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S. URSULA AND THE ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS, MM.

On the south wall of the chancel of S. Ursula's Church at Cologne is

¹ "Amoni patri sancti Samsonis frater fuit Umbraphel nomine, et Annæ matri ejus soror fuit Afrella nomine." *Vita 2da S. Samsonis*, ed. Plaine, i, c. 1; *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 6.

² "Frater ejusdem Ammonis videns fratrem suum caput tondentem, et omnes facultates suas pauperibus erogantem et uxorem suam viduitatis ordinem recipientem ac Deo omnipotenti et sancto Samsoni placentem, in totum se vovit offerre Deo et omnia sua ei eroganda. Nam et uxor ejus tali sorte, sicut Anna fecerat antea, Deo deservire devovit, quod postea implevit." *Vita 2da S. Samsonis*, i, c. 9; *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, i, c. 12. ⁴ O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vii, p. 430.

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a flat slab of limestone, measuring 20 inches by 28 inches, that bears an inscription. There is no division between most of the words, though here and there are dots. The inscription is as follows:—

Divinis Flammeis visionib(us) frequenter
admonit(us) et virtutis magnæ mai
istatis martyrii caelestium virgin(um)
imminentium ex partib(us) Orientis
exsibitus pro voto Clematius v.c. de
proprio in loco suo hanc basilicam
voto quod debebat a fundamentis
restituit. Si quis autem super tantam
maiestatem huius basilicæ vbi sanc
tæ virgines pro nomine Christi san
guinem suum fuderunt corpus alicuius
deposuerit exceptis virginib(us) sciat se
sempiternis Tartarii ignib(us) puniendum.

The inscription has given occasion to much dispute as to how it is to be translated, as it is ambiguous in places. The *virtutis* in the second line has been supposed to be a sculptor's error for *virtutib(us)*.

Flammeis visionibus probably means menacing visions.

virtus is used as equivalent to *δύναμις*, and signifies miraculous power.

imminentium stands for *instantium*, *urgentium*.

ex partibus Orientis, if taken with *imminentium*, signifies that the virgins appeared in vision from the East. If taken with *exsibitus* . . . *Clematius*, that Clematius came from the East.

v.c. stands for *vir clarissimus*, a man of Consular rank.¹

de proprio, out of his own means.

in loco suo, on its original site, hardly, as has been usually read, on his own estate.

exceptis virginibus does not mean that unmarried girls may be buried in the church, but that no bodies are to be permitted to be within the walls save those of the Virgin Martyrs. The inscription may be thus translated:—

"Frequently admonished by flaming visions, and (conscious) of the miraculous virtue of the great majesty of the Martyrium of the celestial virgins urging him, appearing from the East, according to his vow, Clematius, a man of illustrious rank, out of his own means, on its original site, rebuilt from the foundations the basilica, in consequence of a vow. Should any one, on account of the great majesty of the basilica, where the holy virgins shed their blood for Christ, lay here the

¹ The official grades were—1, The Illustres; 2, The Spectabiles; 3, The Clarissimi; 4, The Perfectissimi; 5, The Egregii. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Oxford, 1880, i, p. 208.

body of any one, the virgins only excepted, let him know that he will be punished with eternal fire."

The genuineness of this inscription has been disputed.¹ It has been acknowledged as such by De Rossi, Le Blant, de Ritschl, Krauss, and other high authorities. It cannot be later than 406, when Cologne fell into the hands of the Ripuarian Franks. In lettering it resembles inscriptions at Rome and throughout the Latin West before the capture of the Eternal City by Attila, after which lettering and character of tumulary and other inscriptions underwent a great change. It is commented on by a preacher not later than 834, who quotes one half of it, and shows that it was at that time not thoroughly understood, some supposing that *ex partibus Orientis* meant that the Virgins came from the East.

From this inscription we learn certain things:—

1. That actually at Cologne there had been Virgin Martyrs.
2. That a martyrium had been erected over their bodies.
3. That this martyrium had been ruined, and was rebuilt from the foundations by Clematius.

And we may infer that the Christians of Colonia Agrippina were in the habit of burying their dead about this martyrium, and that it was necessary to make severe threats to prevent them from invading the sanctuary itself.

What Clematius does not tell us is the names of the Virgin Martyrs, nor when, nor how they suffered. He implied that they were few, some three or four. Had they been many he would certainly have used some expression to signify this.

We hardly venture to offer a suggestion as to the date of the Martyrdom.

We can account for the destruction of the *sacellum*, and give its date.

In 355 the Franks destroyed Colonia Agrippina. Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary, says, "In that district there was no city or fortress to be seen, except that near Coblentz . . . and likewise a single tower near Cologne." The barbarians had destroyed as well Strasburg, Spire, Worms and Mainz; "all were in their hands; they established themselves in the suburbs, for the barbarians shunned fixing themselves in towns, regarding them as graves surrounded by nets."²

Julian entered the devastated territory, drove out the Franks and restored the fortifications of Cologne and the other towns to the best of

¹ A Riese: Die Inschrift des Clematius, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1909, supposes that the second part of the inscription was added after 852; and then the completed inscription re-cut by a lapidary. See *Analecta Bolland.* T. xxx, p. 362.

² Amm. Marcell., xvi, cc. 2, 3.

DIVINIS FLAMMEIS VISIONIBUS REQUER
ADMONIT. ET VIRTUTIS MAGNA EMAN
IESTATIS MARTYRII CAELESTIVM VIRGIN
IMMINENTIVM EXPARTIB. ORIENTIS
EXSIBIT VSPROVOTO CLEMATIVS VC DE
PROPRIO INLO COSVOHANC BASILICAM
VOTOQVODDE BEBATA FVNDAMENTIS
RESTITVITS IQVISAVEMSVPERTANTAM
MAIESTATEM HVIVSBASILICAE VBI SAN
TAE VIRGINE SPRONOMINE XPI SAN
CVINEM SVMEVDERVNT CORPV SALICIVS
DEPOSVERIT EXCEPTIS VIRGINIBUS CIATSE
SEMPETER NISTARTARIICNIB PVNIENDX

S. URSULA: THE INSCRIPTION OF CLEMATIUS, COLOGNE.



THE TREASURY OF THE BONES OF S. URSULA AND HER COMPANIONS AT COLOGNE.

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his ability, with the inadequate means at his disposal. But it was not till 375 that Valentinian I undertook a systematic fortification of the Rhenish frontier.¹

In 406, as Stilicho had withdrawn the legions from the Rhine for the defence of Italy against the Goths, the Franks poured across the river, sacked and destroyed all the cities on the left bank, Cologne among them, and swept over Gaul, carrying destruction everywhere. Thenceforth Cologne and the whole Rhine frontier ceased to belong to the Empire.

It is consequently incredible that the rebuilding of the church of the Virgin Martyrs at Cologne by Clematius can have taken place after 406. It must have occurred between the dates 356 and 406, perhaps at the general reconstruction under Valentinian in 375, for the martyrdom had been wrecked by the Franks in 355.

But who was Clematius? The name is Greek, and was not uncommon. Libanius mentions at least four in his epistles. One had an agreeable stepmother, the same probably as the Clematius mentioned by Ammianus as having been killed by his stepmother because he rejected her advances. He was a noble of Alexandria.² Another was an ardent pagan, much addicted to sacrifices.³ A third had attended his lectures, went to the Euphrates in a campaign against the Persians, spent the summer of 355 in Antioch,⁴ and then passing through Nicæa and Nicomedia⁵ went to the Rhine carrying with him a letter from Libanius to Barbatio, who had been appointed to the command of the legions there, after the death of Silvanus, who had been assassinated in the August of that year.

He arrived during the winter of 355-6, and returned some time before Barbatio was put to death in 359.⁶

If we could take the passage in the inscription, "ex partibus Orientis exsibitus," as referring to Clematius, instead of "imminentium ex partibus Orientis," so referring to the Virgins, it might apply to the friend of Libanius.

"In loco suo" has been usually taken to signify "in suo fundo," on his own estate. But this presents a difficulty. As we shall see in the sequel the Church of S. Ursula is situated in the midst of the pagan cemetery outside the walls of the Roman city; and it is hard to understand how that this common cemetery should have been on private property. We may almost certainly take the words to mean "on the original site."

¹ Amm. Marcell, xxx, c. 7.

² *Ibid.*, xiv, c. 1.

³ *Libanii Sophistæ Epistolæ*, ed. Wolf, ep. 1384.

⁴ *Ibid.*, epp. 1239, 1215.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ep. 1239.

⁶ *Ibid.*, epp. 470, 1215.

Considering how general was the use of Clematius as a name, we cannot feel satisfied that the rebuilder of the church was the man who came from the East in 355-6.

S. Severinus was Bishop of Colonia at the time of, or just before, the capture of the city in 406. The see remained vacant for almost a century.

The first letter of Salvian shows us what was the condition of Cologne shortly after its fall. The Roman population had not been massacred, as seems to have been the case in 355, nor was it driven away; its condition, however, was one of extreme hardship. The citizens were at first treated as prisoners of war, and were reduced by the Germans to slavery. At a later period, some of them obtained their freedom, but all their possessions had been confiscated. A kinswoman of Salvian, an aged widow, once wealthy, was constrained to earn her bread as a day-labourer. Whoever was able fled the city, but there were not a few who were unable to do so. The destruction of Cologne as a *civitas* was complete, but the population remained, reduced in numbers, and crushed. Christianity lingered on, with ruined churches, and perhaps without clergy, till little by little the Ripuarian Franks became influenced by the religion of Christ, and finally accepted it.

The next notice we have of the Church of the Virgin Martyrs is in the Life of Cunibert, Bishop of Cologne, 623-63, but which was not written till the beginning of the ninth century. In this it is said, "Quadam autem die dum juxta morem in Sanctarum Virginum basilica annua solemnitate missam celebraret," etc.¹

Then ensues a long gap.

The silence is broken by the voice of a preacher, whose "Sermo in natali" is a valuable record of the condition of flux in which was public opinion at Cologne at his time relative to the Virgin Martyrs.

De Buck, the Bollandist, as we think justly, from internal evidence places the publication of this sermon between 731 and 834.²

It was preached by a priest of Cologne, for he speaks of its citizens as "nostrates."

The preacher is remarkably candid; he frankly admits how little was then known of the saints concerning whom he preached. He asserts that the virgins suffered at Cologne, but were not natives of Cologne, and that they were very many in number. He speaks of them as "Virginum agmina," "multitudo," "turmae," "exercitus," "chorus"; and in one passage as "tot millia" (c. 11), and he likens

¹ Surius, *Vitæ SS.*, Nov. 11.

² *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct. T. ix, pp. 78-9; Klinkenberg, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxxix, pp. 113, et seq.

them to the twelve legions of angels (c. 2). He says expressly that nothing whatever was known of their previous life. "Neque abs re esse putandum est quod earum conversatio vel prima vel media nobis nota est" (c. 2). And again: "Gradus autem et profectuum ordines, quibus ad hanc arcem (cœli) de virtute in virtutem, adscendendo pervenerant, secreto quo voluit (Deus) a nobis nunc usque celavit" (c. 4). He asserts that the acts of these martyrs had not been written at the time of their passion, and that what had been written since was pure conjecture. "Plurima per opinionis conjecturam probantur esse conscripta: quibus tamen nulla unquam autoritas refragata est" (c. 5). He is not, however, disposed wholly to reject what was said as being mere fiction.

Then he proceeds to say that floating tradition about them is guess-work only, and that owing to the incursions of the barbarians all authentic record is lost. "Factum est ut earundem sanctarum virginum memoria post incursum Sanctorum corporum custodem ecclesiam paulatim ab ore primum, deinde ab ipso pectore religiosi dudum populi laberetur" (c. 8). The neglect was so great that Clematius, whose date the preacher misconceives, rebuilt the fallen basilica (c. 9).

He incidentally argues that the inscription of Clematius has been wrongly interpreted. It was *he* who came from the East and not the Virgins, as was generally supposed; and he combats the popular reading of the text that Clematius was the owner of an estate at Cologne (cc. 6, 7, 8).

He goes on to say that probably the opinion of some, that the Virgins came from Britain, is correct. "Plures autem. . . Britanniam insulam tradunt hujus. . . multitudinis genetricem et nutricem pariter extitisse" (c. 12).

Then he proceeds to show how that, according to Bede's testimony, the British suffered under the persecution of Maximian (and Diocletian), and that probably these Cologne martyrs were refugees from Britain at that time (c. 13).

Among them it was reported that there was a king's daughter, named Vinnosa, whom the people of Cologne (*nostrî*) called Pinnosa (c. 14). But, he adds, very few of the names were preserved. "Quarum paucissimas nomine. . . cognoscimus."

All that the preacher could assert with confidence was what he drew from the Clematian inscription. Even the assertion that the virgins were strangers who came to Cologne he borrowed from the popular interpretation of the words "Virginum imminentium ex partibus Orientis," although he disputed the application. Everything else was conjecture. But he suspected that British tradition would be

found to agree with the conjecture formed at Cologne. "In qua sententia concordant proculdubio et hi qui sanctum agmen misisse dicuntur" (c. 9). And he says that their presence in Batavia, which lies between Britain and Cologne, was attested by highly characteristic tokens, "convenientissimis signorum indiciiis."

Of about the same period but a little later is the *Officium proprium* of the virgin martyrs. Earlier it cannot be, because it is framed on the Roman model, and it was through the insistence of Charlemagne that the Gallican Offices were displaced by the Roman. Moreover, the preacher above quoted would hardly have ventured to repudiate openly the statement made in the Office that the virgins came from the East, had that been authoritatively employed in his day and in the church where he preached.

In one antiphon in the Office the number of the virgins is given as eleven thousand, but this is certainly an alteration or interpolation of a much later date. The third antiphon for Lauds is: "Quæ divino nutu a partibus Orientis exhibitæ pro Christi nomine fudere cruorem, quia nunquam in persecutione potuerunt divelli ab ejus confessione." The fifth antiphon runs: "Clematius igitur vir clarissimus, voto quo debebat a fundamentis sanctum templum erexit, in quo et virgines venerantur merita, et populorum laudantium Deum concurrat frequentia."

This office contradicts the popular supposition that the virgins came from Britain, and accepts the rendering of the inscription that derives them from the East. It is noteworthy that not a single name is given in it, not even that of Pinnosa. When the Office was drawn up nothing was known of the virgins other than what could be derived from the Clematian inscription, and popular guesses were too unsubstantiated to be adopted into a grave liturgical office. This was, however, so little to the taste of Cologne, at a later period, that the Office underwent revision and interpolation. The third antiphon for Lauds was altered to—"Quæ divino nutu e Britannia Romam profectæ, pro Christi nomine," etc.

About the year 847 Wandalbert of Prüm composed a metrical martyrology, and on October 21 he has:—

"Tunc numerosa simul Rheni per littora fulgent
Christo Virgineis erecta trophæa manipulis,
Agrippinæ urbi quarum furor impius olim
Millia mactavit ductricibus incluta sanctis."

Here we have the virgin martyrs raised to a thousand, and they are represented as leaders.

It is open to question whether this entry is not a later addition to

the martyrology of Wandalbert. It has been so regarded by Oskar Schade.¹

Usuardus in his Martyrology, written in 860, on October 20 has:—"Civitate Colonia passio sanctarum Virginum Marthæ et Saulæ, cum pluribus."

The preacher "in Natali" had said, "potuit quippe fieri, ut in tanto earum numero, conjugata quælibet esset, aut vidua . . . nam, quis unquam omnium mulierum, non dicimus tantummodo virginum multitudinem tantam, sine sexus alterius intermixtione crederet convenisse?" (c. 2). Consequently the "cum pluribus" of Usuardus may apply to the mixed multitude, male and female, wives and widows, of whom the virgins were the "ductrices."

Usuardus furnishes us with two names in addition to that given us by the preacher.

A charter of 867 of Lothair II mentions a cloister "beatarum virginum" at Cologne, but neither names any one of the virgins nor gives their number.

It is somewhat remarkable that a ninth century calendar of the Cathedral Church of Cologne should contain no entry of the virgin martyrs till it was inserted at a much later date by another hand.²

A Litany in the Cathedral Library at Cologne, of the end of the ninth century, names Martha, Saula, Sambatia, Saturnina, Gregoria, and Pinnosa.

A Missal at Essen, drawn up between 873 and 891, on October 21, has the entry: "Sancti Hilarionis, et Sanctarum XI virginum, Ursulæ, Sentia, Gregoriæ, Pinnosæ, Marthæ, Saulæ, Britulæ, Saturninæ, Rabaciæ, Saturiæ, Palladiæ." The same eleven names occur in a Cologne codex of 950-1000, but in a different order.³

Here, for the first time, do we meet with the name of Ursula. A chronicle of S. Trond, of the beginning of the twelfth century, mentions only eleven virgin martyrs of Cologne.

The latest liturgical text giving eleven as the number is a sequence, of the end of the fourteenth century, at Münstereifel.

"Te tinxerunt et sanxerunt	Gereonis cum bis nonis
Ursulæ martyrium	Trecentena contio
Et sanctarum sociarum	Et Maurorum trecentorum
Undenarum virginum,	Sexaginta passio." ⁴

¹ *Die Ursula Sage*, Hannover, 1854, p. 18.

² Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, i, p. 448; Stein, *Die heilige Ursula*, in *Ann. hist. Vereins f. d. Niederrhein*, 1874.

³ Binterim, *Kalendarium Ecclesiæ Germanicæ Coloniensis sæculi noni*, Cologne, 1824. Another Essen Calendar gives the full number, 11,000.

⁴ Kehrein, *Lat. Sequenzen d. Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1873, p. 319.

We come now to two Cologne legends: "Fuit tempore pervetusto," and "Regnante Domino." It has been disputed as to which is the most ancient. The Bollandist Fathers regard "Fuit tempore pervetusto" as the earlier,¹ but Dr. Klinkenberg puts it in the second place,² so also did De Buck, who, however, had not seen the important prologue.

We have no doubt in our minds that the Bollandists are right in their contention.

In the prologue to the Legend "Fuit tempore pervetusto" the author dedicates his work to Gero, Archbishop of Cologne (969-76).

He says that he was one day praying in the church of the virgins when it came into his head that the presence there of such a crowd of martyrs was remarkable, and what was quite as remarkable was that no record old or new existed relative to their lives and passion. "Præcipue igitur in hoc mens dubia hærebat, quia nulla veterum pagina in hoc mundi climate nec moderni temporis series hactenus id elucubra-verat." Possessed by this idea, he called at the convent that adjoined the church,³ and inquired there. The nuns then informed him that, some years ago, a Count Hoolf had been sent to England to negotiate a marriage between the Emperor Otho I and Emma, daughter of Edward the Elder. This marriage took place in 929, so that Hoolf must have been in England in 928 or early in 929. Whilst there he visited Dorobernus (Canterbury), where he met Archbishop Dunstan (Dunstan), who, adds the writer, still illuminates the church with his virtues.

Here either the nuns who told the story, or the writer, made a mistake. Dunstan was archbishop from 961 to 988, and in 928 was only about four years old. The head of the Metropolitan see at the time was Wulfhelm. The nuns in the forty years or so that had elapsed since the visit of Hoolf had forgotten the archbishop's name and substituted for it the more noted name of the contemporary Dunstan.

Whilst the Count was at Canterbury, in an interview with the Archbishop, the latter began to boast of the many and great miracles wrought by the local saints, "sicut est moris omnibus paene episcopis," whereupon Hoolf entered on the topic of the Virgins of Cologne, "ventum est . . . ad historiam sanctarum Coloniensium virginum." Then the Archbishop told him a story about them, which he thirstily drank in, and on his return to Germany retailed to the nuns. These did not commit his narrative to writing, but when, more than forty years later, they found a man of letters interested in the matter,

¹ *Analecta Boll.*, iii, pp. 5-6.

² Wetzer u. Welte, *Kirchen lexikon*, 1901, s.v. *Ursula*; also Klinkenberg in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxxix.

³ The earliest notice we have of the existence of this convent is in 922.

they requested him to write down the story as it had been told to them.

Now as Hoolf heard the legend in 928 or 929, and the story was committed to writing between 969 and 976, it is evident that as some forty-five or forty-eight years had intervened, abundance of time had been afforded for the nuns to allow their imaginations to embroider the tale as received from the Count, and work into it some of the floating local legends.

The story as told by this anonymous author is as follows:—

There lived in very ancient times in Britain a king whose name is unknown: "rex cujus nominis notam mundana occuluit antiquitas" (c. 1), who was instructed in the laws of God and the Catholic faith. He was married, and Heaven granted to him a daughter who was named Ursula, "quia immensis ursi rabiem, videlicet diaboli, erat debellatura."

As Ursula grew up, the fame of her beauty and virtues reached the ears of a pagan king, who sent an embassy to demand her hand for his son, and threatened, in the event of refusal, to invade Britain and to lay it waste with fire and sword.

The father of Ursula was sorely perplexed. He had not the forces at command to withstand the threatened invasion, and he shrank from giving his daughter to a pagan.

However, Ursula relieved him in his distress by thus elegantly addressing him: "Tu, secundum carnis putredinem meus genitor!" and bidding him propose to the father of the suitor prince that between them they should provide ten noble damsels and eleven ships, and a thousand virgins of inferior rank to fill the ships, and that they should sail the seas for three years, after which God would provide.

The proposal was accepted with alacrity, and damsels were swept together from every quarter. Among them was Pinnosa, daughter of a certain duke. Here we have an importation of the Cologne legend into the story derived from England.

When all was ready, the virgins mounted the eleven vessels, for the sea was hard by where lived the king, and then was to be seen an admirable exhibition of the damsels going through their nautical evolutions to the gratification of the king and the public who looked on from the shore.

Having shown their skill, they sailed the seas in an aimless manner for three years, and then a wind arose which wafted them into the haven of Tile, on one of the arms of the Rhine, and after a brief tarry there, they were carried further up the river to Cologne, where again they halted, and then proceeded as far as Basle, where they left their ships and went forward on foot to Rome. Thence they returned in

the same manner to Basle, where they found their vessels uninjured. They went on board and were swept down the stream to Cologne, which happened at this time to be invested by the Huns, who at once slaughtered the Eleven Thousand. After the investment was at an end the inhabitants of the city issued from their gates and buried the bodies of the martyrs. Then the writer gives us the Clematian inscription entire, set up, as he informs us, "nondum longo post tempore" (c. 17).

All, however, had not been massacred on the same day, for one of the damsels, named Cordula, had lain concealed in a boat, but her conscience smote her, and she issued forth on the morrow, and was also slain by the Huns. This supplement, the writer says, was due to a revelation made to Helintrudis, a nun of Heerse, of whose virtues some were still alive to testify.

The date of the death of Helintrudis is not certainly known, but it must have taken place a generation before the story was committed to writing.

The style of the author is laboured and ornate, to such an extent that his meaning is not always clear. It was due to this that the Legend was rewritten, and that we possess the version beginning "Regnante Domino," which obtained an extensive circulation, so that the copies in the libraries of Europe are "unzählig" as Potthast remarks, and which supplanted and caused to be forgotten the clumsy composition "Fuit tempore pervetusto."

We should hardly have supposed that the priority of this latter legend to the other would have been questioned, but as it has been by Dr. Klinkenberg it is necessary that we should state our reasons for giving it the first place.

The author distinctly asserts that there was no extant record of the story of the virgins, whether ancient or modern, when he wrote. This he could not have stated had the legend "Regnante Domino" been then in existence.

He gives us his authority—the tale told by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Count Hoolf, which tale Hoolf related to the nuns of the cloister attached to the church of the virgins, and from them he took it down. The author of the legend "Regnante Domino" gives us no authority at all; and he follows the writer of "In tempore pervetusto" step by step even down to the appendix concerning the revelation of the nun Helintrudis.

The writer of the legend "In tempore pervetusto" tells us that the name of the father of Ursula was unknown. The author of "Regnante Domino" gives the name as *Deonotus* which he manufactures out of a passage in the "Sermo in Natali." That preacher had said "Plures

... Britanniam insulam tradunt hujus *Deo notæ* multitudinis generatricem et nutricem pariter exstitisse."

He enlarges on, and explains passages in, the other legend. We have already quoted that in which the earlier author describes the naming of Ursula. The author of "Regnante Domino" gives it thus: "Huic itaque, quia exemplo David immanem ursum, scilicet diabolum, quandoque suffocatura erat, Deo disponente, qui quos prædestinat, vocat, a parentibus illi in baptisinate, præsagium nomen Ursulæ inditum est."

The coarse address of Ursula to her father was softened down by the writer of "Regnante Domino" into the unobjectionable "Mi pater!"

He makes his story more graphic and interesting. The evolutions of the damsels on their ships before the admiring crowd of spectators is thus given by the two writers.

Fuit tempore pervetusto.

9. Proinde paratis navibus cum armorum supplemento, altum petierat, erat igitur mare contiguum venerabilis Christi athletarum cuneus, et ut animo libuit lusum diebus singulis exercebat.

Aliquando vero ad meridiem usque, cum in centro sol positus, majores lineas ascenderet æris, interdum ad nonam vel vespere sæpe etiam totum solem ludo consummantes suis satisfecerant votis. Cumque rex piissimus et divina spiritus alimmate perunctus aliique venerabilium personarum totius boni quamplures cupidi ad hoc missi spectaculum, qualiter Deo devotæ puellæ virginitatis cingulum præoptatis lusibus consecrarent, crebro intuerentur, favoribus quibus poterant virginitati applaudebant amori.

Regnante Domino.

9. Post hæc dato signo, quia mare contiguum est, raptim ad naves convolant, armentaque explicant, altumque petentes, modo concursibus, modo discursibus, interdum fugam, interdum bellum simulant, omnique ludorum genere exercitate, nihil, quod animæ occurrisset, intentatum reliquunt, sicque per dies singulos puellariter palæstrizantes, aliquando circa meridiem, aliquando ad nonam, aliquando die toto in ludis assumpto, ad vespere reversæ sunt.

Ad hujusmodi ergo spectaculum pius rex cum grandævis patribus, cunctisque, regni primatibus frequenter aderat: vulgus etiam promiscuum (ut semper novarum rerum cupidum est) propositis seriis suis, virgineis lusibus suis applaudebat.

It seems to us that the author of "Regnante Domino" attempted to popularize the cumbrously written story told by the other writer. That he succeeded is certain. He tells the same tale in the same order of events, and adds nothing save the name of the father of Ursula.

In the legend, as now given, we have a fusion of Cologne tradition, if we may so designate it, with the English fable. In Cologne there were current two stories about the virgins. One made them come from Britain, the other, based on a reading of the Clematian stone, derived them from the East.

The author of the legend, or the nuns, fused both together. They made the virgins come to Cologne from Britain, visit it, go further and

return from the East, there to suffer martyrdom. In this legend for the first time we meet with the Huns as the authors of the massacre, but Attila is not named. Nor are any other virgins named save Ursula and Pinnosa, and, in the supplement, Cordula.

Sigebert of Gemblours composed his *Chronographia* to 1112. To the date 972 his original MS. was written by his own hand, and in that occurs not a word relative to the virgin martyrs at Cologne, but at the date 453 are indications of a strip of parchment having been added later. The holes for the threads are apparent, but the strip has been lost. Its contents, however, appear in copies of the Chronicle made at a later date. The passage thus added ran as follows:—"Omnibus bellis famosius fuit bellum quod candidus sanctarum undecim millium virginum exercitus bellavit duce sancta virgo Ursula. Quæ filia unica Nothi, nobilissimi et ditissimi Britannorum principis, cum nondum nubilis a filio cujusdam ferissimi tyranni ad nuptias expeteretur, et patrem suum super hoc anxius videret, qui deum metuebat si filiam deo jam devotam nubere cogeret, et tyrannum timebat, si filiam ei denegaret: divinitus inspirata nutandi patri suasit ut tyranno assenti- retur, ea tamen illi proposita conditione, ut ipse et tyrannus decem virgines genere, forma et ætate electas sibi traderent et tam sibi quam singulis illarum mille virgines subscriberent et comparatis ad numerum ipsarum undecim trieribus inducias triennii sibi darent ad exercitium virginitatis suæ; novo usa consilio ut aut difficultate propositæ conditionis animum ejus a se averseret, aut hac opportunitate omnes coævas suas secum deo dicaret. Et ex hoc conducto virginibus trieribus et sumptibus comparatis per triennium, belli prelude cunctis mirantibus, tandem sub uno die agente vento ad portum Galliæ qui Tiela dicitur, et inde Coloniam appulsæ sunt. Ibique ex angeli monitu Romam tendentes ad urbem Basileam navibus, a Basilea Romam usque pedibus profectæ, eodem eundi tenore Coloniam sunt reversæ ab Hunnis undique obsessam. A quibus cunctæ martyrizatæ novo et mirabili modo triumpharunt et Coloniam sanguine et sepultura sua clariorem reddiderunt."

Here, obviously, we have a condensation of the legend "Regnante Deo." When Sigebert wrote his chronicle he knew nothing of the virgins, but at a later period he or some amplifier, who had read the legend, patched on this passage to the text.

We find another version of the story in Norway.

The monk Oddr wrote the Saga of King Olaf Tryggvasonar in the twelfth century, and the same story is found in the larger Olaf's Saga,¹

¹ *Fornmanna Sögur*, Hafniæ (1825), i, pp. 224-32; x, p. 282.

also in the lections for the feast of Sunnifa, of which fragments have been published by Langebeck.¹

It is to this effect.

In the days of Earl Hakon (970-95) there lived in Ireland a king who had a beautiful daughter called Sunnifa. A Northern Viking, hearing of her charms, became enamoured, and harried the coasts of Ireland, setting all in flames, because the king hesitated to accept his suit for his daughter. The damsel, to save her native land from destruction, expressed her readiness to quit Ireland. Her brother Alban and a great host of virgins joined her, and all sailed away East, trusting in God. They came ashore on the island of Selja, off the Norwegian coast, and finding it uninhabited, they settled in the caves, and lived upon fishes. But the islet served as a pasture for cattle in the summer, and when the farmers on the mainland saw people on the island, they supposed that they were pirates, and appealed to Earl Hakon to protect their pasture. The Earl at once assembled armed men and rowed to the island, but the Christian virgins fled into the caves for protection. Then the rock closed upon them, and they came forth no more alive. In the reign of Olaf Tryggvasonar, a farmer found a skull on the island of Selja, which emitted a phosphorescent light and an odour, which he was pleased to consider agreeable. He took it to the king, who submitted it to Bishop Sigurd. Both recognized the evidences of sanctity, and the king and the bishop went to the island, where they discovered the cave filled with the bones of the saintly refugees. How they found that they were Irish, and that their leaders were named Sunnifa and Alban, we are not informed. Two churches were at once erected on Selja, and dedicated to S. Sunnifa and S. Alban; miracles innumerable confirmed the conviction that the bones pertained to saints.

Heligoland was also supposed to have witnessed the Martyrdom of the Eleven Thousand. But we have no early account of the legend as attaching to this isle. We know that in 1240 it was called "insula S. Ursulæ, vulgo Helgerlandt."²

We come now to the version of the story as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his fabulous *Historia Regum Britannicæ*, that was published in 1147.

Geoffrey's story is as follows:—

"Dianotus, King of Cornwall, had succeeded his brother Caradoc in

¹ Langebeck, *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, vi, pp. 3-4, 14-22.

² Lappenberg, *Ueber den ehemaligen Umfang . . . Helgolands*, Hamburg, 1830, pp. 13, et seq. *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct. ix, pp. 291, et seq. Oskar Schade, *Die Ursula Sage*, pp. 114-9.

the Kingdom. He was a very noble and powerful prince, and to him Maximian had committed the government whilst he was employed abroad in his affairs. He had also a daughter of wonderful beauty, named Ursula, with whom Conan (Prince of the Armorican Britons) was most passionately in love."

Dianotus, having received a message from Conan that he and his young men were in want of wives, and desired a consignment from Britain, "was very willing to execute his orders, and summoned together the daughters of the nobles from all provinces to the number of eleven thousand; but of the meaner sort sixty thousand; and commanded them all to appear together in the city of London. He likewise ordered ships to be brought from all shores, to transport them to their future husbands. And though in so great a multitude many were pleased with this order, yet it was displeasing to the greater part, who had a great affection for their relatives and native country. Nor, perhaps, were there wanting some who, preferring virginity to the marriage state, would have rather lost their lives in any country than enjoy the greatest plenty in wedlock. In short, most of them had views and wishes differing from one another, had they been left to their own liberty. But now the ships being ready, they embarked, and sailing down the Thames, made towards the sea. At last as they were steering towards the Armorican coast, contrary winds arose and dispersed the whole fleet. In this storm the greater part of the ships foundered, but the women that escaped the danger of the sea were driven upon strange islands, and by a barbarous people either murdered or enslaved. For they happened to fall into the hands of the cruel army of Guanius and Melga, who by command of Gratian were making terrible destruction in Germany, and the nations of the sea-coast. Guanius was King of the Huns, and Melga of the Picts, whom Gratian had engaged in his party, and had sent them into Germany to harass those of Maximian's party along the sea-coasts. While they were exercising their barbarous rage, they happened to light upon these virgins, who had been driven on those parts, and were so inflamed with their beauty that they courted them to their brutish embraces; to which, when the women would not submit, the Ambrons fell upon them, and without remorse murdered the greatest portion of them,"¹

Geoffrey has put Maximian in place of Maximus. Conan Meriadoc, according to him, had led over the flower of the British youth to assist Maximus, who had assumed the purple. Maximus perished in 388,

¹ *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, v, cc. 15, 16. In the Welsh text, *Red Book Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 118-9, Dianotus or Dionotus (for Dinotus) is called Dunawt, later Dunod. Nothus is a decapitated form of Dinotus. Guanius and Melga are in the Welsh Gwinwas and Melwas. Cf. the Triads in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 412.

and then, according to Geoffrey, Conan and his British soldiers retreated into Armorica, which they colonized, and thenceforth it was called Lesser Britain. This portion of the story is unhistorical, and it is very doubtful whether Conan ever reached Armorica.

Geoffrey must have seen either the Legend "Regnante Domino" or some Breviary lections for the Feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins taken from it, for he adopts the name Dianotus from it for the father of Ursula. But he alters the tenor of the tale. He saw how purposeless was the collecting of the Eleven Thousand damsels, and their drifting about on the ocean for three years, and as he had planted Conan in Armorica, he made him send for the virgins, and so gave an object to their voyage. Why he made the massacre to take place on certain islands and not at Cologne we are unable to say.

When Baronius revised the Roman Breviary, he took as lessons for the feast of S. Ursula the tale from Geoffrey as the least absurd of the two principal versions of the story. But of recent years the Holy See has approved and authorized the version from "Regnante Domino" to be read in the divine offices in the Roman dioceses in England. According to this, "When Attila and his Huns were retreating after their defeat in Gaul, before crossing the Rhine, they captured Cologne, then a flourishing Christian city, and the first victims of their fury were Ursula and her British followers. They offered a determined resistance to the attempts of the Barbarians, and were all put to a cruel death, some by the sword, others being shot with arrows or crushed with beams of wood, Ursula all the while encouraging them and leading them to victory. When the Huns had retired, the people of Cologne collected their sacred remains, and buried them with honour in the place where they fell. About two centuries later a church was erected over them, to which, in course of time, a monastery was attached."

Thus, the date now approved by the Holy See is no longer 388, but 451. There is probably not a word of truth in the lesson we have just quoted, and this shall be shown in the sequel. We need not at present follow the further development of the story. We are now in a position to summarize the various schemes relative to the martyrdom of the virgins at Cologne.

Before 355. Possibly in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, i.e. in 300-4, certain virgins, few apparently in number, suffered martyrdom at Cologne. Their names are not recorded (*Inscription of Clematius*).

Before 834. No certainty relative to the martyrs, various opinions entertained, one of which was that they came from Britain flying the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, 300-4, and with

them was a British king's daughter named Vinnosa or Pinnosa (preacher *In Natali*).

Circa 840-5. Nothing known of the virgin martyrs save what was recorded on the Clematian stone. They came from the East. No names (*Officium Proprium*).

847. Numerous martyrs led by the virgins at Cologne, no names given nor time indicated when the martyrdom took place (*Wandalbert of Prüm*).

860. Martha and Saula and other martyrs (*Usuardus*).

Close of ninth century. From six to eleven virgins named. The name of Ursula first occurs (*Calendars and Litanies*).

Circa 970. The Virgin Ursula, daughter of a British king unnamed, is carried by a storm up the Rhine with eleven thousand virgins in her train to Cologne, thence they go to Rome, and on their return are massacred by the Huns. This would be in 451. This story came from England in 929, but was added to and embellished at Cologne (*Legend In tempore pervetusto*).

Circa 980. The same tale in all particulars, but the name of Ursula's father given (*Legend Regnante Domino*).

Twelfth century. Norse version. The virgin's name Sunnifa, that of her brother Alban; date end of tenth century (*Olaf's Saga*).

1147. Ursula, a British princess, leads a host of virgins to be married to Conan and his followers in Armorica. Her father's name Dinotus. Slain by Picts and Huns on some strange islands. Date, 488 (*Geoffrey of Monmouth*).

1164. The eleven thousand virgins slain at Cologne by Attila and his Huns. The name of Attila first introduced. Accepted by the Holy See as authoritative, with date 451 (*Visions of Elizabeth*).¹

Accordingly, the various dates proposed for the Martyrdom are:—

The persecution of Diocletian	300-4
The period of the defeat and death of Maximus	388
The retreat of the Huns after the Battle of Châlons	451

As the Holy See has emphatically approved of the date 451, and the retreat of the routed army of Attila as the occasion of the Martyrdom, it will be as well at once to consider the tenability of this date.

De Buck, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, laboured diligently to prove that Ursula and her Companions were slain by Attila and his Huns when in full retreat after the rout on the Catalaunian fields in 451, and that the damsels martyred were Britons flying from the swords of the Anglo-Saxons. This was not making bricks without straw, but making them

¹ Concerning her in the sequel.

of straw only. He left out all consideration of the Clematian inscription, which is the kernel about which such a vast mass of fable has accumulated. The Jutes did not arrive till 449, and they aided the Britons till 455, when the first quarrel ensued, but it was not till 463-73 that they got possession of all Kent. There would have been more probability if it had been asserted that the damsels were flying from the Picts and Scots, but then the date 451 will not serve, as that was precisely the period when the Britons, aided by the Saxons and Jutes, were successful and repelled the northern invaders. In the next place Attila and his Huns never reached Cologne either when invading Gaul or when in retreat.

For this invasion, our authorities are Jornandes' *De Rebus Geticis*, Apollinaris Sidonius, a contemporary, in his panegyric on Avitus, Gregory of Tours, who wrote his History of the Franks in 590, and the Lives of S. Genoveva, by a contemporary, of S. Lupus of Troyes, and S. Aignan of Orleans. In not one of these is there any mention of the Huns reaching Cologne.

In fact, the sole authority for their having been there is the fable of S. Ursula, composed between 969 and 976, and in that Attila is not so much as named.

Nor was it possible that Attila could invest Cologne on his way home; that he did not on his way out we know for certain.

Early in the year 451 Attila and his host quitted their seats in what is now Hungary and poured West, following the River Danube.

When the hordes reached the Black Forest they divided; the left wing crossed the Rhine below the Lake of Constance where the passage offered little difficulty, and, marching through the comparatively level Aarau by the Roman road, burnt and destroyed Augusta, so that it never again arose from its ashes; then they turned in a northerly direction, and doubtless Argentaria, now Colmar, fell. We can hardly doubt that Strasburg was ravaged, but we have to receive with the utmost caution the statement of late mediæval writers who have piled up lists of cities destroyed by the Huns, without having any documentary evidence for their assertion. Through the pass where now runs the railway the host crossed the Jura and arrived before the walls of Metz on Easter Eve (April 8).

Meanwhile, the right wing had passed north of the Black Forest through the country of the Thuringians (in Bavaria) and the Franks of the Neckar (Württemberg).¹

¹ "Turingus,
Bructerus, alvosa quem vel Nicer abluit unda
Prorumpit Francus." Sidon. Apoll., *Paneg. Avit.* v, 323-5.

These two German peoples were terrorized, or induced by hopes of plunder, to throw in their lot with the Huns. This wing crossed the Rhine on timber hewn down in the Hercynian Forest.¹

The point of passage was where there were islets breaking the stream above Mainz.

Whether the Huns and their allies took the city and destroyed it is uncertain. The usual authority for it is the Acts of S. Auræus, which are late, and leave it quite uncertain when he died, whether when the town was taken by Huns or by Visigoths; and indeed the Acts are of no historical value. The Huns are also credited with the destruction of Worms and Spire, but evidence that they did so is wanting. In like manner they are held to have captured Trèves. They may have done so, but there is no certainty.

The vast horde poured over Belgic Gaul, ravaging wherever they went. And now the Thuringians seem to have turned north, separating themselves from the Huns, to wreck and ruin their own kinsmen the Salic Franks, against whom they may have inherited some ancient grudge. They treated their women, wives and daughters, their old men and children with such barbarity that the recital of it some eighty years later roused to fury the grandson of Clovis.²

The common danger drew together into alliance with the Romans, the Armoricans, the Ripuarian Franks, the Salic Franks, the Burgundians, some Saxons probably settled in what is now Normandy, and above all the Visigoths settled in Septimania.

Aëtius was the general in command of the Western armies of the Empire. He was at Arles, ill-supported by Valentinian III, and not in a position to take the field at once and check the advance of the invaders.

Metz had fallen and had been given over to indiscriminate slaughter. The devastating flood rolled on. Rheims was captured; Paris trembled in anticipation of the arrival of the Huns; but Attila drew away his dispersed forces with resolve to march against the Visigoths, and first of all to capture Orleans.

Meanwhile, there was no organized defence. No general took the lead and drew the confederates about him. Attila knew that Aëtius was preparing to attack him, and he was desirous of taking Orleans before the Romans and the Visigoths had united. Aignan, the bishop, knowing what was in his mind, hastened to Arles to urge Aëtius to come

¹ "Cecidit cito secta bipenni Hercynia in lintres, et Rhenum texuit alvo." Sidon Apoll., *Paneg. Avit.* v, 325-6.

² "Recolite Thuringos quondam super parentes nostros violenter advenisse." Greg. Turon., *Hist. Franc.*, iii, 7.

to the aid of the city. This was promised, but Orleans was invested and on the point of falling, after a protracted siege, when the Roman legions and the Visigoths with other allies arrived on the scene. By this time the Huns had been so weakened by disease and by desertions, that they could not resist, and Attila withdrew on June 24, along the road to Châlons, and encamped on the Catalaunian Plains a few days later. Here the battle was fought that decided the fate of Gaul. He was utterly defeated, and had to retire to his bridges over the Rhine, and to make his escape to the Danube and the Pannonian marshes and plains where he had rooted himself and his Huns. As he retreated he left his track strewn with dead and wounded; and with but a remnant of his host recrossed the Rhine.¹

Aëtius with his Romans and allied Franks hovered behind the retreating Huns. The Visigoths had withdrawn after the battle of Châlons. Only a remnant of the vast host which had crossed the Rhine retreated over it again. The Salic Franks pursued, and fell on the Thuringians to revenge the atrocities committed by them in their lands in the spring.²

It was on this retreat of Attila that, according to the Roman Breviary, he turned out of his way to run his head into the lion's mouth, to invade the territories of the Ripuarian Franks, and to besiege Cologne.

Let any one look at the map. He was flying with a disorganized and reduced force to the Danube. His allies, the Thuringians, on his left flank, were being chastised by the Salic Franks, so that all the Rhine below Mainz was inaccessible to him. The siege of Orleans had been abandoned at the end of June, and yet, he is supposed to have been besieging Cologne and to have slaughtered the virgins on October 21. This is clearly impossible.

But this is not all that can be advanced against the theory. Attila, flying to return whence he had set out, could not have taken the road by Cologne and the Rhine, unless fairly besotted, and unless he deliberately sought annihilation. From Bonn to Bingen, a distance of over a hundred miles, he would have to lead his defeated and discouraged host through a series of ravines. At every point along the road he would be subject to having rocks and logs rolled down on his long file, and of having his men picked off by bowmen concealed among the crags and brushwood of the mountain side, without a possibility of retaliating, and conducting his retreat over a road that could be blocked

¹ "Attila cum paucis reversus est." Greg. Turon., *Hist. Franc.*, ii, 7. "Hunni pene ad internecionem prostrati sunt, cum rege suo Attila, relictis Gallis, fugiunt." Isidor. Hispal., *Hist. Goth.*, ap. Bouquet, i, p. 619.

² Greg. Turon., *ibid.*, iii, 7.

at every turn and held by a handful of resolute men. Beneath Rheinstein the way was so narrow that it could be closed by a gate, rock on one side, river on the other. At Coblenz, in 1252, a parcel of citizens thus arrested a whole army of Crusaders headed by the Papal Emperor William of Holland, flung some into the river, wounded and killed others, and would not let them pass till they paid toll. In a word, the story of a retreat of Attila by Cologne and up the Rhine is an impossible fiction, on the face of it.

De Buck, the Bollandist, was not able to produce a particle of evidence to show that Attila reached Cologne. He filled pages with an account of the barbarity of the Huns. That is allowed; but the question is, did they exercise their barbarity at Cologne? The sole passage he was able to call to his aid was from Fredegar: "Agecius vero cum suis, etiam Francos secum habens, post tergum direxit Chunorum, quousque Thuringia a longe prosecutus est;" and he assumes that this Thuringia is Tournay. But the writer who passes for Fredegar is an epitomist of Gregory of Tours, and, as we have seen, Gregory mentions the pursuit of the Huns by Aëtius and the Franks to Thuringia where the Salic Franks had to repay a wrong committed by the Thuringians a few months previous. Moreover, Tournay is not Cologne, nor near it.

The Bollandist Fathers have abandoned both of the positions so fought for by De Buck, that the virgin martyrs were British, and that the Huns invested Cologne in 451.¹

Stein, in his more critical investigation of the legend, accepts the martyrdom of the virgins in 300-4, as commemorated by Clematius, but he also contends, unavailingly, for a second martyrdom by the Huns in 451.²

Dr. Klinkenberg, more justly, throws over this latter martyrdom as unhistorical. "Unzweifelhaft haben die Hunnen 451 Köln nicht auf ihrem Marsche nach Gallien, und noch viel weniger nach ihrer Niederlage passirt."³

We come now to the very difficult problem of the origin of the Ursula Saga, and we can hope to do no more than offer suggestions to explain its growth.

One fact remains as the nucleus around which the fable has grown to such vast proportions.

That fact is that there actually were virgin martyrs who shed their blood for Christ at Cologne some time before 355, possibly in the perse-

¹ *Analecta Boll.*, xvi (1897), pp. 98, 167, et seq.

² Stein (A. G.), *Die heilige Ursula u. i. Gesellschaft*, Köln, 1879.

³ Wetzer u. Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, xii (1901), p. 489.

cution of 300-4. Of that fact there can be no doubt. The Clematian inscription makes it certain that there was a *martyrium* over their bodies, which had been wrecked in 355 and which he rebuilt 355-75.

One point comes out, in the "Sermo in Natali," and in the two later legends, that deserves consideration. In all reference is made to Batavia as a district visited by the virgins, and according to the "Sermo" tokens of their presence were still present when this sermon was preached. Moreover, in all these stories the martyr virgins are represented as of British origin.

Now, we know as a fact that there had been a British settlement at the mouths of the Rhine; when formed we do not know.

"Brittenburg at the mouth of the Rhine, once a Roman station, has been assigned to Briton emigrants at the time of Maximus, A.D. 387, by Courson (*Hist. des Peuples Brétons*, i, 151), and so also Camden (Gibson's ed., p. 54). And see the Dutch Chroniclers as quoted by Ussher (*Rer. Brit. Antiq.*, xii; *Works*, v, 480 seq.). There was also, it appears, a place called 'Bretangen,' on the coast of Holland, near the mouths of the Rhine. And Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iv, 31) and apparently Dionysius Periegetes (*vv.* 284-5) locate a tribe of 'Britanni' from the first century on the shores of Flanders and Picardy, which would fall in with Bede's statement (*H. E.*, i, 1) that the island Britain was colonized by Britons from Armorica, i.e. originally the whole northern as well as western shore of Gaul. And this is corroborated again, although in a confused and blundering narrative, by Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*, iv, 20), who places 'Britones' in conjunction with Frisians and Angles, either at or near the mouths of the Rhine, or in a 'Brittia,' of which he conceives as distinct from the island of Britannia, and as somewhere off the mouths of the Rhine."¹

How long this British colony lasted we do not know; but we may conjecture that it was exterminated or driven away when the Frisians, pressed forward by the Franks, occupied all the delta of the Rhine; and it is conceivable that some refugees from it may have fled to Colonia as the strongest walled Roman city within reach, and that they may have been involved in the slaughter of the inhabitants that took place when the Franks destroyed Colonia in 355. Popular tradition loses all chronological perspective, and in after times a confused remembrance of this migration and the immediately succeeding massacre, which, as the preacher intimates, included men, wives and widows as well as virgins, and may have associated itself with the martyrdom of the Virgins something over fifty years before.

We have no evidence, but this is a supposition that is plausible, and

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., ii, pt. i, p. 101.

will explain a good deal that is otherwise dark in the story. The "Sermo in Natali" gives us a picture of the confusion of men's minds in Cologne relative to the virgin martyrs at the beginning of the ninth century.

a. Some said that the virgin martyrs perished in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, 300-4.

β. Some said that they came from the East, so reading the Clematian inscription.

γ. Others affirmed that they came from Britain *via* Batavia, where traces of their settlement still remained.

δ. All agreed that there had been a massacre of great numbers, and probably men, wives, widows and virgins had been slaughtered indiscriminately.

If our suggestion be accepted, then these opinions are reconciled, excepting *β.* The virgins had suffered in the Diocletian persecution; there had been a migration of Britons to Cologne just before the taking and destruction of the city by the Franks, and there had been a general slaughter in which the British immigrants had fallen with the rest, at the hands of the Franks. The mistake made was the lumping of all this butchery together.

The compiler of the "Officium Proprium" was, however, judicious enough to discriminate, and he rejected the later "martyrdom" as not pertaining to that of the virgins commemorated by Clematius.

Popular imagination, as time went on, still worked on the theme, and the idea of the virgins as martyrs overlaid the tradition of the massacre of the inhabitants and refugees, and converted the whole number of sufferers into virgins, and the recollection of the fleet of refugee Britons sank the remembrance of the murder of the citizens.

So the story took shape that thousands of British virgins had arrived at Cologne from Batavia and had there suffered martyrdom. It must not be left out of mind that on the testimony of the preacher, and also of the author of the legend "In tempore pervetusto," there was no documentary evidence whatever relative to the martyrdom; all was floating tradition gradually consolidating, eliminating some elements, absorbing others.

It was not pleasing to the German Christians of Cologne to remember that the slaughter had been due to their own Frank ancestors. Indeed, they may have supposed that these had been incapable of committing such atrocities, and as the Huns were the bugbears of the later times, the guilt of the butchery was transferred to them.

There was another element which went to swell the fable and to popularize it. Of the Suevi, Tacitus informs us (ix), "Pars Suev-

orum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem." Tacitus gives the names of equivalent deities, known to him, in place of the German names. So he converts Wuotan and Thunnar into Hercules and Mercury. He was wrong in supposing that the worship of the goddess whom he calls Isis was a foreign cult introduced among the Suevi. This cult was in all probability not confined to the Suevi; he had, however, only heard of it as in vogue among them. In the Chronicle of S. Trond, by Rudolf, who died in 1138, is a curious and lengthy account of the making of a ship in the wood of Inda, among the Ripuarian Franks, which was placed on wheels and drawn by men to Aachen, then to Maestricht, thence to Tongern and Louvain, and so throughout the land, and was everywhere welcomed with dances and song. The clergy were highly incensed, regarding this as a relic of paganism, calling the ship "Malignorum spirituum simulacrum," "Diaboli ludibrium," and as a ship of Neptune or Mars, or Bacchus or Venus.¹

In 1843 the writer of this article saw such a ship manned, and with flags flying, drawn by horses through the streets of Cologne.

There can be little doubt that these were relics of the ancient "navigium Isidis" as practised by the Germans, and that to it was attached some legend relative to a marvellous voyage made by her, but what was her Teutonic name, and what the story told of the voyage are now lost. It is, however, almost certain that S. Ursula stepped into her place, and it is possible that in her legend some features of the old lost myth are retained.

De Buck in dealing with the story and cult of S. Ursula devotes a whole chapter to the "Navicula S. Ursulæ." This ship was a religious congregation. "Navis inter oceani fluctus emicat, cujus malus est Christi simulacrum e cruce pendentis; media in navi residet Deipara, utrimque stipata choro undecim millium virginum; proram, puppimque sancti tenent apostoli. Titulus imagini præfigitur: Sodalitas sanctæ Ursulæ Brunensis."²

It is possible that we may have another trace of the lost myth of this heathen German goddess preserved to us in the *Nibelungen Lied*. In this, Brunhild, a princess of Iceland, who, like Ursula, is repugnant to the idea of marriage, ships with a retinue of damsels to the Rhine to be married to the Burgundian King Gunther. We will quote the lines in Modern German.

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1854, i, pp. 237-40.

² Crombach, *Ursula Vindicata*, 1647, pp. 847, *et seq.*, *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct. ix, p. 294.

"Sechs und achtzig Frauen nahm mit sich das schöne Weib ;
Dazu wohl hundert Mägde, viel schön von Art und Leib ;
Sie säumten sich nicht länger ; sie wolten ziehn von dannen,
Die sie zu Hause liessen, wie zu weinen sie begannen.

"In tugendlichen Züchen die Frau räumte ihr Land ;
Sie küsst ihre nächsten Freunde, die da waren zu Hand.
Mit gutem Urlaube sie kamen auf das Meer,
Zu ihrem Vaterlande kam die Fraue nimmermehr.

"Auf ihrer Fahrt man hörte gar mannigfaltiges spiel ;
Aller Kurzweile hatten sie da gar viel.
Da kam ihnen zur Reise ein rechter Wasserwind ;
Sie fuhren von dem Lande ; das beweinte mancher Mutter-kind."
(Aventure viii.)¹

The end was tragic : the marriage led eventually to a massacre of Teutonic warriors by the Huns.

But the *Nibelungen Nôth* is a mediæval redaction in the twelfth century of various ballads that dated back to a pagan period, and which were common to the Teutons and to the Scandinavians, and were probably as familiar to the Saxons and Angles as they were to the Ripuarian Franks. The composer of the *Nibelungen Nôth* took vast liberties with the original poems, as we can see by comparing it with the lays in the *Elder Edda*, and the *Völsunga Saga*, that are steeped in rankest Paganism.

In these latter we have the form of the story as it prevailed among the Scandinavians. There Brynhildr, who becomes Brunhild in the German story, is daughter of Buðli, a king of Valland (Neustria), a Norse viking who had established himself in what is now Normandy, and she is the sister of Atli, whom the author of the *Nibelungen Nôth* has daringly identified with Attila. Moreover, Sigurðr, who wins Brynhild to become the wife of Gunnar (Gunther), a Gothic king ruling south of the Rhine, is himself a king over Hunland, though of pure Norse parentage.

Brynhild is most unwilling to become the wife of Gunnar, but she goes along with her maidens to the Rhine, and there she slays seven of her thralls, and five of her damsels, and finally herself, and all are consumed on her funeral pyre.

The author of the *Nibelungen Nôth* localized his story ; he made Gunther a Burgundian king, reigning at Worms ; Sigfried he converts from a king of the Huns to be son of the King of the Netherlands, and Brunhild he brings from Iceland. Atli, whom he transforms into Attila, he places on the Danube in Hungary.

He gave to the whole a Christian and a chivalrous character, effaced

¹ *Der Nibelungen Noth*, ed. Pfäfer, Stuttgart, 1843, p. 104.

the traces of Paganism, softened down the ferocious barbarism of the original story, and furnished it with a pseudo-historic basis, by the introduction into it of historic characters, Attila, and Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, regardless of chronology.

In the original tale, as we have it in the *Edda* and the *Völsunga Saga*, Brynhild comes to the Rhine to marry Gunnar, King of the Goths, who are located to the south of it. She induces her husband and brothers-in-law to murder Sigurd, who is married to Gudrun (Kriemhild in the *Nibelungen Lied*), and then destroys herself and her retinue, as already described. Then her brother Atli marries Gudrun, and carries her off to his realm Valland, in France. Atli then invites the brothers of Gudrun to a feast in his kingdom, and has them all massacred there. Whereupon Gudrun, in revenge, murders her own sons by Atli and kills Atli with her own hand.

No one who has read the *Nibelungen Nôth* can fail to see what liberties the author took with the tale. But it is possible enough that already, in the mouths of the people, the old cycle of Brynhild had undergone modification, had been softened, Christianized, and that the localizations of the three families, the Völsungs, the Gjukungs, and the Budlings, had been changed.

And the same process may have gone on with the story in England. Brynhild throughout attracts the sympathy of the reader or hearer of the Saga ; she is the ill-used person, and on her ill-usage the story turns, and this leads to the final catastrophe.

It is possible that Wulfhelm, the Saxon Archbishop, may have retained in his mind some threads of the old Saga, and that in its passage through his brain, it may have become even more altered than it has in the *Nibelungen Nôth* : that the damsel Brynhild, so unwilling to be married, may have been unwittingly converted by him into a Christian virgin, who had vowed perpetual chastity ; he may have recalled that she sailed with her damsels to the Rhine, that there she and they were involved in an untimely death ; that Atli and the Huns were somehow mixed up with the story, and that there was a general massacre of the Teutonic warriors at the end.¹

Whether something of the same sort of thing had been going on in Germany, whether the original tale had undergone fissure and transformation on one side into the *Nibelungen Nôth*, and in the other into

¹ *Sæmundar Edda*, ed. Th. Möbius, Leipz., 1860, pp. 120-96 ; English translation by Thorpe, London, 1866, ii, pp. 39-107. *Fornaldur Sögur*, Copenh. 1829, i, pp. 174-224 ; 332-8 ; ii, 11. Thierry, *Hist. d'Attila*, Paris, 1856, ii, pp. 297-358, has given German and Scandinavian traditions respecting Attila ; but he depends largely on the *Wilkina Saga*, which is late, and is derived from German sources.

an ecclesiastical legend of Ursula, can only be matter of conjecture.

We offer this as a possible solution of the origin of this legend, as it shaped itself about the bones of the genuine martyrs at Cologne, who suffered presumably in the persecution of Diocletian.

We return to the legend beginning "In tempore pervetusto," derived from Archbishop Wulfhelm of Canterbury in 928 or 929, but not committed to writing till about forty-five years later, and then the story as it came from Wulfhelm had been fused with Cologne traditions.

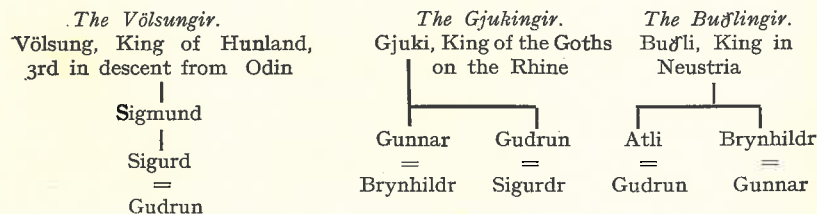
Dr. Klinkenberg has argued that the story is a Celtic-British tale or myth that was brought to Cologne, where it coalesced with one of the traditions there current.

But this we can hardly admit. We are distinctly informed that it came from a Saxon archbishop in that part of England from which the Britons had been exterminated or expelled. He was one of the very last persons to have been acquainted with British legends. Bede, who was nearer to where the British were strong, was profoundly ignorant of their traditions.

Moreover, as we have shown, Geoffrey of Monmouth derived his story from the legend "Regnante Domino," whilst materially altering it, and the Welsh knew nothing of Ursula and her attendant virgins till they received the tale from him. Nennius says not one word about it, nor does Gildas, nor does she enter into any of the Welsh saintly or secular genealogies. In Brittany she and Conan owe their introduction to Geoffrey alone.

The story is English. Wulfhelm must have had his memory quickened by what Hoolf said to him, and he recalled some half-forgotten ballad or legend he had heard in early days, and which in passing through his mind received an ecclesiastical character. The story as put together by him and Hoolf, and further expanded by the nuns of the Church of the Virgins, finally received shape when committed to writing in the legend "In tempore pervetusto." The introduction of the

which are fused with the Norse traditions. In his prologue and elsewhere the author states as much. The three families are:—



Huns into the story may rest on a confusion. Slavonic people are meant in the *Edda* and the *Völsunga Saga* by this name.

As far as we can gather from the Sagas, east of Denmark was Saxaland, then Vindland, the land of the Wends, then Hunaland. Sigurd's great-great-grandfather, Sigi, son of Odin, conquered the Huns and established himself king over them. Helmold says: "Haec (sc. Russia) etiam Chunigard dictus eo quod ibi sedes Hunnorum primo fuerit." But these are certainly not the Huns of history. Bede also speaks of "Frisiones, Rugini, Dani, Hunni, antiqui Saxones, Boructuarii" as occupying Germany.¹ And Cedrenus names together "Οἱ Οὐννοὶ καὶ οἱ Σκλαβινοί."²

Whence came the name Ursula, which is associated late with the story, and supplants that of Pinnosa?

Is it a form of Hörsel, who is supposed to be the equivalent to Perchta or Hulda, a Teutonic goddess? We cannot tell, but philologically Ursula cannot be derived from Hörsel, and the evidence for a goddess Hörsel is lacking.³

No early Martyrology contains the memorial of the Virgin Martyrs of Cologne. They do not occur in that attributed to Jerome, published by d'Achery. Bede knew nothing of them, and he was born in 672, and he states that he had included all the names of those of whom he had read.⁴ The old Corbey Calendar, composed in or about 831, is also silent relative to these virgins. Neither are they in the Martyrology of Hrabanus Maurus, who died in 856. Ado, in his Martyrology in 880, is silent concerning them. Notker of S. Gall, who died in 912, does not record them. Nor, as we have seen, were they included in the early Calendar of the Cathedral Church of Cologne. The entry in Wandalbert's metrical martyrology may be an addition of a later date. It was not till after the publication of the legend "Regnante Domino," that had an extensive circulation, that Ursula and her Eleven Thousand Virgins were introduced into most of the Western Calendars and Breviaries.

We come now to a point alluded to at the beginning of this article,

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, v, c. 10.

² Schaffarik, *Slawische Alterthümer*, i, pp. 328-9. The Hunland ruled by Norse adventurers recurs several times in the heroic Sagas, and is represented as somewhere on the Baltic, east of Saxaland. But in *Asmundar Saga Kapfabana* it is situated on the Rhine, and the King Hildibrand travels up the Rhine to meet in fight the rival viking Asmund. *Fornaldur Sögur*, ii, p. 484.

³ Sir J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 174, suggests Ursula might be regarded as a dawn-goddess, and the virgins her priestesses.

⁴ Bede's name is given to this Martyrology, but it was composed or completed within a few years after his death.

the situation of the Church of the Virgins in an ancient cemetery. It stood outside the walls of Colonia Agrippina.¹ And about it was the place of pagan sepulture of the Roman town.

Numerous Roman tumulary relics and inscriptions have been found there, of which many are now in the city Museum. Some of these were discovered in 1643, when the foundations were dug for the "Golden Chamber." Later excavations made in 1866 show that on the north and east sides of the church pagan interments had been very numerous. There were sarcophagi and cists containing the ashes of such as had been burnt, and a small statue of a goddess was also exhumed. Christian oriented graves were also found, as might have been expected near so famous a martyr-shrine. But the most interesting discovery was a columbarium, or family mausoleum, with niches for the urns containing ashes; and among these was one with which were laid female ornaments and the fragments of a glass vessel with gilt inlaid representations of Scriptural subjects, such as Daniel in the lions' den. Susanna, Jonah, the Three Children in the Furnace, and the Healing of the Paralytic. These are now in the British Museum.²

The finding of these with incinerated remains seems to show that the dead woman had been a Christian, but that her family had conducted the funeral in a pagan manner. The first elevation of relics took place, according to his ninth century Life, by Bishop Cunibert, about 663. Whilst he was celebrating the Divine Mysteries in the Church of the Virgins, a white dove was seen, and it vanished at a spot where Cunibert dug and found bones, which he at once concluded were those of one of the virgins.

The next was the "invention" of a vast number by the Abbot Gerlach of Deutz and his factotum Theodoric, the porter of the monastery. In 1105 the Emperor Henry IV, when flying from his revolted sons, was received into Cologne, and then the citizens, anticipating a siege, set to work to extend their walls, and carried the foundations near the Church of the Virgins. Whilst the workmen were thus engaged, some of them pretended that they had seen a vision, in which two females appeared and informed them that the bodies of the Eleven Thousand Virgins lay there, and that their work must be carried on leisurely and carefully; they further announced that along with the bodies of the Virgins lay that of a bishop who had accompanied them. We have only the word of a consummate scoundrel for this

¹ Veith, *Das römische Köln*, Bonn, 1881.

² Illustrated by Dünzer in *Jahrbücher d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreunden dem Rheinland*, 1867. See also Stein, *Die heilige Ursula*. Stein was Rector of S. Ursula at the time, and was present during the excavations in 1866.

apparition, that of Theodoricus Ædituus; and it is more than probable that he invented it to account for the numbers of bones that were turned up during the excavations, and with which he saw his way to doing a profitable business. Then a priest of the Church of S. Cunibert took up some of the bones thrown up by the workmen, and saw that by night they emitted a phosphorescent light. It was now reported that the diggers had struck on a perfect treasury of relics; all the skulls and bones turned up were accepted as those of martyrs, although actually they were none other than the remains of the former inhabitants of Cologne, who for centuries had been in the habit of burying their dead outside the sacred walls of the Church of the Martyrs.

But it was not till 1155 that the Abbot Gerlach of Deutz took the matter up, and employed the monastery porter, Theodoric, to superintend and manage the discovery of relics.

And now inscriptions began to turn up with extraordinary frequency, and these we have in record from Theodoric himself; all, with the one exception of an inscription to Ætherius, were deliberate forgeries. For it was found that relics alone, without names attaching to them, were in small request.

The Bollandist De Buck labours to exculpate Gerlach, and to throw all the blame on Theodoric. But it is not possible to disallow that Gerlach was the source and mainspring of the whole bit of rascality.

Criticism was not wanting even in those topsy-turvy days, and people doubted and laughed over the vast amount of bones and skulls turned up, and proclaimed to be miracle-working relics. Possibly they may have thought also that the tumulary inscriptions had a suspicious look of freshness about them. It was necessary to take steps to silence these doubters.

Gerlach had recourse to an hysterical nun called Elizabeth, who lived in Schönau. Gerlach invoked to his aid Egbert, Abbot of S. Florian, and brother of Elizabeth, and they endeavoured to induce her to see visions and have revelations connected with the relics. At first she declined to have anything to do with this unsavoury transaction ("me multum renitentem compulerunt"). But her brother plied her with entreaties, and her scruples gave way, when Gerlach sent as a present to her convent the bones of one of the saints exhumed, along with its stone coffin lid that bore the inscription, "Sancta Verena, Virgo et Martyr." Then she yielded. Her vanity was flattered, and thenceforth she had revelations as often and as full as was desired. No sooner had Gerlach and Theodoric manufactured an inscription, than they appealed to her to authenticate it by a vision. Not content with testifying to the genuineness of these forgeries, she went on to giving

information relative to the adventures, relationships, social position, and mode of martyrdom of these saints, and her brother Egbert, who was alone allowed to be present during her ecstasies, wrote all down in Latin.

According to her, the vast multitude of damsels was attended by a vast number of bishops, a Foilan of Lucca, a Pantalus of Basle, etc., and many other men. The Pope Cyriacus had been so edified by their virtues, that he abandoned the chair of S. Peter, and, attended by several cardinals, careered after them over the Alps; and on account of this escapade was struck out of the list of the Popes. The only genuine inscription shown to Elizabeth was one of Ætherius, a youth, surmounted by the early Christian monogram. She was too ignorant to understand this, and she interpreted it as REX and denoted that Ætherius was a king, and then by revelation she learned that he was the bridegroom-elect of Ursula. She declared that the martyrdom had taken place under Maximus (Thrax), consequently in 237 or 238, and that the executioners were the Huns, under their king, Julius.

For seven years the excavations and "inventions" went on. Elizabeth died in the odour of sanctity, and was taken up into the Roman Martyrology and accorded the title of "Saint." Scarcely was she dead before fresh discoveries in the old cemetery reopened the scandal that was first caused by the finding of such big *tibiae* as could only have belonged to males, and which she had allayed by her revelation concerning the pope, the bishops, and cardinals attending the pilgrim virgins and suffering martyrdom with them.

A considerable number of children's bones were exhumed; some belonged to infants of but a few months old. This was awkward, seriously compromising to the memories of the Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops as well as of the Virgins. Elizabeth was dead, what was to be done?

Gerlach looked about him and discovered a monk of Premontré who would serve his purpose. This was the Blessed Herman Joseph. He broached the matter to him, and Herman Joseph expressed his readiness to come to his aid. He engaged the assistance of one Richard, an Englishman, to act as amanuensis, and then continued the work of the deceased Elizabeth. A more stupendous self-revelation of ignorance, stupidity, and dishonesty, hardly exists. Being keenly alive to the scandal caused by the discovery of infant skulls and bones, he had visions that might serve to vindicate the characters that were affected. He declared that the Eleven Thousand had excited such enthusiasm in the native land of Ursula, which was Brittania (Britannia Minor), not Britain, that relations and friends of both sexes joined the

virginal crew, taking with them their children of all ages, and that all together had received the crown of martyrdom. Kings, princes, and princesses from Norway, Sweden, Ireland, Flanders, Normandy, Brabant, Friesland, Denmark—in a word, from all lands in the north with which a monk of mean capacity and limited knowledge, in the twelfth century, might be supposed to be acquainted—had joined the expedition, in their desire to testify to the chastity and piety of Ursula and her companions.

There were in the train five English bishops ("episcopi de Anglia"), named William Michael, son of William, Columbanus, son of the Duchess Alexandria, Iwan, Eleutherius, Lothair. The intended husband of Ursula was named Holophernes as well as Ætherius. Among the kings was Oliver, engaged to Olive, daughter of King Cleopater, one of Ursula's virgins, Chrophorus, with his wife Cleopatra, Lucius, Clovis, Canute, and King Pipin, Adulph, and Avitus. Among interesting items divinely revealed was this, that none of the babes on the journey desired the breast, but contented themselves with sucking their fingers; also, "Nunquam in eodem itinere ut parvulorum moest et natura, sordebant se madefacientes."

The amanuensis seems occasionally to have been staggered at these revelations, and had to be encouraged to proceed with his work, with the assurance that they were true disclosures of what had taken place.

The excavations begun by Gerlach were continued by his successor Hartbern, and Theodoric has recorded the results. He gives all the forged inscriptions to the number of a hundred and eighty-one, and the one of Ætherius which was genuine. Among these lapidary inscriptions is one to the apocryphal Pope Cyriacus; one to Simplicius, Archbishop of Ravenna; others to Marinus, Bishop of Milan; Marculus, a Greek bishop; Foilan, Bishop of Lucca; Pantulus, Bishop of Basle; Jovinus, Bishop of York; Maronius, Bishop of Novara; John, Patriarch of Jerusalem; Macharius, Archbishop of Constantinople; Nonnus, Bishop of Antioch; Aquilinus, Bishop of Aquileja; Notus, King of the Scots; Picmenius, King of England; Papuntius, King of Ireland; and so on.

However credulous men might be in the Middle Ages, we cannot suppose that such as had an elementary knowledge of history could have swallowed all this rubbish. Even Jacques de Voragine, who wrote the *Legenda Aurea*, and was by no means squeamish, was startled at the anachronism of Constantinople being represented as having a bishop before it was founded by Constantine. But the Revelations were not handled with any freedom of criticism till 1418, by Gobelius Persona, in his *Cosmodromium*, who pointed out the anachronism of making a

Kingdom of England in the third century, and of bringing the Huns to the Rhine long before they had appeared in Europe. The nun Elizabeth was the first to mention Attila in connexion with the massacre, and to fix its date as in the days of the Emperors Maximus and Africanus. Maximus was Emperor 235-8, and in 236 Africanus was associated with him in the Consulship. How Elizabeth got hold of this fact, which she mis-stated, making Africanus an Emperor instead of Consul, it is hard to say, but probably from some Acts of Martyrs under Maximus, that she found in the convent library, and Maximus under the erroneous form of Maximian had been employed by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Again another "invention" took place in 1238, and that of Cordula. Ingebrand von Rurke, a Knight Hospitaller at Cologne, dreamed that he was visited by a beautiful girl, who requested him to dig her up.

Next morning Ingebrand told the prior of his vision. The prior bade him await a further revelation. Next night she revisited him and reproached him with some asperity for not having fulfilled her request. "You did not tell me where to dig," replied Ingebrand. "You will find me," said the apparition, "in the orchard of the priory, under the filbert tree."

When the prior heard this he was delighted. "But," said he, "you must first ascertain her name."

Next night the maiden reappeared with moody brow, and rated the knight soundly for his lack of gallantry in not attending to the request of a lady, though twice repeated.

Sir Ingebrand apologized, and said that he only waited to know her name. Thereupon the virgin bade him look her in the face. He did so, and read on her brow in gold letters, "Cordula, virgo, regina." He thereupon jumped out of bed, ran to the prior and told him, "Her name is Cordula. And a very appropriate name too." "We must unearth her to-morrow," said the prior.

Accordingly on the following day they dug under the filberts and found bones, which have since received veneration as relics.

On account of the vision of Helintrudis and that of the Knight Ingebrand, this purely apocryphal saint, as one of the Ursuline company, has been taken into the Roman Martyrology.¹

Another of the party was S. Cunera. The authority for her story is the lections in the Breviary of Rhenen. According to them, "There is a certain part of Europe called the Orcades, consisting of thirty-three islands, which were governed by a King of Orkney, but now by the King of England, on which land is a great royal city, anciently called Orcada, but now Jork."

¹ *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct., ix, pp. 580-6.

In this city reigned King Aurelius, who marched at the head of his armies against the Saracens, but was taken captive, and was carried before the Soldan of Babylon, and imprisoned. But the Soldan's daughter loved the pale-faced captive, was converted by him and baptized, and they eloped together to Orkney, and in the capital, Jork, their daughter Cunera was born.

Ursula being about to sail along with the eleven thousand virgins, Cunera joined her. When the party was being massacred by the Huns, Radbod, King of the Frisians, being present at Cologne at the time, was so struck with her beauty, that he concealed her under his cloak, and carried her with him to Rhenen, in the diocese of Utrecht. But the wife of Radbod did not relish the introduction of this good-looking wench into the household, and she induced her attendants to strangle Cunera and bury her in the stable.¹

There are other of the companions of Ursula culted in various parts, and with stories hardly less ridiculous.

The Bollandists give us 1,083 names of virgins and other martyrs of that company whose relics have enriched various churches. Thus, out of three or four nameless virgins there grew first three, then six, next eleven, all named, and finally over a thousand all labelled with their names and their titles, and with the particulars of the lives of most known.

Few visitors to Cologne have failed to look at the interior of the Church of S. Ursula. A more ghastly sight hardly exists in Christendom. The walls are covered with boxes containing the skulls and bones of the supposed martyrs. The church more resembles a temple of Shiva than a Christian place of worship. It would be well were an Archbishop of Cologne to order the burial of these relics of humanity, not one of which belongs to a martyr;² and for the Holy See to expunge the name of Ursula from the Martyrology and retain only a commemoration of the Virgins to whom Clematius rebuilt a basilica.

SS. Ursula and her Companions were culted, but not extensively, in Wales, particularly in Cardiganshire. Theophilus Evans, writing in the early part of the eighteenth century, says, "There is a church in Ceredigion called Llangwryfon³ (the Church of the Virgins), which was so named in memory of them at its consecration," and adds that their festival, October 21, was known as "Gwyl Santesau," "the Festival of

¹ *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jun., ii, pp. 563-7.

² Some of the skulls have been transfixured with arrows. This was part, doubtless, of the trickery of Theodoric or Gerlach.

³ It also occurs as Llanygwryddon (*Pemiarth MS.* 147), and Llanygweryddon (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 744), but is locally pronounced Llangwrddon.

the Saintesses."¹ According to him they were the maidens sent out at Conan's request. Edward Lhuyd in his notes (1699) on the parish of Llanwenog, also in Cardiganshire, says, "There is a Chappel hard by Essen fort (Castell St Essen), called Capel St Essen: because it is dedicated to y^e 10,000 (*sic*) vergins marthyrd." He means, of course, the now extinct Capel Santesau.²

One of the great fairs in the neighbouring parish of Llanybyther, held on October 21, O.S., and still on November 1 and its eve, is called "Ffair y Santesau," and is so entered in the Calendar in *Llanstephan MS.* 181 (c. 1556). The festival occurs in most of the Welsh Calendars, and is usually entered simply as "Gwyl y Gweryddon," or "Gwyl yr un fil ar ddeg Gweryddon." The South Wales Calendar in *Cwrtmawr MS.* 44 (sixteenth century) has on October 21, "Gwyl Lvr forwvn" and "Gwyl Vrw forwvn," i.e. the Festivals of Llyr and Urw (?), Virgins.³ They were probably Ursuline virgins, as was also the Lleuci,⁴ i.e. Lucia or Lucy, of Bettws Leiki, Llanwnen, and Abernant, all in much the same corner of South Wales.

There is a Welsh Life of Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, *Buchedd Wrsula* or *Ystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* ("the History of the Virgins of Germany"), in *Peniarth MS.* 182 (c. 1514), which is a translation from the Latin by Sir Hugh Pennant.

The authorities for the Ursula legend are as follows:—

1. The Clematian Inscription. Krauss (F. X.), *Die alt Christlichen Inschriften d. Rheinlande*, Freiburg i. B., 1890, i, pp. 143-7; and Plate xx, 2. Floss (H. J.), *Die Clematische Inschrift in S. Ursula*, Köln, 1874.
2. The "Sermo in Natali." *Acta SS. Boll.*, Oct. ix, pp. 154-5. Klinkenberg, *Studien zur Geschichte der Kölner Märterinnen*, in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, lxxxix, Bonn, 1890; Kessel, *S. Ursula*, Köln, 1863.
3. The "Officium Proprium." *Acta SS. Boll.*, *ibid.*, pp. 284-5.
4. The Legend "In tempore pervetusto," in *Analecta Bollandiana*, iii (1884), pp. 1-20.
5. The Legend "Regnante Domino." *Acta SS. Boll.*, *ibid.*, pp. 157-63. Both legends dealt with by Klinkenberg, *op. cit.*, and also in Wetzzer u. Welte, *Kirchlexikon*, s.v. *S. Ursula*, 1901.
6. Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of the tale, *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, v,

¹ *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, i, c. 2.

² *Parochialia*, iii, p. 89, suppl. to *Arch. Camb.*, 1911.

³ For them see iii, pp. 215, 386.

⁴ iii. pp. 367-8.

cc. 15, 16; ed. Giles in *Acta SS. Boll.*, *ibid.*, pp. 207-9; ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854, pp. 66-73.

7. "Liber Revelationum S. Elisabethæ Schonaugiensis." *Acta SS. Boll.*, *ibid.*, pp. 163-73.
8. "Revelationes seu Imaginationes B. Hermannii Josephi." *Ibid.*, pp. 173-201.
9. "Thioderici Aeditui Revelationes titulorum vel nominum ss. martyrum." *Ibid.*, pp. 243-6. Holder-Egger in Pertz, *Mon. Script.*, xiv, pp. 569-70; Lecomblet in *Archiv f. d. Geschichte d. Niederrheins*, v (1865), pp. 292-9.

We have given no references to Crombach's *Ursula vindicata*, 1647, as it is an utterly uncritical work, and all that is of value in it has been republished, and is accessible in the works above given. Books and articles that may be consulted, in addition to those already named, are Lecomblet, *Urkundenbuch des Niederrheins*, and Tout (Mrs. T. F.), *The Legend of S. Ursula in Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester*, London, 1902, pp. 17-56.