

From the *Transactions* of the
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

S. Bartholomew and His Cult in Medieval Times

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1898, Vol. 21, 147-162

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S. BARTHOLOMEW AND HIS CULT IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES.

By ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

THE history of what may without irreverence be called the cult of S. Bartholomew takes English students back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, even to the days of the Religious Revival interrupted in England by the Conquest, but resumed with vigour a little later by the immediate descendants of the Conqueror. And it is matter for interesting remark that the cult of this Apostle (whose symbol is the knife with which he is believed to have been flayed alive in the remote Orient), should, in a particularly savage Feudal period, have spread itself in the farthest west of the then-known world as the very evangel of mercy and medicine. But although it may take us easily back to the days of Rahere and King Henry I., it will be found to pass away behind that to King Canute and his memorable visit to Italy, and again behind that, on the wings of monkish legend, back to the days of Guthlac and Ingulph, and the founding of Croyland Abbey, at the beginning of the eighth century. Still more remarkable, it may be said without fear of correction that while the cult of this Saint has proved of well-nigh incalculable benefit to the world, concerning no one of *the twelve* have we been left in such a state of complete and hopeless ignorance,—of none of them do we know actually so little, or respecting none are we so uncertain even as to the little that we do know. To enquire into the reasons of the latter fact would be unprofitable; but the fact remains to-day that the legendary significance of the Saint is in absolute disproportion to the Gospel importance of the Apostle; and while there can be no possibility of confusing the Hagiological figure of S. Bartholomew with that

of any other, authorities still remain, and in all probability will for ever remain, uncertain whether to identify the son of Talmai with Nathaniel or not.

At the very outset of a notice of this subject, from an English point of view, one is confronted with the importance of the foundation known as S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, consisting, as is well known, of a hospital, occupying a portion of the same ground as the present one, and a priory, built upon ground obtained by charter from Henry I. through the influence of Richard de Belesme, Bishop of London, and probably of pious Queen Matilda. This was founded in 1123, under circumstances which will presently claim attention. But important as this foundation was, and still more important as it has since become, it will be seen that this was only one fortunate incident in the development of the cult. For this was not the first dedication of a hospital in the name of S. Bartholomew in this island, and possibly it was not even the second, for the exact date of the one founded in the same reign at Oxford is not known.

In his little work (the forerunner, let us hope, of a larger one), *A Brief History of the Past and Present State of the Royal and Religious Foundation of S. Bartholomew's Hospital*, Dr. Norman Moore has enumerated (from Dugdale, *q.v.*) eight different English hospitals under this dedication, no less than four of which occur in Kent: the first, at Chatham, founded by Bishop Gundulph towards the close of the eleventh century, and the latest, at Saltwood, near Hythe, in 1336. The others were at Dover, 1141; at Gloucester two, in 1154 and 1220(?); and at Newbury, Berks — a truly extraordinary wave of charitable endowment under one dedication, only to be rivalled in those days by that under the patronage of S. Lazarus and S. Margaret.

I shall therefore endeavour to trace, as briefly as possible, the growth of the cult of S. Bartholomew up to this its most signal efflorescence.

Eusebius, the historian, who was Bishop of Cesarea early in the fourth century, informs us that S. Panthenius, a

physician at Alexandria, had travelled as a missionary to India, where he found many traces of Christian doctrine, and saw, moreover, a copy, in Hebrew, of the Gospel of S. Matthew, which the people there declared had been brought thither by S. Bartholomew. At the end of the next century we find an apocryphal Gospel of S. Bartholomew himself condemned in Council at Rome.¹ In the following, or sixth, century Gregory of Tours and others repeat the fact that S. Bartholomew had travelled into the East, but also mention that he had visited the country which had so unkindly treated Paul and Barnabas, namely Lycaonia, in Pisidia. He further tells us many legends concerning him: that he was martyred by Artyages, at Albanopolis, in Armenia, and that his remains were brought to the Islands of Lipari² from Daras, in Mesopotamia, whither they were related to have been taken by the Emperor Anastasius in A.D. 509.

These extensive transferences of the Apostolic remains from the shores of the Caspian to the Euphrates and from the Euphrates to Lipari not unnaturally caused many legends to gather about them, and this stock of legend was certainly increased to no small degree by the imagination of the writer known as the Pseudo-Abdias, of Babylon, from whose account at a later day Ordericus borrowed largely.³ The East had ever been the land of wonders and diseases, and this Apostle had there worked his miracles and healed the people of their leprosies, casting out evil spirits. But, as will be seen, the remains of the Holy Apostle of Lycaonia were not even yet destined to attain final repose.

By this time the Eastern and Western Churches had seen fit to differ as to the date of the festival of the Saint, the former fixing it for June 11th, the latter for August 24th; while the Armenian and Ethiopic Churches differed from both, as well as from one another, and use other dates. They had also formulated a type for him: "His hair is black and curling, his skin fair, his eyes full, so to speak; his nose

¹ *Migne. Patrologia*, lix. 162. ² *De Gloria Martyrum*, i. 33.

³ *Ord. Vital*, B. ii., c. ix.

regular and straight, his ears covered by his long hair; his beard is long, but slightly grey; and his stature is of the middle height. He wears a white tunic without sleeves, fastened with purple clasps, over which a white mantle." In Art he usually carries a knife or sword and a book—the aforesaid Gospel of St. Matthew; and sometimes he is represented holding his skin over his arm, as in the well-known work of Agreti in Milan Cathedral.

Toward the close of the seventh century, in days when more than one Anglo-Saxon monarch had resigned his crown and undertaken the pilgrimage to Rome, we find S. Bartholomew brought into prominence in England as the especial patron of S. Guthlac, the hermit of Croyland. We read in Ordericus that Guthlac went to settle in the swampy locality he had selected for his abode on the eighth day before the kalends of September, that is August 24th—the day of S. Bartholomew, "to whom he prayed to be his friend and defender in all his adversities." His desires would seem to have been granted; for "once, when he was beginning to despair of completing a work upon which he had laboured for three days, his faithful patron appeared to him visibly during his morning watch, and, allaying his fears with spiritual comfort, promised him his continual help. And he faithfully fulfilled the promise on various occasions in which he was tempted." On another occasion, during a night watch, a troop of demons invaded his cell, bound the hermit hand and foot, and dragged him through the marshes of Granta, commanding him to give up his hermitage. Upon his refusal, they scourged him and tore his flesh, and then transported him to the very mouth of Hell. "On seeing the gates of Hell, Guthlac began to be frightened, but, despising the demons' threats, he prayed inwardly to God. Instantly S. Bartholomew stood by him, arrayed in robes of celestial light, and ordered his foes to carry him back unharmed to his own cell. The demons, groaning, obeyed the Apostle, and angels met him singing." Nor were these the last appearances of the holy Apostle at Croyland; for, in 1112, he

appeared to Abbot Geoffrey, together with Guthlac, again clad in robes of shining white, at the tomb of Earl Waltheof, and reunited the head of that recently-decapitated noble to his body. This was in the reign of Henry I., and some eight years only before the founding of the S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.

S. Guthlac, however, had been dead about a century when an event occurred connected with the remains of his patron saint which caused no little stir in the Christian world. The growing power of the Saracens began to culminate in the early years of the ninth century to very serious crises, at least as regarded Italy. In A.D. 830 (some writers say 831), attacking Lipari, they desecrated the resting-place of S. Bartholomew and hurled his coffin (which, we are told, was of lead) into the sea. To the astonishment of a Greek monk (who perhaps witnessed the occurrence from a hiding-place), the coffin floated, and when opportunity favoured he drew it ashore, and therein he beheld the remains of the holy Apostle, which he at once recognised by *the luminosity* of the bones. The monk carried his precious burden to Benevento, then ruled by Lombard dukes, where it was enshrined, in 839, by Duke Sicardo.¹ This event is significantly referred to in the contemporary metrical martyrology of Wandelbert, the Anglo-Saxon [A.D. 842 (?)] :

" Bartholomæus nonam exornat retinetque beatus,
India quo doctore Dei cognovit honorem,
Herculis et Bacchi insanis vix eruta sacris ;
Nunc illum fama est varia pro sorte sepulchri,
Æolium Lipare Beneventi et templa tenere," &c.

It is probably to this event his festival owed the pressing importance which it now assumed and which it has more than maintained ever since ; although, as will be shown, further occurrences were to arouse a still more universal interest to the saintly remains.

Howbeit, until the ominously-regarded year A.D. 1000, the Beneventani venerated the unchallenged relics of the Apostle.

¹ Cf. *Lco Ostiens*, Lib. i., c. 24.

In that year, however, took place an event which proved productive of plentiful dispute. The energetic Emperor Otho III., regarding the recently-martyred S. Adalbert, the Apostle of Prussia, as his especial patron, left Rome, where he had been protecting Pope Sylvester II., in order to fulfil a vow and visit the tomb of his patron. Before quitting the Eternal City, he had secured the site of the ancient Temple of Æsculapius, at the western extremity of the island in the Tiber, in order to erect there a sumptuous shrine in honour of S. Adalbert. Attended by several patrician Romans, including a Cardinal or two, he attended the Easter Festival at Regensburg, and thence passed to Gnesen, where he prayed at the martyr's tomb. Wherever he went (and he travelled thence to Agram), he collected relics of various saints, in order to enrich therewith the basilica he was now building.

The eleventh century had therefore commenced, and the world had, after all, not come to its predicted end. The peoples took hope afresh, and the reaction of their feelings soon became manifested in architectural as well as literary energy. Otho brought back to Rome an arm of S. Adalbert, which was duly enshrined at the consecration of the Church by the Bishop of Porto. He then demanded from the Beneventani, probably on account of a vision, the venerated remains of S. Bartholomew. They, however, while pretending to comply, deceived him, and forwarded instead the bones of S. Paulinus of Nola. According to Gregorovius, being afterwards made aware of the deception, the Emperor intended to punish the offenders. Nevertheless, he died early in 1002 without having done so. The Romans, however, proud to possess the remains of another Apostle, gave little heed to the denials of the people of Benevento. A further reason may be assigned for this, in the fact that the Bohemian martyr S. Adalbert was altogether a stranger to them, albeit he had once been a Benedictine of Monte-Cassino. His memory suffered neglect merely through his having been neither a Roman nor "one of the Twelve."

Nevertheless, the Basilica on the island continued for a full century to bear the name of S. Adalbert in Lycaonia, for the "Insula Tiberina" continued for three centuries more to carry the name it had derived from the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Lycaonius.¹ And here it becomes necessary to mention that the site of this temple, within a hundred yards of that of Æsculapius or S. Adalbert, had been already at the time of Otho occupied since A.D. 795, by a convent dedicated to the Virgin, as S. Maria in Julia, and a small church of SS. Giovanni Baptista² et Evangelista. This church was administered by an arch-presbyter and several canons (Augustinian?). So that the island, consecrated especially to Æsculapius and Jupiter, had now two churches and a convent chapel upon it, the successors of which continue, though under other dedications, to this day. But, so far as is known, there was no hospital attached to any of these. The circumstances attending the hospital now flourishing there, and attached, not to S. Bartolomeo, but to S. Giovanni, will be presently related.

The first surviving historical mention of the church which Otho had built dates from 1027, and it is practically certain that our monk-loving warrior-king Cnut in the same year was present with the Emperor Conrad at the latter's coronation in tumultuous Rome, at Eastertide, to whose son Cnut's daughter Cunigunda then became affianced. On his way home to England Cnut purchased an arm of S. Augustine for "centum talentis Argenti et talento auri," which he sent to Coventry. It was, alas, a period abounding in "pious frauds," and the historians of the Church regretfully denounce the sale of false relics, upon the profits of which, nevertheless, institutions of the most substantial kind, monasteries, churches, &c., were founded and endowed.³ It is, moreover,

¹ Was it by chance in Otho's mind, while commanding the Beneventani to deliver up to him the bones of the Apostle, that the Isola Lycaonia was the only befitting resting-place for the Apostle of Lycaonia? It is difficult to believe there was merely a coincidence here.

² Cf. *Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in Vita Leone, III.*

³ Cf. *Otto, Frising, lib. 6, c. 22; Raynaldus: ad. ann. 1027.*

befitting to mention that Eadmer,¹ who lived later in the same century, relates that Cnut was visited in England by a Bishop of Benevento, who desired to sell an arm of S. Bartholomew to him, in order to assist the afflicted people of his diocese by the sale thereof. He declares that Queen Emma and her husband caused the Bishop to swear to the genuineness of the relic upon the altar at Canterbury; that this being done, they purchased it and presented it to the monks of Canterbury; and that Ethelnoth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented the Bishop, Alfanius III., with a magnificent cope, "cappam valde pretiosam aurifrigio ornatam." It is necessary, however, to add that Francesco Dini (in his *Dissertatio Historico-Critica de translatione, &c., Corporis. S. Bartholomæi Apost. Romæ. 1700*), who knew his author well, writes "Hujus narratio suspectissima habetur."² Alphanus, at any rate, does not occur among the Bishops of Benevento, and Canterbury holds no remembrance, I believe, even in tradition, of the relic. Eadmer, in fact, is a writer from hearsay, an agreeable gossip, at a time when these relic-stories and relic-frauds were particularly abundant. But of this incident more presently.

An author of Eadmer's time records in a hexametric canticle³—

"India decoriat, tenet Insula Bartholomæum.

showing that the desire to believe in this precious relic had not suffered by rumours of fraud, at least as far as the Romans were concerned. But we have by no means done with the "arms" of S. Bartholomew yet. For it seemed to me worth while tracing the remains of the Saint thus so much disputed. In the year 1043, I find that an arm was brought to Venice from Benevento by some ecclesiastic (was it that Bishop described by Eadmer?), and being purchased, it was placed in the Church of S. Demetrio as a most holy relic: in

¹ *Hist. Novorum in Anglia Vita S. Anselmi.*

² Cf. Gabriele Gerberonio. *Pavisis cum Oferibus. S. Anselmi*, pp. 42, 43.

³ *Fascic. Memor. in Archivio Vallicellane*, sig. n. 21.

consequence of which that church changed its name in 1071 to S. Bartolommeo. The name of S. Bartholomew, it may be assumed, was now nearly at the height of its popularity. We see King Roger, in 1088, founding a Cathedral and Hospital in Sicily, and on the same island (as the Sovereign, doubtless, of Lipari), in 1094, another Abbey Church and Hospital, at Patti. As the remains of the Holy Apostle had become somewhat numerous, it need not be doubted that the Norman Kings of Sicily themselves became possessors of some relic or other for these foundations of S. Bartholomew; but so far I have been unable to discover the nature of these. It need only further be stated at this point that Rome, besides the entire body of the Saint, which is contained in a beautiful porphyry sarcophagus [a bath belonging to Imperial times], possesses an entire arm of his in the Basilica of S. Paulo fuori le Mura, and yet another in the Church of Sant' Apostoli. But although the thumb of one of these should be missing, as it is still in the Cathedral at Lipari, the sacristan assures me that it is "all there."

One other object in Rome of great archæological interest in this connection remains to be noticed in passing. It is the circular well-mouth to be seen in the Church of S. Bartolommeo. This is a remnant of Otho's Church of S. Adalbert, and undoubtedly belongs to the eleventh century. Its lip shows the deep ruts of the ropes wherewith the faithful on the island once drew up their supplies. Around it was an inscription, now mutilated, ending with the words—"Qui sitit ad fontem veniat!" There are sculptured in relief around it four figures: that of S. Salvator; the second, mitred and coped, S. Paulinus of Nola, or S. Adalbert; the third is S. Bartholomeo, with a long beard and bared sword, carrying a book; and the fourth, crowned and sceptred, with Chlamys, is believed to be Otho III., with the legend, "Os putei Sancti circumdant orbe rotanti."

It was not to be expected that the glory of an actual Disciple should remain obscured by the shadow of a martyred Bishop of Prague, whatsoever might have been the acknow-

ledged merits of the latter. The church, which bore the name of Adalbert, now gradually became known as that of S. Bartholomew, and early in the next, or twelfth, century Gelasius II. (1119) in restoring the church, which had suffered by a flood, is said to have rechristened it S. Bartholomew. I am of opinion, however, that the re-naming took place later. His restorations were probably begun by his energetic predecessor, Paschal II., who had taken refuge from his enemies in that Church a few years previously (A.D. 1105), and had placed on the architrave of the main entrance the following somewhat artful inscription, which can be read there to this day :

“Tertius istorum Rex transtulit Otho Piorum
Corpora quis Domus hæc sic redimita viget,
Quæ domus ista gerit, si pignora noscere quæris,
Corpora Paulini sint credas Bartholomæi.”

Did the great Paschal feel it necessary to be diplomatic, and forbear to hurt the susceptibilities of Benevento? He does not mention S. Adalbert in his inscription; and he had himself held an important Synod at Benevento before he wrote thus.

Possibly during the very first year of Paschal's long pontificate (1099), or perhaps even a few years earlier, the re-accumulated wave, as we may call it, of the cult of S. Bartholomew had marked its presence in England by the before-referred-to foundation by Bishop Gundulph, at Chatham, of a hospital bearing the Saint's name,—the first of many to be,—as well as by the far more frequent occurrence of Bartholomew as a Christian name.

At this time our truly religious Queen Matilda was engaged in founding the Hospital of S. Giles-in-the-Fields and many other deeds of mercy. The relations between the Norman Kings of Sicily and their relatives of England were probably closer than one is apt to picture them. The late Mr. Freeman, of course, was not forgetful of the resemblances of the two Norman island Kings,¹ Roger and Henry I.

¹ Cf. *William Rufus*, vol. ii. 454.

Besides, Anselm, during the previous reign, had visited the Apulian Normans, and spent considerable sojourn with them. The before-mentioned Eadmer Anglicus, in his life of Anselm, tells us many particulars both about the Normans, and regarding Anselm's life while living in their camp. For Eadmer had himself accompanied his revered master, and it was while at Bari with him that his eyes lighted on the beautiful cope worn by the Bishop of Benevento. "Eadmer knew at once whence it came. He knew that it had once been one of the glories of Canterbury, worn by Primates of England before England had bowed either to the Norman or to the Dane. Eadmer, brought up from his childhood in the cloister of Christchurch, had been taught as a boy by aged monks who could remember the days of Cnut and Emma. These elders of the House, Eadwig and Blæcman, and Farman, had told him how in those days there had been a mighty famine in the land of Apulia¹; how the then Archbishop of Beneventum had travelled through foreign lands to seek help for his starving flock; how he brought with him a precious relic, the arm of the Apostle Bartholomew; and how, having passed through Italy and Gaul, he was led to cross the sea by the fame of the wealth of England, and of the piety and beauty of Emma, its Lady. She gave him plenteous gifts for his people, and he asked whether she would not give yet more as the price of the precious relic. The genuineness of the relic" [evidently, and no wonder, suspected] "was solemnly sworn to, a great price was paid for it by the Lady, and, by the special order of King Cnut, it was added as a precious gift to the treasures of the Metropolitan Church. . . . The Archbishop of Beneventum went back, loaded with the alms of England, and bearing with him (among other gifts of his brother Primate Æthelnoth) this very cope, richly embroidered with gold with all the skill of English hands. Eadmer now saw it with joy; he pointed it out to Father Anselm, and, feigning ignorance, he asked the Beneventan Archbishop the history

¹ Beneventan history is, however, absolutely silent regarding this.

of the splendid cope which he wore. He was pleased to find that the tradition of Beneventum was the same as the tradition of Canterbury.”¹

It must be confessed the story is a very charming one, even in the light of the preceding evidences regarding the relic; so we will say no more about it, but proceed to relate that at this time—namely, in A.D. 1107—appears the first English Cardinal, by name Ulfric, a prelate who, we may be sure, was familiar to the Court of England, and may well have been a friend of Anselm, and quite possibly of Rahere. Somewhere about the year 1118–20 this Rahere, a secular Canon of St. Paul’s, made his pilgrimage to Rome. I believe that Dr. Norman Moore was the very first to point out this connection of the Founder of the Hospital and Priory at Smithfield with the Cathedral,² and I gladly admit this, although his claim to have been the first to use Eadmer’s narrative is not quite so admissible, as I have shown it to have been used by Francesco Dini as far back as in 1700.

From the *Liber Fundacionis* we learn that Rahere, during his sojourn at Rome, took fever while visiting the site of S. Paul’s execution, a spot still malarious in spite of the abundant plantation of eucalyptus-trees. Whether he was nursed by the Benedictines then cloistered there, or, as is more likely, in the English Hospital of S. Spirito in Saxia, close to S. Peter’s, whither English pilgrims had been wont to resort since the days of its foundation by Offa and its enrichment and reconstruction by later English sovereigns, it is not possible for me to determine. To it were attached a set of Canons Regular of a military Order, who, by the decree of the Lateran Council of 1139, together with all other Canons Regular, had thenceforth to take the denomination of S. Augustine. It is certain that Rahere, after his visit to Rome, became a Canon Regular of S. Augustine, but in which year of his life (which ended in 1143) is not known.

Anyhow, at the time of his illness in Rome the Basilica

¹ Freeman, vol. i. 609, 610. *W. Rufus.*

² Cf. his Edition, 1886, of *Liber Fundacionis MS. Vespasian, B. 1A. B.M.*; composed, he thinks, between 1174—1189.

of S. Adalbert, presently re-christened (1170?) S. Bartolommeo in Lycaonia (or "in Insula," or "inter duos pontes), was completing, or had just completed, its restoration, and had become one of the especially interesting points of pilgrimage. Moreover, the Apostle, who had appeared to the Hermit of Croyland and others so many centuries before, now vouchsafed to appear to Rahere, and caused him to vow that, in the event of his recovery and safe return to London, he would there found a priory and hospital to his patron-saint.

"Rahere founded the hospital," says Dr. Norman Moore, "in 1123, on land which he obtained from King Henry I. through the influence of Richard de Belesme, Bishop of London; and before his death the site was further enlarged by grants of adjacent land by Michael de Valecius in the year of the foundation, and by John Becomte, William FitzSabelline (Savelli?), and Hersænt, wife of Walter de St. Loy, in 1139. He died September 20th, 1143,"—having been the first Prior.

It would have been pleasant to have found (as I had at one time hoped to find) that Rahere might have been treated for his malady on the Tiber-island itself; but a careful research among documents relating to the spot precludes this finding. The only other ecclesiastical reference to the island I have found pertaining to the time of Rahere belongs to the year of his death, when a certain Bobo (Joannis Paulus) gave a garden to Domino Benedicto, Presbyter of the Church before mentioned, of S. Maria in Julia (now S. Giovanni Calibita). But there was no hospital on the island connected with either of its churches until 1581, when the Spanish Benedictine Order of Fate-bene-fratelli, who had recently set up their establishment in the Piazza di Pietra, obtained from Gregory XIII. the more spacious convent and church vacated in 1575 by the nuns of S. Maria in Julia, and erected the hospital, church, and convent which we now see there.¹ The

¹ Urban VI. in 1381 had suppressed the Canons of S. Giovanni in Lycaonia, and conferred their possessions there upon the Abbatial Convent of S. Maria in Julia. The nuns of the latter now migrated to unite with S. Anna in the Via Giulia.

convent attached to S. Bartolommeo has long been served by friars of the Order of Francis. To the Basilica had been attached a Cardinalate in 1511. In the twelfth century it had only a Presbyter and Canons.

Space and purpose, equally, forbid that I should follow down here the history of the church and island of S. Bartolommeo in Rome. I will, in parting with them, mention that in the *Appendix ad. Chron. Sigeberti. ad. annum 1157* is recorded a serious inundation; after which, nevertheless, the writer declares that the body of S. Bartholomew was found entire excepting his skin—"quod remansit Benevento," &c. This, of course, was fifteen years after Rahere's death.¹

"The original London Hospital founded by Rahere," Dr. Moore writes [p. 19, *Brief Relation*, &c.], "had eight brethren and four sisters, and they elected a Head, who was called Master, or Proctor, or Warden." On election he had to be instituted by the Prior or the Bishop of London. On Palm Sunday and on the Festival of S. Bartholomew the Master and brethren were wont to make a solemn procession to the Priory and deposit an offering on the high altar. Two citizens of the highest eminence became benefactors of the hospital—namely, FitzElwin, first Lord Mayor, and S. Thomas à Becket.²

Meanwhile, in the year 1141 had been founded a hospital at Dover bearing the same dedicatory title; while a few years later, during the reign of Henry II., there was founded, curiously also, "inter duos pontes" at Gloucester, a small priory hospital of S. Bartholomew, it is believed by William Myparty, a pious burgess of that city, who built it for a certain Walred and his workmen, who were then engaged in rebuilding the westernmost city bridge. Myparty and his

¹ In March, 1179, Alexander III., after holding a Synod in the Lateran, proceeded to S. Bartolommeo, celebrated Mass before the "Remains," re-consecrated the church, and granted especial Indulgences. In 1191 Celestine III. placed the remains in the "Conca Porphyrea, et confirmavit omnes indulgentias positas per summos Pontifices."

² Becket also had visited Rome, and it was at S. Spirito-in-Saxia he sojourned while there.

friends, male and female, afterwards retired thither as a religious community, were governed by a presbyter, and they wore a monastic habit.¹ They appear to have been considerably enriched by King Henry III., who, it is said, in 1228, while visiting Gloucester, presented the hospital, at the request of his Queen, with the Church of S. Nicholas, and later on he granted them the right of choosing a prior, the first of whom was Adam de Garne.² The custody of the bridges would seem to have belonged to the Church of S. Nicholas: hence, perhaps, the desire of the Prior of S. Bartholomew's to be freed from the possibility of conflict with that church.³ We may conjecture that the new owners of S. Nicholas were well-to-do folk, for soon after this the church was rebuilt. Mr. M. H. Medland, in vol. iii., *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, a critical and careful writer, says: "The Norman Church (with the exception of such portions as still exist) was evidently taken down during the reign of Henry III. (from 1230—1250) when the nave arcades, the chancel, and the south aisle were built. S. Bartholomew's Hospital was very similar (judging by Lysons' etching made in 1794) to the south aisle of S. Nicholas Church, which was built during the reign of Henry III. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it would appear that such portions of the church as were built in the thirteenth century, as well as S. Bartholomew's Hospital, were built at the instigation of Queen Eleanor, and that the church was made to serve as a chapel to the hospital." It may be worthy of note here that Henry III. had an illegitimate brother, Fra Bartolommeo, who was Papal Chaplain at Assisi in 1253. He belonged to the Order of S. Dominic. But I must also venture to point out that if King Henry III. presented the hospital with the Church of S. Nicholas in 1228 at the prompting of his Queen,

¹ Cf. Rudder's *Gloucester*, pp. 447-9.

² Respecting its chantry, Cf. *Hist. et Cartul. Monasterii Gloucestricæ*, vol. i., clvi., A.D. 1232.

³ Cf. *id.* ccxcvii, and ccxcviii., A.D. 1220.

Fosbrooke's authority, Furney MSS.,¹ was scarcely correct in naming Eleanor [of Provence] as that Queen, since her marriage with Henry did not take place till eight years later, in 1236. The King, in fact, was but nineteen years of age in 1228, and was *unmarried*. Gregory IX., rather than XI., should have been the Pope referred to. Possibly the transaction was carried through by Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Dorchester, after 1238?

By this date I find that there was a Priory of S. Bartholomew flourishing in the city of Bologna, near the gate of Ravenna. At a later date—namely, in the sixteenth century,—and in the same city, there was yet another, together with a hospital, called S. Bartolommeo in Reno. There was also one at Sandwich, in Kent, founded in 1190 by Thomas Crompton, and Maud, his wife. And at the same time there was also firmly established at Trisulti, near Frosinone, among the bold Hernican mountains, that beautiful Carthusian monastery of S. Bartolommeo, under the shade of whose cloisters many of these words are penned, and on the plinths of whose columns one sees at every turn the 'knife' symbolising him of whom we saw it was written rather more confidently than critically—

"India, decoriat tenet Insula Bartholomæum."

Truly the growth of a religious cult affords some food for curious reflection!

¹ *Hist. Glouc.*, p. 360.
