a spirit of cooperation

in word and action on the part of those who wish to be led—apart from the qualities necessary as a leader. He must also be able to count on the goodwill of the whole community—not simply on the small groups. And his leadership must be directed towards enabling the community to put into practice the obvious meaning of the Gospel of Christ which alone has the right and the power to enthuse and inspire. *Qui capere potest capiat.*

Every blessing and good wish,

Devotedly yours in Christ

+ JOHN BREWER,

Auxiliary Bishop of Shrewsbury.

Feast of the Ascension, 1972.

CATHOLIC PENTECOSTAL IN ROME

The first Catholic Pentecostal group in Rome was formed towards the end of 1970. Its first few months were full of difficulties and disappointments, and its numbers were small, but in October 1971 there was such a sharp increase in the numbers attending the prayer meetings that the group was compelled to seek a more central meeting place. Father Francis Sullivan, S.J., who has lectured on Pentecostalism this year at the Gregorian University, arranged for the group to use part of the university buildings for its Sunday meetings. Since then the numbers have grown steadily, and by March 1971 there were over one hundred people attending the meetings, many of them on a regular basis. This group is English speaking and is made up of people from all parts of the English-speaking world, although the Americans make up the largest single nationality. Recently an Italian and a French group have been formed and these are both flourishing. There seems to be no sign that interest in Catholic Pentecostalism is diminishing at present, and so this article is an attempt to explain some of the reasons for its popularity.

The Catholic Pentecostal movement (known also as Catholic Charismatic Renewal) came into existence when a small number of students and faculty members at the Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, U.S.A., inspired by the practice and doctrine of Classical Pentecostalism, prayed with each other for "baptism in the Holy Spirit" and underwent a profound religious experience which radically transformed their lives. A short while later in March 1967 they communicated this experience through the laying on of hands and prayer to members of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, and of the Catholic student parish of Michigan State University. From these three centres the movement spread rapidly throughout the United States, Canada, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand and now also England. Many diocesan bishops have permitted the movement to operate in their dioceses.

Catholic Pentecostals claim that in receiving "baptism in the Holy Spirit" their lives have been transformed. They claim that previous to their "baptism" they had only an intellectual belief that they had received the Holy Spirit in sacramental baptism and confirmation: that is to say they had 'taken it on faith' that they had received the Holy Spirit, and that they had no means of judging whether this was true or not. But after their "baptism" they claim to know *by experience* that the

Holy Spirit is dwelling in them and is a Power at work in their lives. In other words this "baptism" is often the first time that these people have come into contact with the living Christ and have experienced His Spirit transforming their lives in a real and vital way. It is clear that "baptism" in the Holy Spirit comes within the category of religious conversion or renewal. The person accepts Christ as his personal Saviour and Christ responds by bestowing His Spirit upon him (cf. Acts 2:38).

The expression "baptism in the Holy Spirit" is both unfortunate and misleading, and reflects the faulty 'fundamental' exegesis of Classical Pentecostalism, which claims that from the New Testament it is clear that a person was not considered properly baptised unless he had sensibly experienced the gift of the Spirit. The outward manifestation that he had received the Spirit was the giving of the gift of tongues (see Acts 2:4; 8:17-19; 10:44-48; 19:6). No Catholic Pentecostal can subscribe to this exegesis, for it is traditional sacramental theology that the Holy Spirit is given objectively in baptism and confirmation, whether the person subjectively experiences the gift of the Spirit in a sensible manner or not.

Does this then completely deny the validity of talking about "baptism in the Holy Spirit"? It is still possible for Catholic Pentecostals to use this term (which, unfortunately, is now canonised by general usage) provided that it is not taken in the Classical Pentecostal sense, but is understood in the context of Acts 4:23-31 where the community, made up of already baptised Christians, prays for a fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit to strengthen them during persecution. In response to their community prayer the Spirit came down upon them and sensibly filled them with His Presence. It is this type of outpouring of the Spirit which Catholics seek when they ask for "baptism in the Holy Spirit". The community prays that Christ will pour out His Spirit in a special way upon the person who is opening himself in faith to Christ. Such a further outpouring in no way conflicts with Catholic sacramental theology. In fact it highlights the element of personal faith, so strongly affirmed by Protestants, as complementary to Catholic insistence on the *ex opere operato* principle of the sacraments.

If Catholic Pentecostalism must reject the Classical Pentecostal doctrine of "baptism in the Holy Spirit", it follows that their teaching on the gift of tongues is also unacceptable. There is no scriptural foundation for claiming that there is no true baptism without the gift of tongues. Nonetheless, it remains true that in praying for the "baptism in the Holy Spirit" the gift of tongues is often given—though this is not invariable. Most people who come into contact with Catholic Pentecostalism find much difficulty in understanding the gift of tongues. It might therefore be more helpful to deal with the whole question of charismatic gifts first and then try to locate the gift of tongues within the charismatic gifts themselves.

St. Paul's teaching is that the one Spirit gives many gifts to the community for its building up into one body. These gifts include both the charismatic one of healing, prophecy, tongues, interpretation of tongues, inspired speech and discernment of spirits (cf. 1 Cor 12:11) and the higher gifts of faith, love, joy and peace (Gal. 5:22). While the higher gifts are to be desired above the charismatic ones, it remains true that the Holy Spirit can and does distribute His gifts as He wills (1 Cor 12:4-11). There is, therefore, no *a priori* reason why there should not be charismatic gifts, including tongues, in the Catholic Pentecostal communities. In judging whether these charismatic gifts are authentic and from the Spirit one would be guided by the normal criteria for the discernment of spirits. If there is strong evidence that the higher gifts of the Spirit are present in a Catholic Pentecostal group then it would appear reasonable—all things being equal—that the charismatic gifts are from the same Spirit.

In the Rome group there appears to be good reason to believe that the Spirit is working both within individuals and within the community. Many individuals testify that through "baptism in the Holy Spirit" they have experienced a great change in their lives and that deep joy and peace have replaced fear and self-hatred. They discover a new ability to forgive and to love others, particularly those who have hurt them deeply in the past. Not infrequently a person will witness to being able to get on with someone with whom he has had a very difficult relationship in the past. Many find that they are able to talk about their faith more courageously, while others discover a new interest in Scripture. All are able to pray with a new easiness and freedom. Often the personal change is so marked that others notice their newly found joy and happiness.

Any person who attends a Rome prayer meeting will not fail to be impressed by the prayerful atmosphere and he will be surprised to learn that the meeting lasted two hours. He will pick up the deep joy and peace in the community and will be aware that he has come into a loving and caring community. He will notice that in these meetings many people find the courage to pray aloud in front of others for the first time without fear or embarrassment—which often marks an important point in their spiritual development. But perhaps what will impress him most is the fact that so many people are prepared to give up so much time each week to attend the prayer meetings regularly.

Nonetheless, it is clear that Catholic Pentecostalism is not something which appeals to all people. In the past six months there have been many visitors to the meetings who have acknowledged that Catholic Pentecostalism has much value for some people but who have not found it of help in their own Christian living. They have been put off by the poor quality of the songs and hymns, by the banality of the prayers, by bad theology and exegesis. But more importantly they have rejected

Catholic Pentecostalism as a viable *spirituality* for them and it is on this level that the movement can best be assessed.

Today in our theology we emphasise both the personal and the community aspects of religion. We stress a person-to-person morality and talk of the need to see Christ in those whom we meet. But many Catholics still see their religion as rule-obeying and impersonal, and many have not been able to enter into a life-giving relationship with Christ. For some of these people Catholic Pentecostalism provides an entry into life with Christ, a life which is dynamic and joyful and which is no longer seen as an obligation or a duty. Catholic Pentecostalism can give some people a spirituality that allows them to develop as Christians: it can start them off on a path of real growth. But it is not a panacea—like any spirituality it has its difficult periods. At present it is too early to say how Catholic Pentecostalism will cope when the initial enthusiasm has waned and the difficult periods come. It could prove itself to be an enduring and helpful spirituality for certain people, or it may prove to be merely a transitional phenomenon in the Church as She searches for new ways of bringing Christ into people's lives.

Whatever the future of Catholic Pentecostalism in Rome may be it is clear that it has provided some people from different parts of the world with a new vision of what Christianity and community are about. When they leave Rome to return to their own countries and communities they will take this vision with them, and since so many of them are priests who will be returning to positions of influence and authority, it is obvious that what is happening in Rome will have its effect throughout the world.

JAMES OVERTON.

THE ROMAN POOR

One of the first conclusions you draw after coming to Rome is that things are different. This is correct: everything is different; the buildings, the language, the food, the weather, and most especially the people. In particular, the people who beg in the streets simply strike you as being an integral part of the Roman scene: so they are, but they also give an accurate indication of the fact of poverty in Rome, and they tell us something about the attitude of Italians to poverty as such.

In the *Via del Corso* some of the richest and poorest city dwellers in Europe walk side by side. More to the point, they may even live side by side as well. In the old part of Rome—the *centro-storico*—there may be Americans paying 400,000 lire per month for a flat, recently restored to its renaissance splendour, living next door to an Italian family paying 25,000 lire per month for a damp and squalid flat, not really characteristic enough for the rich. The poor accept their lot with a certain equanimity, and will not make big sacrifices in order to get a better house or car. Their English counterparts would expect social benefit in almost every area of life; the Italian has never had this, so it is not surprising that they can be so serenely persistent when begging in the streets.

Much of the work done in England by the Welfare State is done in Italy by private organizations and religious orders. There is something in the Italian mentality which expects works of charity to be connected with the Church. People who live in our part of Rome often expect charity to issue from a body known as the *Suore Bresciane*. They are called the Bresciani nuns, because they live in the *Via de Bresciani*, a road connecting the *Via Giulia* with the *Lungotevere*. In fact they are the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, and a large part of their work is with the local poor. The Sisters are very business-like about their work, and *Suor' Cecilia*, the social secretary, is more than pleased when people offer to help. Her philosophy is fairly simple: if people are lonely you should visit them frequently; if they are poor you should get your hands on some money and give it to them; if someone cannot get to Church, you should see that Holy Communion is brought to them. Some of us like to think that life is more complicated than that, but for the *Bresciani* nuns everything is cut and dried.

Suor' Cecilia gives us addresses of people who are in some way needy and we go to visit them. Generally the attitude of the people we visit is pretty straight forward,

like that of the Sisters themselves. One or two just tell you to go away, but most of them are very glad to see you. For example, the first house I visited was in the *Via dei Chiavari* near the *Largo Argentina*: the person concerned was a Signora Carbore. I rang the bell: "*Chi é?*" enquired a small voice from inside. "*Sono un studente dal Collegio Inglese*" was my accurate and appropriate reply. The door then opened revealing a small bright-eyed woman wearing a shawl. I explained that I had come from the Bresciani nuns. She seemed pleased and took me into a damp-looking room with faded brown wallpaper. On the wall were photographs of her deceased parents and husband. The furniture and crockery had obviously been smart enough in their time, but now everything seemed to be in decline. "Faded glory", or perhaps just plain faded was the general atmosphere. She began to tell me all about the *disgrazia* that had happened to her. At first I thought *disgrazia* meant disgrace, so I could not understand why the injuries sustained by her husband in the First War came under this heading. After I had visited her a few times, and looked up some words in the dictionary, we began to have very interesting talks, mainly about the waywardness of modern youth. She is of the opinion, common to most poor Italians of her age, that the world today is full of *cattiveria*. Part of the reason why she moans is that she has an ulcer, in addition to being accident prone—in every way from falling downstairs to having her handbag stolen in the street. So it is not to be expected that she would be cheerful, although her manner does betray a certain serenity about life. Apparently her husband used to say to her: "*Se tutt'il mondo fosse come te, il mondo sarebbi un paradiso*". Often I feel I agree with him.

At another house we found a man with two young children; his wife died less than a year previously. The house itself was very grim—dark, musty, with enormous mirrors everywhere. He was not allowed to open the windows on one side of the house because the building opposite had the legal rights to the air in the street! He and his wife had run a small tailoring business, but since his wife died business had been scanty and so he was looking around, unsuccessfully, for another job. He was in his own way a victim of the changing pattern of Italian life: the small business man being pushed out of business by the big firms.

One never knows what to expect when visiting in this part of Rome. The only general impression that they all give is of being left behind in some way or other. One day two of us went into a house in the *Via Giulia* to find a woman kneeling by the side of her bed reading the Gospel. The windows were all broken and the holes covered over with cardboard. This woman had only one son who was in Australia and had not written to her for many years. Her grandson, however, had written to her in English a few months before our visit, and it was not until we arrived that she knew what he had said.

Needless to say, we are not able to provide much in the way of financial assistance. We collect in the college for the *Poveri* fund and use the money to buy food parcels at Christmas and Easter. The poorest in our area have no house at all. There are quite a few in this situation; widows who cannot afford to pay rent after their husbands have died, and many single men who have never had a steady job and so are not eligible for a pension. If these people have nowhere else to go they generally sleep in dormitories run by the police. They have to be inside these places by 10:00 p.m. and have to leave in the morning by 6:00 a.m. During the day they wander around, sometimes begging: at midday they may turn up at the *Via dei Bresciani* where the nuns have a *cucina economica* under the auspices of the *Circolo San Pietro*. Here they can get a plate of spaghetti for 90 *lire* and a reasonable lunch for 250 *lire*. People with no money at all can apply for *buoni*—free luncheon vouchers issued by the *Circolo San Pietro*. This little canteen is part of the basement of the *Bresciani* nuns' convent, and is the particular charge of *Suor Elisabetta* who is small, rotund and rather shrewd. Each day she is helped by 'The Signora', a lady with a deep, gravelly voice, and also by one English College student. Not surprisingly the people who come are often scruffy and difficult to deal with. I particularly admire The Signora, who is keen on the close relationship between efficiency and charity. Sometimes when the business is slack she expatiates on the great days of Fascism, when there were no strikes, no *cattiveria*, and everything was done properly and on time. I think it is true to say that in the last few years many Italians have been looking back with more and more favour on the time of Mussolini; but perhaps no-one really wants Fascism, least of all the tourists.

KEVIN McDONALD.

SOME LIGHT ON RICHARD CRASHAW'S FINAL YEARS IN ROME

Very little is known of Richard Crashaw's movements during the final years of his life apart from such scant details as his letter from Leyden, his associations with Queen Henrietta Maria in Paris and a Cardinal Pallotta in Rome, and his death in Loreto. A comprehensive picture of his movements can, however, be gleaned from a little-known source of information, the archives of the Venerable English College in Rome. Although some of these archives have been edited and published under the auspices of the Catholic Record Society, the documents relevant to Crashaw, the *Pilgrim Book* and the *Account Books*, have remained unpublished except for an inaccurate and badly edited translation of the *Pilgrim Book* in Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*.¹

It was on 28th November 1646 that Crashaw arrived in Rome dressed in the traditional pilgrim's habit. The entry in the *Pilgrim Book* of the English College reads: 'D. Ricardus Crashaw huc appulit peregrinus et exceptus est per 15 dies et postea saepius'.² Since Queen Henrietta Maria's letter from Paris asking that the Pope should take Crashaw under his patronage is dated 7 September 1646, Crashaw obviously made his pilgrimage to Rome immediately upon receipt of the letter.

The Venerable English College in Rome was traditionally the centre of English life in Rome, and the first call of the pilgrim arriving there. An English hospital and hospice had been set up as early as 1362, the hospice, by statute providing a service for pilgrims, and in the mid-sixteenth century affording a refuge for many priests exiled from England. In 1576, however, at the prompting of Dr Allen who sent some students from Douai, the hospice was converted into a College for the training of priests; it was officially constituted as the Venerable English College, under the charge of the Jesuits, by a Papal Bull of Gregory XIII in 1579. Among

¹ *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, edited by Henry Foley, seven vols. (London, 1877-83); Volume VI. Dr Paul Stanwood has recently told me of his article in *N. & Q.* N.S. 13 (1966), pp. 256-57, in which he drew attention to Foley's references to Crashaw.

² English College Archives, *Pilgrim Book*, fol. 146.

the statutes incorporated in the Bull of the College were those dealing with pilgrims: a gentleman was to be given 'bread, wine and ware' for three days free of charge, and every commoner was to be received at the Hospice 'for eight days and nights, with meat, drink and lodging'; further provisions were made for women in childbirth and the sick.³

The English Hospice and later the English College became the centre to which the English pilgrim naturally made his way upon arrival in Rome. From 1580, the commencement year of the College, a list of pilgrims and visitors to the College was compiled by the Rectors; the first volume of this compilation, which later became known as the *Pilgrim Book*, contains systematic entries of the visitors entertained from 1580 to 1646. Crashaw's name first appears as an entry on 28th November 1646, and subsequent entries, plus entries in the Convictors' *Account Books*, give a clue to his life and movements in Rome from 1646 to 1649.

Persons residing in the English College during the seventeenth century were divided into three categories: Scholars, those studying either the humanities or for the priesthood, Pilgrims and others under the care of the College, and Convictors who were either paying students or paying guests. In the last case there was an account book which provided a separate page for all those entitled to keep an account. As a Convictor, or paying guest, Crashaw opened his account on 7 January 1647⁴ and the final entry, which balances his account after his death, occurs in September 1649.⁵

These two sources, the *Pilgrim Book* and the *Convictors Account Books*, provide direct material on Crashaw's life after his arrival in Rome. The *Pilgrim Book* shows that Crashaw dined twice at the English College during December 1646.⁶

The next occasion, however, when he is considered as a guest is on 11 June 1648.⁷ There is no entry at all in 1647 and during this year he seems to have been a paying guest lodging in the College. Both the *Account Book* itself and its entries confirm this supposition. Only Convictors residing in the College seem to have been entitled to use the College as a bank, and the entries under Crashaw's name further suggest his residence there. On the credit side he opened his account on 7th January 1647 with a deposit of 21 *scudi* and 70 *baiocchi*, 'for ye valew of 7 Spanish postoles'. The next two deposits, on 30th March 1647 and 25 May 1647 were also paid in Spanish pistoles; on 4th October the deposit was in English

3. The period of fifteen days' sojourn which was allowed Crashaw would not, however, seem irregular.

4. English College Archives, *Account Book E*, p. 73.

5. *Account Book F*, p. 21.

6. *Pilgrim Book*, fol 146: '18 (Decembris). D. Hastings, D Crashaw., et D. Pordays pransi sung hic ... in vinea'; 27 Dec. D. Patricius Cary et D Crashaw pransi sunt in vinea'

7. *Pilgrim Book*, fol. 153.

sterling. On the debit side, apart from a payment to the gardener and his wife for their bed on 7th January 1647 Crashaw withdrew every few weeks from 3rd April until 12th December 1647 a regular sum of either six or twelve crowns.⁸ These withdrawals, moreover, were not personal withdrawals, but financial transactions within the College. From this evidence, then, we can infer that Crashaw was resident in the College throughout the year 1647.

The last entry in 1647 is interesting: it reads 'A 31 Xbre 1647 lire 243 to bee made good to Mr Crashaw as by Fr Rich. Bartons accounts from Paris 6 Xbris 1647.'⁹ Richard Barton, after being educated at the English College, Rome, was from 1642 Jesuit Rector of the English College Liège. Perhaps Crashaw's conversion to Rome took place in Liège under Father Barton's sponsorship. Crashaw had intimated further travels in his letter from Leyden in 1644 and he would have naturally visited Liège, a centre for English exiles. Whether this be so or not, Crashaw certainly received money from the Jesuits until late 1647. Two explanations present themselves: either the Jesuits were maintaining Crashaw after his conversion, a practice common enough, although not necessarily implying that Crashaw accepted money in exchange for turning to Rome, or the Jesuits were acting as agents for Crashaw's revenues from his fellowship at Peterhouse then shared with Ferrar Collett, revenues which Collett had promised to forward.

Crashaw does not seem to have been employe during 1647. The credit entries in his account all derive from foreign sources being either English sterling or Spanish pistoles (which might suggest a visit during his travels to the Spain of his 'Admirable Sainte Teresa'). Furthermore apart from the 'twenty pistoles', which Robert Southwell says Pope Innocent gave Crashaw,¹⁰ there is no evidence that Queen Henrietta Maria's letter to the Pope produced any advance or position. As late as 20th November 1647, Sir Kenelm Digby complained to the Pope that Crashaw, notwithstanding the Queen's letter, had received no recompense.¹¹ Because of this failure on the part of the Pope to act as Crashaw's patron, his position with Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pallotta seems to have been procured as a last resort through the Cardinal's connexion with the English College.

The Pallotta family had been closely associated with the College since its erection. An earlier Cardinal Pallotta, Giovanni Battista's uncle, had interested himself in the College at the end of the sixteenth century. Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pallotti

8 *Account Book E*, r 73. The composition of Roman currency in the seventeenth century was: 10 baiocchoi equalled a giulio; 10 giuli equalled a scudio or crown; 3 scudi or crowns equalled a pistole; 2 pistole equalled a doblone.

9 *Account Book F*, p. 21.

10. See *The Poems of Richard Crashaw*, edited by L. C. Martin, second edition (Oxford, 1957), p. xxxvii.

11. *Poems*, ed. Martin, pp. xxxiv xxxv.

was a frequent visitor at the College, and had placed his nephew there to be educated, and 'would certainly be the Cardinal Patrone if his uncle should become Pope.'¹² Since he often arbitrated in the internal disputes of the College and frequently attended the students' plays, he presumably met Crashaw there and later appointed him to a position in his household.

Crashaw's appointment seems to have occurred at the beginning of 1648; on 3rd of January he personally withdrew the balance of his account. From that date also, the regular withdrawals stop, which suggests that he had left his lodgings at the English College.¹³ In 1648 also Crashaw's name appears in the *Pilgrim Book* as a guest at dinner.¹⁴

At the English College Crashaw would have found many of his Cambridge companions: John Bargrave, one of his contemporaries at Peterhouse, states in a manuscript published in 1867 that, "When I went first of my four times to Rome, there were four revolvers to the Roman Church that had been fellows of Peterhouse in Cambridge with myself. The name of one of them was Mr. R. Crashaw".¹⁵ Besides Crashaw the Peterhouse fellows were Christopher Banks, Richard Nicols, and Francis Blackiston, nephew of John Cosin, all of whom were studying at the English College.¹⁶ Further acquaintances must also have included Thomas Normington a fellow undergraduate with Crashaw at Pembroke College and Edward Thimelby who was also attached to the retinue of Cardinal Pallotta. Both were frequent visitors together at the English College, and Thimelby wrote three letters in verse to Normington which acclaim both Crashaw and his poetry.¹⁷

Crashaw remained in Cardinal Pallotta's employ during the year 1648 and the early part of 1649. The *Account Books* during this period show irregular deposits

12. *John Bargrave, Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals*, edited by J. C. Robertson (London, 1867), p. 37.

13. *Account Book F*, p. 21.

14. *Pilgrim Book*, fol 153.

15. Bargrave, p. 37.

16. Christopher Banks entered Peterhouse in 1631, was elected to a fellowship in 1638 and ejected in 1644-45. He had, however, already entered the English College on 1st November 1642, which suggests that Peterhouse were apparently prepared to retain their fellows after a long absence and conversion to Rome. Richard Nicols became a fellow of Peterhouse on 24th January 1637, resigned on 1st April 1640 and is later found dining at the English College (*Pilgrim Book*, fol. 159). Francis Blackiston entered Peterhouse on 10th October 1637, was elected fellow in 1642 and ejected on 1st June 1644. He entered the English College in 1647 (V.E.C. Archives, *Responsa Scholarum*, fol. 851).

17. See N. W. Bawcutt, 'A Seventeenth-century Allusion to Crashaw', *N. & Q.*, N.S. 9 (1962), pp. 215-16. The references to Crashaw are contained in a volume of poetry entitled *Tixall Poetry* (Edinburgh 1813), ed. Arthur Clifford, a descendant of the Thimelby family. The collection also contains several unidentified poems, whose baroque style and imagery are highly reminiscent of Crashaw's

and withdrawals, the three debit entries on 3rd January, 18th May, and 31 October 1648 being of some importance for they are all in Crashaw's own hand and are the only extant manuscript of Crashaw's handwriting apart from the letter he wrote from Leyden in 1644. The entry for 18th May, for example, reads:

I underwritten have received five and twenty crownes of Fr John Crispe Procurator of ye English Colledge; in witness whereof I have subscribed this 18th of May 1648

Ric; Crashaw¹⁸

However in a letter dated 24th April 1649 he received from the Cardinal a benefice at the Basilica of Loreto. This conferment is made the more plausible by the fact that the home of the Pallotta family was Calderola in the Marcha of Ancona and undoubtedly their sphere of influence included Loreto. But Crashaw did not take up his position immediately: a second letter appoints a deputy for the ceremony of induction because of Crashaw's absence, 'propter loci distantiam'.¹⁹ These facts are confirmed by the documents in the English College archives.

The *Pilgrim Book* shows that Crashaw was still in Rome on 4th April 1649 when he dined at the English College. The *Account Books* allow an even more precise chronology. The single deposit during 1649 reads 'A di 10 Mat sc 47 b 90 put into ye Colledges keeping after he had sought divers means and none succeeded to send them to Loreto'.²⁰ On 10 May 1649, then, Crashaw had yet to depart from Rome and had failed in an attempt to send money to Loreto. The debit side of the account continues to provide evidence: on 13 May he bought from Edward Baines, a student in the College, several items of clothing, no doubt in preparation for his journey to Loreto. This entry is followed by a personal payment made to Crashaw on 16th May, and it is reasonable to suggest that he left for Loreto on that day or shortly afterwards.

The next entry shows Crashaw already in Loreto: A di 3 agosto sc vinti mta. for so much payed to Sr Pier Francesco Busca, by Mt Richard Crashaw his order, who had received the like summe at Loreto from Sr Canonico as by his order which I have.²¹

Crashaw, then, was in Loreto on 3 August 1649, and allowing three or four weeks for the note of hand to arrive from Loreto, he presumably arrived there some time in June or early July. Since he died on 21st August 1649, his residence at Loreto

18. *Account Book F*, p. 21.

19. *Poems*, ed. Martin, p. 421.

20. *Account Book F*, p. 21.

21. *Account Book F*, p. 21.

lasted only four or five weeks, a conclusion confirmed by Bargrave's remark: 'Whither he went in pilgrimage in summer time, and, overheating himself died in four weeks after he came thither.'²²

One further point remains to be made: these documents reveal that Crashaw was never an ordained priest in the Roman Church. In the English College archives his name is found neither among those studying for the priesthood nor among those ordained. Furthermore, because of the relative shortness of his stay in Paris, his ordination there seems unlikely. Both the *Pilgrim Book* and the *Account Books* confirm this supposition: the names of priests in the *Pilgrim Book* are always preceded by 'P.', 'Pr.', or 'D.' with the title 'sacerdos' following the name; 'D.' is used only for a graduate who was not a priest. Crashaw's final entry in the *Pilgrim Book* shows that as late as 4th April 1649 he had not been ordained priest: '4 Aprilis D. Gul. Legus Sacerdos et D. Rich. Crashaw hic pransi sunt';²³ and the final entry in the *Account Book F* also addresses Crashaw as 'Mt.' magister.²⁴

The Loreto archives are a little less clear. Unfortunately, since David Lloyd's brief life, Crashaw has wrongly been credited with the rank of Canon at Loreto, a title which suggests priesthood. In fact the position conferred upon him was merely that of "beneficiatus", which provided a living in return for singing office, and for which major orders were unnecessary. At Loreto there were two categories of 'benefici' and 'benefici dei chierici'; the position granted Crashaw was the *settimo* (7°) *beneficio*, a post found among the former lists but not the latter. Nor does consultation of the Register for Mass stipends at Loreto reveal the name of Crashaw, which suggests that he never celebrated Mass.

Nevertheless it is reasonable to assume that Crashaw would have received at least tonsure and perhaps some minor orders in order to sing in choir. The documents in the archives of the Basilica of Loreto refer to him as 'Reverendus Dominus', but the tomb in which he is buried, 'in tumulo sacerdotum' also contains many *beneficiati* not in major orders.

These sources, in conclusion, give some idea of Crashaw's life after his conversion to Rome. The poetry of this period is scarce, perhaps the greater part lost, but the fact that Crashaw was never ordained priest is of some importance. The frequent assumption that he had been obliged to read the Roman breviary as a Roman priest may, therefore, be disregarded. Obviously at Loreto in August 1649 he was required to sing office, but this practice post-dated the publication of his translations of the Latin medieval hymns in 1648.

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22. Bargrave, p. 37.

23. *Pilgrim Book*, fol. 159.

24. *Account Book F*, p. 21.

EX COWLEO COWLEO DIGNA

Among the unidentified manuscripts of the English College archives is *Scrittura* 35:3, which upon inspection proves to be a late seventeenth or early eighteenth copy of some of Abraham Cowley's poems. The manuscript consists of large folio sheets awkwardly folded lengthwise, and its condition is poor. Numerous holes obliterate various words, including part of the almost illegible heading, "Ex Cowleo Cowleo Digna".

No information exists about the manuscript, but its history may be conjectured. The paper has a large watermark classified as a large 'pot', culminating in a *fleur-de-lis*. Similar, though not identical, watermarks appear in Heawood's *Watermarks* all come from England between 1665 and 1680. The handwriting appears to be late seventeenth century. The poems come from *The Mistress*, published in 1647, and from *Poems*, 1656. Since the divergences from Cowley's printed poems are minimal, one surmises that the manuscript is a copy without individual authority, merely a private selection made for the delectation of a student or *repetitore* in the College.

A possibility exists that the manuscript was copied in the College from one of the College's precious books, *The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley* (London, 1668). The poems in the manuscript follow the order of this edition, which brings together all of Cowley's previously printed collection of poems.¹ Unfortunately we do not know how or when the College acquired this book.

It does not bear an inscription as a gift and it does not appear in the library catalogues. The first sheet bears an elaborate signature, "Margaret Cordell April the 3^d 1682". Under this in a later hand is written "Domenico Marcura". On the title sheet is a note "Post £0-10-0", and another, almost illegible signature, possibly *W. Smith*. Margaret Cordell had the book long enough to read it. She signed the inside back cover, another page, and put her initials next to the first lines of "The Wish" Cowley's poem of desire for "a small house, and large Garden . . . few friends, and many Books. . . ." ² Next to 'Friendship in Absence' is a heart with

1. Similarities of indentation and spelling between the edition of 1668 and the manuscript increase the likelihood that this book was the manuscript's source, but since it has proved impossible in Rome to consult any earlier volume of Cowley, which may have the same characteristics, the evidence is inconclusive.
2. "The Mistress", *The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley* (London, 1668), p. 22. All quotations from Cowley come from this edition except where copied from the manuscript.

two crossed arrows and the initials EC. The similarities of hand and ink suggest that here again the writer may have been Margaret Cordell, referring to a friend or relative.

As to the other names, Maruca is untraceable. There was a student named William Smith (alias Carrington) in the College between 1713 and 1716. Possibly he left the book behind after a friend had copied from it. We lose track of Smith after he leaves for France in 1716, and the name is far too common to serve as positive identification.

If the manuscript really dates as late as 1713 it coincides with the decline of Cowley's popularity. In the mid-seventeenth century poems from *The Mistress* "were the favourite love poems of the age".³ By 1737, however, Pope, in his "Epistle to Augustus" asks, "who now reads Cowley?" College students, so far from London, may have had slightly outdated tastes. Or perhaps, since Cowley, though not a Catholic, was a sympathetic figure to the College community, his reputation was more durable there than elsewhere.

As far as we know Cowley never visited the English College himself. As a devoted loyalist "he was absent from his native country about twelve years; which were wholly spent either in bearing a share of the distresses of the Royal Family, or labouring in their affairs. To this purpose he performed several dangerous journeys into Jersey, Scotland, Flanders, Holland or wherever else the King's troubles requir'd his attendance."⁴ The visitor's book does not reveal Cowley's name, so Rome presumably was not the object of one of these dangerous journeys.

Yet Cowley did have second-hand connections with the College. In 1638 he dedicated his pastoral play, *Love's Riddle*, to Sir Kenelm Digby. As early as 1637, upon the death of John Gerard (*Giovanni Tomsono* at this point) in the College, Sir Kenelm was asked what to do with money he had sent Gerard to buy books. Sir Kenelm replied, "rinuncio il tutto come beneficio".⁵ In the 1640's Cowley and Digby were both part of Henrietta Maria's entourage in Paris. While Cowley was encoding Henrietta Maria's letters to her husband, Digby was sent as her resident envoy to the Pope, and repeatedly visited the College. Another of Cowley's friends in exile on the continent was the poet Richard Crashaw, whose need he brought to the attention of the Queen. She recommended him to Cardinal Palotta, and as a result Crashaw appears in the visitor's book on November 29th 1646, and often thereafter until April 4th 1649 shortly before he left for Loreto where he died in August. Not surprisingly the manuscript includes most of Cowley's elegy on

3. "Abraham Cowley", *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908), IV, 1305.

4. T(homas) Sprat, "An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley", *The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley*, alr.

5. *Giornaletto D delli Scolari*, Libro 311, p. 1.

Crashaw.

The interest of the manuscript is suggested by the heading. What did an inhabitant of the English College think "digna", worthy of Cowley and of his own attention? The copyist appropriately begins his sheets with the sixth stanza of the "Ode: of Wit". (Many of the poems are unidentified; frequently they are sections of longer works. A complete identifying inventory has been placed with the manuscript.)

Tis not when 2 like words make up one Noise
 Jest for Dutchmen & English boyes
 (in which) who finds out wit, the same may see
 In Anagrams & Acrosticque Poetrie
 Much less can that have any place
 At which a virgin hides her face
 Such Dross the fire must purge away, 'tis just
 The Author blush there where the Reader must.

Despite this credo the manuscript is as interesting for its inclusions as its exclusions. To deal first with that "at which a virgin hides her face"; the copy contains both of Cowley's poems against Platonic love. In the "Answer to the Platonicks" the copyist even uses quotation marks to indicate favourite or notable lines. These are:

Beasts do the same: tis true, but Ancient Fame
 Says Gods themselves turn'd beast to do the same.

The only other lines so noted come from "Beauty":

'Tis Chiefly Night which Men to thee Allow:
 And Cause t' enjoy thee when thou Least are thou.

This cynicism is compensated by the last three lines of the Anacreontic also called "Beauty":

Who can woemen's strength express
 Arm'd, when they themselves undress
 Cap-a-pe with Nakedness.

These are typical of the love poems copied; the choice was not puritanical.

More interesting is the choice of poems with religious imagery. Sprat, the future Anglican Bishop of Rochester and biographer of Cowley, assures us that Cowley "was in his practice exactly obedient to the Use and Precepts of our Church. Nor was he inclined to any uncertainty and doubt . . .".⁶ We find a great deal of religious imagery in his poems, and the selector prefers these poems or sections of poems. For instance, from "The Usurpation", a poem whose conceit is that the poet's mistress has usurped control of him, the manuscript quotes only stanza 2, which concludes:

6. Sprat, elv.

Nay more; thou mak'st me worship thee
 And wou'st the Rule of my Religion be;
 Was euer Tyrant Claim'd such Pow'r as you
 To be both Emp'rour and Pope too?

This perhaps could be construed by an English Catholic as an anti-Anglican argument, since the King of England did claim to be head of the church too.

In "The Innocent III" we hear of 'nuns at the altar' and original sin; in "The Incurable" of prayers and sin. A notable religious image appears in "The Thief":

Ah! Lovely thief what wilt thou Do?
 What? Rob me of my Heav'n too?
 Thou even with my prayers dost steal from me
 And I with wild Idolatry
 Begin to God and end them All, to thee.

Another daring idea appears in the second poem from *The Mistress* with the title "The Soul":

Her Body is my soul; Laugh not at this
 For by my Life I swear it is.
 'Tis that preserves my Being and my Breath
 From that proceeds All that I do
 Nay All my thoughts & Speeches too
 And Separation from it is my Death.

Probably the selector recognized the purely intellectual nature of these experiences and was not offended; it was for such elaborated, yet strangely cold, conceits that Dr Johnson called Cowley's wit "metaphysical" and condemned him to an ever-increasing obscurity.

Several of the copyist's exclusions reflect a deeper sense of dubious doctrine or suitability. For example, while he copies from "The Gazers" the lines:

I would not Salamander-like
 In Scorching heats alwaies to Live desire
 But like a martyr, pass to Heav'n through fire,

he omits the third stanza of "Written in Juice of Lemon" where the poet speaks to his poem:

Go then, but reverently go,
 And, since thou needs must *sin*, *confess* it too:
 Confess't, and with humility clothe thy shame;
 For thou, who else must burned be
 An *Heretick*, if she pardon thee,
 May'st like a *Martyr* then *enjoy* the *Flame*.

This was hardly acceptable to the College, whose martyrs were of recent memory.

Two poems appear to be censored on doctrinal grounds. The manuscript contains the following untitled lines:

Less hard 'tis not to erre our selues then know
 If our forefathers erred or no
 When we trust men concerning God we then
 Trust not God concerning men/
 And since it selfe the boundless Godhead Joyn'd
 With a reasonable mind
 (It plainly) shows that Mysteries Diuine
 May with our reason Joyn/
 Tho' Reason cannot through faith's mist'ries see
 It sees that these & such they be
 Leads to Heau'ns Door, & there does humbly keep
 And there through Chinks and keyholes peep.

These are three separate quatrains (indicated by the copyist's stroke) from a poem called "Reason, the Use of it in Divine Matters." The poem consists of six eight-line stanzas; the selection is made cautiously to exclude what may seem slights at the authority of the Church and the priesthood. Among the omissions are the first few lines: "Some *blind* themselves, 'cause possibly they may/. Be led by others a righ way;/ They build on *Sands* . . . and a slight on fasting: "Sometimes their *Fancies* they 'bove *Reason* set,/ And *Fast*, that they may *Dream* of meat" Several references to the basic argument, the infallibility of reason, are cut:

In vain, alas, these outward Hopes are try'd;
Reason within's our onely *Guide*.

and the last lines of the poem:

Though it, like *Moses*, by a sad command
 Must not come into th' *Holy Land*,
 Yet thither it infallibly does Guid
 And from afar 'tis all *Descry'd*.

Also omitted is all of stanza 5 praising "The *Holy Book*" which speaks with "*Truth Divine*" though "*Reason* must assist too". The excerpt suggests the supremacy of faith and authority over reason; Cowley's poem in its entirety is quite different.

Finally there is the poem "On Mr. Crashaw", one of Cowley's best and best-known works. Most of this was acceptable to the copyist, yet he was concerned with the appropriateness of one extended metaphor. The poem begins "Poet & Saint to thee Alone are giuen/ The Two most sacred names of Earth & Heau'n." It continues to describe Crashaw's holy life and poetry, contrasting him to "wretched

we Poets of Earth". After a section on the corrupted muse of the earthly poets the copyist draws a line to indicate an omission. Missing is the verse paragraph of comparison to the corrupt muse:

Thy spotless *Muse*, like *Mary*, did con'ain
 The boundless Godhead; she did well disdain
 That her *eternal Verse* employ'd should be
 on a less subject than Eternitie;
 And for a sacred *Mistress* scorn'd to take,
 But her whom *God* himself scorn'd not his Spouse to make.
 It (in a kind) *her Miracles* did do;
 A fruitful *Mother* was, and *Virgin* too

No doubt this seemed sacrilegious to the inhabitant of the College. He enjoyed, though, Cowley's awkward justification of Crashaw's conversion:

Pardon, my Mother Church, if I consent
 That Angels led him, when from thee he went
 For eu'n in Error sure no Danger is
 When joyn'd with so much Piety as his.
 Ah! Mighty God! with shame I speak't & grief
 Ah that our Greatest faults were in Belief!
 And our weak Reason were eu'n weaker yet
 Rather than thus our Wills too strong for it.
 His faith Perhaps in some nice tenets might
 be wrong, his Life I'm sure was in the right
 And I my Selve a Catholick will be
 So far att least great St. to pray to thee.

The copyist also supplies us with a final judgment on these poems. At the bottom of 5r he writes: "ut sibi quivis/ Sperat idem, multum sudet a frustraue lavoret/ Ausus Idem—Horace". These are lines 240-242 of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, which appear in Cowley's Preface. There Cowley, attempting to justify his Pindaric Odes, writes: "though the Liberty of them may incline a man to believe them easie to be composed, yet the undertaker will find them otherwise" and then quotes Horace.⁷ Apparently understanding that all Cowley's poems appear more facile than they are, the selector adopted the motto for the entire collection. Whether the English College students of the time exerted themselves to write poetry we cannot say; that they read and appreciated it *Scrittura* 35: 3 is evidence.

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7. Cowley, C2v.

THE DEMISE OF THE OFFICE OF BOOT-MAN

The final proposal put to the house in the public meeting in December 1971 was that the office of 'boot-man' should no longer exist. The general reaction to this proposal was either what can best be described as indifference, or, on the part of a minority, surprise that the title was not in fact a joke, but denoted a reality that had a history almost as long and colourful as the *Palio* in Siena, or the *Corpus Christi* procession in Orvieto. This was the first time it had passed through the consciousness of many for a long time, as it now flared briefly before it was extinguished, to rest in some distant elephants' graveyard, along with the titles and offices of 'bath-man' and 'post man' and dead elephants. The proposal, as it was put before the house, was so skilfully worded and so carefully argued that it was clear that any opposition was going to be of no avail; few reacted. Many were by this time only semi-conscious; others were hidden behind newspapers, or anything else that had pictures in; others again were just not there. And so the last executor of the office had even less than the minimal difficulty he had anticipated in relinquishing the title. I do not think that it has been mentioned since.

Such a development, however, has not radically altered the way life goes on in the college; some have now been forced into a position of having to take more initiative, and their own shoes the thirty or so yards to the cobbler. Others have not found adjustment so easy, and can be identified by the difficulty with which they walk. It is, perhaps, more an indication of the way public meetings have changed. People no longer move to the common-room with banners, sleeping-bags and primus-stoves, and brevity is often a measure of success. What were formerly erroneously dubbed public meetings are now no longer private conclaves of dissenting students, meeting to the exclusion of the Rector and anyone else that does not hold a current student identity card. Now all are welcomed, if not welcome, and have the opportunity to share in the discussion that usually precedes any momentous decision.

The change, though, has not been total, for discussion still often sounds as though it were taking place in a home for the incurably deaf; but this sort of problem is to be solved more on the personal level than by more discussion. Such

a forum for self-expression is at least more desirable than the daubing of slogans on the wall, or climbing to the pinnacle of the clock-tower to hurl defiance and abuse at a world that is out of earshot anyway. But sadly, as the meetings become more and more to the point, much of the spontaneous humour that used to animate them seems to have been stifled.

It is the need to be humorous, and to have a captive audience for one's intended humour, that has led to the proliferation of often incomprehensible notices that bring to the imagination such exotic spots as Qumran or Nag Hammadi. Even the Vice-rector was tempted and succumbed, and an instruction on the programme for St. Patrick's day, referring to the saint's own English and Welsh background, and more dubiously to the Bulgarian ancestry he reputedly shares with the Spiritual Director, made a brief appearance on the notice board, before the enemies of humour, doubt and reflection, moved him to take it down, and replace it with a much more brief and concise version of the same information. It seemed difficult to remember what the second version said: *brevis ess laboro, Obscurus fio*. Horace had a point. The refectory provides the ideal stage for the humorist, and often more thought has gone into the notice telling us that another Supplement IV for *The Prayer for the Church* has been lost than goes into the meal that has gathered its audience. 'What can be done to make the corned-beef more appetising?' asks the Vice-rector cheerfully (though not quite all the apprehension has been disguised). The food is generally a credit to the overworked kitchen staff, but the suggestions about the corned-beef were not original, or all of them quite audible.

An impression gained is that there is apparently more information to be conveyed to the student who aims at or cannot avoid a more active participation in what is going on both inside and outside the house. The hectic pace often means that the right does not know what the left is doing, and that saves much bother. It is difficult to distinguish the chicken from the egg in this process of complication of our lives; what is immediately noticeable is the growing number of committees and groups—the difficulty I speak of is deciding whether these have been created in order to try and give some order to an increasingly complex situation, or whether one's routine being filled and complicated by one's affiliation to one or more of these groups. It is all very complicated. I do not intend here to make a detailed examination of any one particular aspect of what is going on—like everyone else I am waiting to find out—since there are other articles that deal with some of these points. The scope of this is rather more general, and instead of saying much on one topic is tending to say little or nothing on a number of topics. Yet I am trying to avoid saying that the advance-party to the villa were suffering from gout and sunstroke, since this is not supposed to be a diary.

It was inevitable that a change of rector should lead sooner or later to other changes. They came very soon. The practice of Lauds, or more correctly the theory of morning prayer in common had been an area of doubt and uncertainty for some time now; it then became an area of concern, and was finally removed from the sphere of the vague and uncertain. On the first morning of our new approach to morning prayer there were just enough cups for the numbers that turned up for breakfast—clearly we were not quite as ready for change as we might have imagined. The discussion that centred on community prayer, our liturgy, and more particularly on this point of prayer in the morning, had been tried on a general level, but was later taken up on a more practical level in a group formed specifically for this purpose from a representative cross-section of the house—the liturgy commission, whose activity over a year ago had been brief but stormy in the public eye, was now revived, though all plans for the seating in the main chapel (its original main purpose) have been shelved for the present. A group of this size was going to be more manageable, and hopefully effective, though clearly, as only a small section of the house, it does have its shortcomings. And so the format of Lauds changed (from day to day almost) to try and make it more prayerful, and the seating in the Martyrs' Chapel was rearranged to reveal more of the beautiful 17th century tiles on the floor. The sepulchre wherein we saw it quietly inurn'd hath oped his ponderous and marble jaws to cast up Compline again; it was given a short trial period on one night a week, but did not really come to life. Without further ceremony it was quietly re-interred. The liturgy is also touched on by another group that meets behind locked doors to discuss the music for our worship. Music in fact made a brief appearance at morning prayer once as part of the drive to make it more varied. It finished all discussion about the suitability of music for that hour of the morning. Some very fine music is still being produced in the college, and we are still waiting for the rickshaw that will bring the book of college music that is being produced by Mercier Press. Guests are encouraged to come to the Mass on the first Sunday of every month, and their reactions seem very enthusiastic so let us hope the practice grows and that this will encourage more effort. The schola maintain their connections with the sisters of *Regina Mundi*, and this year come together to bring something new to the Easter ceremonies.

The changes we can see taking place are not in what we are approaching, but in the way we approach it; what is important is not just what one proclaims, but the manner in which one proclaims it. A half-hearted attempt at elocution was bound to bear little fruit; and so a group made up of the 2nd and 3rd years of theology met twice a week for a total of twelve sessions with a Mr. Peter Johnson for an intensive and thorough (as far as the time would allow) course of speech training. The aim was not to improve the standard of elocution, for it seems that one can

come across very well despite a soupçon of scouse or cockney; attention was given instead to correct breathing, voice-control, stance, and other aspects of the art of rivetting the attention of a group of people. Nobody seems to have suffered physical damage as a result of the course, though at times it sounded as though some had had their mental faculties impaired, when one heard sounds of breathing practice coming from behind closed doors, whether being able to breathe through one's ears by moving one's kneecaps is an asset or not is open to debate, but just how unintelligible and consequently ineffectual one can be before a group of people to whom one has something important to communicate justifies the expense that the course has entailed. One could not have expected to be able to point to an immediate and startling change in the standard of reading in chapel, but to see now how bad it is and why is surely half the battle.

And while we thrive, so, miraculously, does the rest of Italy; the '*fumum et opes strepitumque Romae*' are probably worse than ever, and the Italian government continues to reflect more clearly than anywhere the transitory nature of man's rule—'*non ragionam di lor, ma Guarda e passa.*' The traffic situation, deplorable at the best of times, has also changed recently; there has appeared a machine that would give Ralph Nader terminal apoplexy. A group of five students were presented with the basic essentials of a Volkswagen, that mourns or rejoices in the name of 'Cloggy', after some legendary warlord that kept the Ostrogoths out of Burnley. Its availability is as unrestricted as circumstances will allow, and it is proving a useful acquisition. It was only petty regulations about scythe-blades on the wheels that kept us out of the Monte Carlo Rally.

While I write the Rector is coming to the end of a three-week tour of the dioceses and Bishops of England and Wales; to make the college economically viable the numbers must be nearer seventy than they are at present. If the venture is a success, and the empty rooms can be filled (though at first they really need work done on them), then the future looks hopeful for all. The boot-man only disappeared because, rather than try and adapt to changing circumstances, he submissively gave up the struggle.

SOME PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON DIACONATE WORK IN ENGLAND

“L'argomento sul Diaconato dovrebbe venire qui. Purtroppo il tempo a nostra disposizione non ci consente di trattarne”. This was the extent of the Greg's contribution to the diaconate, so clearly any preparation had to be sought elsewhere. Mgr (as he then was) Brewer gave us a few pastoral classes, which because of the lack of time, tended to answer no more than “which end of the baby do you baptise?” With this most of the present top year set off last summer to work as deacons in English and Welsh parishes. It was the first time that so large a proportion of a top year had thus exercised their diaconate. How successful was it? Is it worth doing again? This article will be a personal reflection on this experience.

It certainly helps in doing a relatively new form of pastoral work if one has support, encouragement, and some realisation that authority (in the form of rector, bishop and prospective parish priest) sees some value in the work. From the College's point of view it might be time to put pastoral work for deacons higher on the scale of values—is it more important than the villa? Three days at home before starting diaconate work is not sufficient time to recuperate, and it is often more convenient for the diocese or parish to have a deacon in July rather than September.

I was particularly fortunate in having a Bishop who was very keen on deacons doing pastoral work, and the selection of a suitable parish was made with the Vicar for Pastoral Affairs' assistance. This may sound unnecessarily formal, but it creates an atmosphere of being wanted. Not everyone in the year was so welcomed, and some students had to make all their own arrangements. What was also pleasant for me was having as Parish Priest a man who helped me, encouraged me and who seemed to see some value in the work of a deacon. If it were the custom in *Venerabile* articles, then this one should be dedicated to him.

Much of what one experienced attempting diaconate work is similar to what any newly-ordained curate would find. Being a deacon and living for the first time in a presbytery means very much that one is on the clerical side of the church. Whether dress is worn or not, one is very definitely “one of Them” and the attitudes of both people and clergy reflected this. Part of the difficulty of diaconate work is that one is a deacon, and what the average priest wants in the summer is to have

someone hear confessions and say Mass. Although it is helpful to have a preacher and Communion-distributor, a deacon is very much an adornment to the altar rather than a vital assistant. So, however much value it is to the individual deacon to do some pastoral work, the parish does not gain very much. This is part of the much wider problem of the place a deacon plays in the church today. We are caught in the in-between stage of not yet fully establishing the diaconate while most of those doing diaconate work only intend it as a stage on the way to the priesthood. A subsequent return to the parish as a priest, was, for me, an interesting experience, for now the people knew better where I stood, and they could more easily fit me in to the established pattern. Most noticeably they knew what to call me-

What struck me particularly last summer was just how much a public person the priest or deacon is; it was as if one had to incarnate all the attitudes expected of the perfect Christian—a very strong faith, an impeccable moral life, no difficulties about prayer, etc. One almost had to supply what people felt to be their own deficiencies.

A further aspect of being almost public property was what is now fashionably called Total Availability. This means that you have to be nice to everyone. It sounds easy enough, but requires a vast amount of effort and involvement, and is emotionally exhausting. One only becomes aware of it by reflecting on the times one has failed. No doubt this role gets easier as time passes, though trying to have some relationship with the people one serves which goes beyond the superficial will always involve one personally and emotionally. It is here though that the real reward comes.

One pleasant surprise was that occasionally one could use the theology! Not so much that the Greg. gives all the answers—even the Jesuits cannot solve the problem of evil—but it does give a theological orientation and attitude, even with the major problem of translating and mediating this into ordinary English (and Welsh). The Greg has also managed to communicate something about the bible, and people's scriptural interest was more widespread than I realised.

Something of value can be offered by the clergy here, and this was noticeable in group work. The groups in the parish where I worked had been functioning long enough to have exhausted all the trendy moral topics in their discussions. In a number of cases some form of scriptural enquiry proved to be useful.

This interest in the bible is part of the desire for depth in the spiritual life. Prayer groups here in the college have helped a number of students in their prayer lives, and with some trepidation I tried to do something similar in the parish. The idea of prayer was seized on with enthusiasm, and people were very honest about their experiences in this field. Shortage of time prevented any follow up.

I wondered what exactly the attitude of the people towards the clergy would be. The best description would be honesty, tempered with respect and a great deal of kindness. Very rarely did one come across the sycophancy beloved by caricaturists. The attitude of non Catholics was interesting too as it was very similar. Once one had overcome the initial embarrassment of dressing in clericals, most people seemed very prepared to talk, and it was rare that one noticed hostile looks or comments. There is much less anti-clericalism than in Rome. The collar only appeared to be a barrier with younger people.

All I have said can be applied to any priest starting pastoral work. What specifically is the deacon's experience of the parish scene? Although one is very definitely a cleric, the people have very little idea of what exactly a deacon is. Some confusion is felt with more elevated positions of Dean or Archdeacon. Until the existence of the permanent diaconate has sunk into the Catholic consciousness it is difficult to explain the place of the deacon. The easiest way out was to say what a deacon could not do!

One drawback to this pastoral work is that it is of very short duration. Whatever role a priest or deacon has, it does rather require knowing and being known. In one month this is well-nigh impossible. This drawback does not apply to those trained in English seminaries who can work regularly in a parish. One solution would be to encourage more diaconate work in Rome.

In conclusion, as I have already stated, the individual deacon gains a great deal from the experience, even if the uncertainties of his role mean that the parish does not seem to gain too much. This is not to deny a value for the parish, which can become aware of the diversities of the church's ministries, and in particular is prepared for the permanent diaconate, if this is what the church decides is required.

JAMES JOYCE.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK

I remember in 1910 an Oxonian slighting modern Greek as a 'degenerate compound of tongues', which, besides being unjust, could be retorted on modern English. Modern Greek has come down by unbroken descent from the language of Plato, Xenophen, Demosthenes, Theocritus, Menander, Plutarch, St. Justin, St. Chrysostem. The literary idiom differs not little from the popular Romaic which from the late 15th to the 19th centuries is represented by the klephtic songs and ballads, much less remote from the classical than our speech is from Anglo-Saxon. During that time literary Greek ceased to be written. Cardinal Bessarion (or Vessarion), who died in 1472, was about its last notable writer before the 19th century. Prominent in the Council of Florence, he was a staunch upholder of the Papal Supremacy. His house in Rome is still standing.

Another common error makes the phonetic changes a revolution, whereas the evidence points rather to a surprising continuity. Changes of course there were, as in antiquity itself. The Attic pronunciation of the fifth century B.C. differed in several respects from that of imperial and early Christian times. This is made clear by Aristophanes' rendering of animal sounds, a very sure guide. He makes a dog say *ow* (ὤν), not *ahf* or *ahv*, and a sheep say βῆ. Now most of us have heard a sheep say something like BEH, but no one ever heard a lamb say VEE (vi) as in living Greek. Many may recall Gibbon's sarcasm anent the itacist-etacist controversy. He preferred 'the testimony of an articulate quadruped to that of an illiterate bishop'.

A notable classical vase inscription I have read has KITE, a perfect phonetic rendering of κείτα: (JACET), which sounds exactly the very same in living Greek (ANGLICE keeteh). Notable is the Emperor Augustus' grim jest that it were better to be Herod's pig (υῦ) than his son (υῖον). Pronounced as in living Greek these give us EEN (in) and EEON (ion) respectively, a very fair pun. Who can doubt that this was intended?

In the Roman catacombs, not later than the 4th century, we find BIBAS where VIVAS is clearly intended, and ribaldry out of the question. We may reasonably see here an attempt of a Greek-speaking pilgrim to write Latin.

Sir Edwin Pears (+1915), a high authority on things Hellenic, states that many classical Greek words, unknown to the standard modern language, were still in use around Trebizond in 1885, while many modern Greek words go back to the 12th century or even earlier (*The fall of Constantinople*). Sir Edwin cites the twelfth-century Chronicle of Romania of Nicetas for a number of loan-words from Latin, including φρεριος, (brother in a religious house), καρβαλλάριος βούλλα and βιγιλια (Vigilia). The last two seemingly imply a twofold value of (v in vigilia, and b in boulla). The Byzantine historian Princess Anna Comonena (c. 1110) has many French loan-words.

In the thirteenth century we learn that ὁ μαρκεσῆς του Μουφερα became ρηγος της Σαλονικης πόλης, and Baldwin is rendered Μπαλ δυμβινος, and early example of the modern Greek form of B.¹ (*The Fall of Constantinople*—in the 4th Crusade, 1204—1885, xviii. 388).

Eminent among England's Greek scholars in the 13th century was Roger Bacon (1214-94), the gifted Franciscan philosopher. His *Greek Grammar*, edited by Rev. Edmund Nolan and S. A. Hirsch, was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1902. Bacon transliterated many Greek words from which it is clear that the modern Greek pronunciation holds good in nearly all cases. We miss, however, the value of γ as y before a front vowel, a value also evident in the liturgical Greek: ο κυριος της γης (yeez, jis). Yet Bacon calls σιγμα 'sima' (Passim). He quotes Priscian (ob. 562) in witness that η, formerly sounded eh, had become ee (i), The present Greeks, Bacon says, always sound β as v (vita sonat semper v consonantem apud eos—p. 52).

The late Professor J. Myres of Oxford told me in 1901 that he heard the adjective στιβαρος, which dropped out of written Greek about 600 B.C., at Cyprus or Crete (I forget which) in use exactly in the old Homeric sense of strong, sturdy.

The late Professor Phillimore, a sure authority, told me he believed that the β was already sounded v in the time of Augustus. In the third century Clement of Alexandria writes τον βατικανον and in the 4th St. Basil calls the Emper or Valens βαλης.

In Christian antiquity we find names like Agapitus (not Agapetus) and liturgical Greek gives us Paraclitus (not Paracletus), while *Evangelium* and *Parasceve* witness to the continental value of incertain positions, a value of which Bacon laments general ignorance among the Latins. *Eleison imas* (ἐλ ἔησον ἡμας)—not 'hemas'—in the Good Friday liturgy is perfectly phonetic. I have often heard it in the Greek College in the *Via Babuino* in Rome. Many of us have suffered from choirs which stubbornly make *Eleison*, a trisyllable, rhyme with *bison*. In the catacombs of Albano we find the invocation (at latest 4th century) *miter thev* (μητερ θεου).

In the Chapel *Sancta Sanctorum* at the head of the Holy Stairs in Rome is the famous picture of our Redeemer called the *Acheiropitae* (αχειροποιητη, not made with hands) venerated from the 7th century or earlier. As in living Greek οi is always sounded I (anglice ee). The second I is here elided.

Bacon calls ταν 'tau vel taf' (pp. 15, 33 etc.) and β 'vita' (p. 14) which is always sounded v (p. 47).

Bacon's δ still sounded d. In living Greek it is always voiced th as in δεν (then). The rough breathing was still sometimes sounded as in hi (οι), yet Bacon writes 'imera' ἡμερα and 'epta' (ἑπτα). X seems to have been a guttural, while in liturgical and in standard living Greek it sounded k. υ as a consonant sounded v or f (as in ευ, αυ, ηυ). (pp. 85-86).

¹ This sound only occurs when a syllable ending in and d only after v followed by I, hence the compound letters and for b & d.

ποιηθηντα (sic) in Bacon is 'piithenta'
 εύλογητος in Bacon is 'evlogitos'
 (St. Mark XVI: 58; 2 Cor. V:1).

Here is his rendering of the angelic salutation:

χαίρε Μαριά κεχαριτωμένη ό κύριος μετα σοῦ ευλογημένη σύ εν γυναιξι και
 εύλογημένος ό καρπός της κοιλιας σου

Here Maria kecharitomeni o Kirios meta su.

evlogimeni ti (sic) en ginexi ke evlogimemos o karpos tis kilias su amin. (pp. 17-18).

The X in Xere (χαίρε) I take to be a guttural like ch in kecharitomeni. The Sacred Name is rendered IISUS. The first is a vowel and is sounded separately; it is not a consonant (y). Greek, Bacon declares has no true diphthongs now.

υιού is rendered iu.

Of Bacon's time-fellows Daniel de Morlai, Michael Scot, Robert Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, and John de Basingstoke were well versed in Greek.

Although on p. 14 Bacon calls β 'vita', on pp. 33, 35 and 95 he or his copyist writes BITA. The epsilon (e) is called EPEMPTE (5th letter of the alphabet. The λ is called both LAMBDA and LABDA (p. 14). λαμπας is sounded LAMBAS and παντ ος Pandos and τον κυριον sounds TONGIRION (p. 48). The whole book is worth attentive study.

Our Catholic humanists of the late 15th and early 16th centuries were not paganizing pedants. On the contrary they recognized Greek as a living language and sought native speakers for their instruction, just as Bacon had done.

Their aim was not mere secular learning, but learning devoted, as it should ever be, to the cause of Christ. 'William Lily . . . some ten years older than More . . . after graduating at Oxford . . . had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He stayed at Rhodes . . . and learnt Greek there from the refugees who had sought shelter under the strong arm of the Knights of St. John. On the way back he was able to perfect this knowledge by studying at Rome' (R. W. Chambers, *St. Thomas More* i, 78).

Writing on the discoveries made by five years' work on the *Codex Sinaiticus*, T. C. Skeat, Assistant Keeper of the department of MSS in the British Museum says: 'By the fourth century the pronunciation of Greek had largely approximated to that of the modern language, many of the ancient vowels having changed their quality so as to become mutually indistinguishable, while important consonantal changes added to the confusion from which one of the scribes employed had suffered. (*Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 11 Jan. 1938).

H. E. G. Rope