them carefully.\textsuperscript{22} After this extract appears a confessional \textit{ordo} for use with a priest, ending on fol. 27r–v with a condensed version of \textit{De laude psalmorum}; a list of all the reasons given in the full treatise for singing the psalms, followed by another list of the psalms which should be sung for help every day.\textsuperscript{23}

The extracts from \textit{De laude psalmorum} in these two manuscripts, and in particular the summary in Tiberius C. vi, suggest that at least one complete copy of the psalm devotional is likely to have existed in eleventh-century England, even if the compilers of these two texts did not draw upon it directly. Indeed, the existence of a quotation from \textit{De laude psalmorum} in \textit{Ælfwine’s Prayerbook} demonstrates that this text may have been better known in England at this time than has so far been thought. The extraction of individual sections of the psalm programme suggests that Anglo-Saxon scribes used \textit{De laude psalmorum} exactly as was intended: not as a single prayer programme which should be followed in full by every reader, but as a list of recommendations for readers with different reasons for wanting to pray. By selecting the parts which they presumably considered to be most important or most relevant, the compilers of the texts in Tiberius C. vi and \textit{Ælfwine’s Prayerbook} used \textit{De laude psalmorum} in order to create entirely new programmes for morning prayer using the psalms.

In particular, it is the prayer guide in \textit{Ælfwine’s Prayerbook} which demonstrates the importance of the vernacular language in this period, as it uses Old English alongside Latin not only for explaining the importance of prayer, but also for prayer itself. Although only one sentence from \textit{De laude psalmorum} was included in \textit{Ælfwine’s Prayerbook}, this selection is in itself significant. From the earlier psalm treatise, the anonymous compiler chose the part which teaches that the best kind of prayer, the most effective way of articulating one’s trials and temptations in both communal and private devotion, was to be found in the words of the psalms. For the compilers of both texts, it was in these words that monks and nuns could express to God how great their struggles were, and how much they needed his mercy.\textsuperscript{24}

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\textbf{A MISDATED ST PAUL’S FABRIC INDULGENCE}

GUILDFHALL LIBRARY, London, St Paul’s Cathedral MS 25124 is a collection of seventy-seven original thirteenth- and fourteenth-century letters of indulgence issued to finance the rebuilding of St Paul’s after fires in 1087 and 1136 destroyed the Saxon church and work on a Norman replacement. One of the most ambitious construction projects of the era, the cathedral was not finished until 1327 and attracted a wealth of such privileges, particularly in the mid-thirteenth century, when work had progressed sufficiently for the church to be dedicated on 13 January 1241 and a fresh phase of construction launched with a generous indulgence of Innocent IV (1252).\textsuperscript{1} The bulk of the indulgences collected in 25124 were awarded by English and Welsh bishops, though Scottish, Irish, and continental sees are also represented. The collection was catalogued and arranged in chronological order by William Sparrow Simpson, minor canon and cathedral librarian from 1862 to 1897, who also supplied an annotated list and edited seven examples from the series in a selection of documents illustrating the history of St Paul’s published by the Camden Society.

\textsuperscript{1} C. D. Cragoe, ‘Fabric, Tombs and Precincts, 1087–1540’, in D. Keene \textit{et al.} (eds), \textit{St Paul’s: The Cathedral Church of London} (New Haven, 2004), 127–42. Thirty-three episcopal indulgences issued between 1235 and 1260 are collected in 25124, and these probably represent only a fraction of the total; see W. Sparrow Simpson, \textit{Documents Illustrating the History of St Paul’s Cathedral}. Camden Society, n.s. 26 (Westminster, 1880), appendix A, 175–6. For Innocent IV’s indulgence of a year and forty days, see \textit{ibid.}, 3–4.
Originally housed in the cathedral library, the collection was transferred along with the remainder of the St Paul's archive to the Guildhall Library in 1980.

The first and, in Sparrow Simpson's judgement, the earliest document in the series, 25124/1, was issued at St Paul's by a bishop of Bangor identified, as was common in English episcopal acts, only by his initial, 'R', and dated to St Lucy's day (13 December) 'in the fourth year of our pontificate'. Sparrow Simpson identified the author as Robert of Shrewsbury, bishop of Bangor from 1197 to 1212, and dated the indulgence to 1201. To my knowledge, the attribution and dating have not been challenged in the more recent literature.4 There are, however, two other possible candidates: Rotoland, sub-prior of the Cistercian abbey of Aberconwy and bishop of Bangor from approximately 1191 to 1196; and Master Richard, archdeacon of Bangor, who was elected in 1236, consecrated in 1237, and occupied the see until his death in 1267.5

Unfortunately, the seal attached to 25124/1 is damaged and therefore provides no firm evidence for the date and attribution of the act. It exhibits the standard iconographic and physical features of a thirteenth-century Welsh episcopal seal: in green wax, it measures approximately 40 x 33 mm, is in a vesical (pointed-oval) form, and is attached by a double queue, a parchment tag passed through an incision in the fold at the foot of the document.6 The obverse depicts a bishop in eucharistic vestments under a canopy, right hand raised in blessing, holding in his left a pastoral staff turned inwards; the reverse depicts what appears to be a human figure on the right and a sphere to the left. The legends, of which only the word 'sigillum' on the obverse is clearly decipherable, are in the 'Lombardic' capitals customarily used on episcopal seals in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The text of the act, of which a fresh transcription is printed below, is in most respects typical of the rising tide of indulgences produced in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries not only to solicit alms for the construction of churches, but also to endow religious foundations, to foster devotions, to relieve the poor, and even to build bridges, roads, and harbours. In the disposition, the bishop of Bangor extends to the faithful of his own jurisdiction who contribute to the St Paul's building fund, and to any other donors whose diocesan ratify his indulgence, the relaxation of forty days' enjoined penance—a penalty such as fasting or pilgrimage imposed by the penitent's confessor—on condition of sincere contrition and confession.

It is significant that the arenga, or preamble, of 25124/1 employs the Quoniam ut ait formula, which is constructed around two quotations from Paul's second letter to the Corinthians (5:10 and 9:6):

Since, as the Apostle says, we shall all stand before the judgement seat of Jesus Christ to receive according as we have done in the

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5 Le Neve and Pearson, Fasti, IX, 3.

6 D. H. Williams, ‘Catalogue of Welsh Ecclesiastical Seals as Known Down to 1600 A.D.’, Archaeologia Cambrensis, cxxiii (1984), 105–9. Williams provides a description of what might be Bishop Richard’s privy seal at 111, but the seal of 25124/1 appears to be the great seal, employed for more solemn transactions.

flesh, whether good or ill,’ it befits us to anticipate the day of the final harvest by works of mercy and, mindful of things eternal, to sow on earth what, when the Lord rewards us, we, standing fast in hope and faith, may reap in heaven in increased yield, for ‘he who sows sparingly shall also reap sparingly, and he who sows bountifully shall also bountifully reap’ eternal life.

Employed in papal acts as early as Eugene III (1145–53), the formula was recommended by canon 62 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) as a model for bishops licensing the seekers (quaestores) of alms and pardoners who advertised indulgences.8 Innocent III (1198–1216) granted an indulgence in the ‘Quoniam ut ait’ form in favour of the hospital of SS James and John in Aynho, Northamptonshire, during the closing session of the council, and Honorius III (1216–27) used the formula in two indulgences in favour of English beneficiaries.9

It appears that the formula was not employed in English episcopal indulgences before the 1220s. For example, the remission of forty days’ penance granted around 1175 to contributors to the cathedral fabric fund by Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London (1163–87), contains only an echo of 2 Corinthians 9:6: ‘Listen to your master; hear and receive his wise counsel. You can sow now what you would receive in eternal life. Now is winter, now the time to sow corn; but if the last hour has shut your eyes, this is no time to sow.’10 A review of the first thirty-seven volumes of the English Episcopal Acta series reveals no example of the ‘Quoniam ut ait’ formula earlier than an indulgence of 1231, itself modelled on an award of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, to the same beneficiary and dated August 1226.11 In form, twelfth-century English indulgences rarely seem to have been composed according to a standard model, but rather were tailored to the beneficiaries, alluding, for example, to their patron saints or functions, and often, like Foliot’s, so packed with scriptural allusions that they resembled short homilies.12 The reproduction of the IV Lateran formula in 25124/1 suggests that it should not be dated earlier than 1215.

The decisive argument for the attribution of 25124/1 to Bishop Richard, however, is palaeographic: the document was written by a scribe responsible for three other precisely datable indulgences in the same collection, all of them awarded in London between 1237 and 1241. The first, 25124/10, by Christian, bishop of Emly in Ireland (1236 x 1237–1249), is dated 2010), 66–7 (no. 50), 27 May 1229.

8 For Eugene III, see Sayers, 114, n.125, and P. Jaffé and S. Loewenfeld, Regesta pontificum Romanorum ad 1198 (Leipzig, 1885–8), II, no. 9639. For examples from later twelfth-century papal documents, see Vincent, 53, n.120. The Lateran decree is published by J. Alberigo et al. (eds), Conciliorum Oecumenicarum Decreta (Bologna, 1972), 263–4. It was subsequently incorporated into Gregory IX’s decretal collection; see Liber extra 5.38.14 Quum ex eo, ed. E. Friedberg, Corpus iuris canonici (Leipzig, 1882; repr. Graz, 1956), II, cols 888–9.

9 Sayers, 114; Vincent, 53–4.

10 Audite magistrum uestrum, audite sanum et suscipite consilium. Seminare nunc potestis, quod in eterna uita suscipiatis. Nunc hyemps est, tempus sementis iaciende nunc. ‘Listen to your master; hear and receive his wise counsel. You can sow now what you would receive in eternal life. Now is winter, now the time to sow corn; but if the last hour has shut your eyes, this is no time to sow.’

11 St Ethelbert’s hospital, Hereford; see EEA VII: Hereford 1079–1234, ed. J. Barrow (London, 1993), 275–6 and note (no. 344). The adoption of the formula by English bishops was more common than the remarks of C. R. Cheney suggest; see English Bishops’ Chanceries (Manchester, 1950), 76–7. For additional examples, see EEA XIII: Winchester 1218–1268, ed. P. M. Hoskin (London, 1997), 98–9 (no. 122), 24 January 1253 (in favour of St Paul’s); EEA XXII: Chichester 1215–1253, ed. P. M. Hoskin (London, 2001), 46–7 (no. 62), 8 September 1234, and 106–7 (no. 130), 2 April 1247; EEA XXIX: Durham 1241–1283, ed. P. M. Hoskin (London, 2005), 69 (no. 73), 30 January 1256, and 75–6 (no. 80), 6 March 1255; EEA XXXVI: Salisbury 1229–1262, ed. B. R. Kemp (London, 2010), 66–7 (no. 50), 27 May 1229 x 1234, and 78–9 (no. 59), 24 April 1237; and EEA XXXVIII: London 1229–1280, ed. P. M. Hoskin (London, 2011), 93–4 (no. 130), 27 February 1262. Unfortunately, I was unable to review all texts of indulgences that are simply calendared in the EEA. The earliest example of the ‘Quoniam ut ait’ formula in a continental episcopal (as opposed to a papal) act generated by a search of the virtual archive ‘Monasterium.Net’ dates from 1233 (http://vdu.uni-koeln.de:8181/mom/home); last accessed 16 August 2011.

12 On the homiletic character of many indulgences, designed to preclude ad hoc and probably unorthodox sermons by pardoners, see Vincent, 54–5.
28 October 1237, the second, 25124/12, by Richard Wendene, bishop of Rochester (1238–50), 25 January 1240; and the third, 25124/15, by Hugh Pattishall, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1240–41), 9 November 1241.

The hand of all four indulgences is in an elaborate and polished chancery script that lacks the cursive traits to be seen in contemporary court scripts. Its principal features may be summarized as follows. The majuscules B, C, D, E, H, O, P, Q, and R are usually written with doubled horizontal or vertical strokes, in the case of D, sometimes both; N with one or two horizontal middle strokes. Tironian et is barred with a concluding serif to the right. Among the minuscules, ascenders of b, d (where the upright, rather than the uncial, form is used), h, k, and l are slightly notched; the ascender of the two-compartment a extends as far above the headline as f and s-longa; the descenders of p, g, and r terminate in a leftward stroke; g is open and has a long, horizontal tail to the left, as does x; and the final stroke of terminal m and n curve down to the left and end in a horizontal rightward stroke, often with an additional horizontal cross-stroke through the descender. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the script consists in the short horizontal cross-strokes or flourishes joined by oblique hairlines with which the scribe decorates the ascenders of minuscule s and f; he occasionally employs a similar figure for the er, us, and um suspensions, which are otherwise indicated by the usual strokes. The scribe never identifies himself, but he might have been employed in the household of Roger Niger, bishop of London between 1229 and 1241, or by one of the other ecclesiastical bodies seated in London.

The physical layout of all four indulgences is similar: three (25124/1, 10, and 12) measure on average $190 \times 135$ mm (excluding the fold) and seals are attached by parchment double queues. More significantly, 25124/10 and 12 also employ the ‘Quoniam ut ait’ formula, and the phrasing of the balance of the texts is virtually identical to that of 25124/1. Likewise, the mise en page of 25124/1, 10, and 12, including lineation, is similar. 25124/15 is smaller in format ($170 \times 96$ mm) and employs a truncated formula from which scriptural allusions have been eliminated.

On balance, both the formal and the palaeographic evidence indicate that 25124/1 should be redated to 13 December 1240, Bishop Richard’s fourth pontifical year. It therefore represents one of a clutch of indulgences awarded around the time of the dedication of St Paul’s in 1241 rather than the earliest surviving fabric indulgence in the cathedral archive.

Text

Original, parchment, $181/186 \times 130$ mm (excluding fold), sealed in green wax (approx.


15 Fryde, 253.


18 Le Neve and Pearson, *Fasti IX*, 3, are unable to provide the date of Richard’s consecration; if he was consecrated between 14 and 31 December 1237, the indulgence should be dated 13 December 1241. Calculated from election (July 1236), the date would be 1239.

19 Sparrow Simpson attributes 25123/13, a second undated indulgence by ‘R,’ bishop of Bangor, to Bishop Richard (Documents, 175). It offers relaxation of thirty days’ penance to those who visit the cathedral ‘on the feast of the dedication or its anniversary’ (‘in festo dedicationis seu eiusdem anniversario’). If the reference is to the dedication itself, the document should be dated to 1241, but there is no reason to exclude any later year of Richard’s episcopate. By the same token, the absence of any indication of date might support an earlier attribution, perhaps to Rotoland or Robert of Shrewsbury.
Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit R., dei gracia Bangoren-sis episcopus, salutem in domino. Quoniam, ut ait | apostolus, ‘omnes stabimus ante tribunal Ihesu Christi recepturi prout in corpore gessimus sive bonum fuerit sive malum’, | oportet nos diem messiosis extre- 
me misericordie | <operibus> | prevenire ac eternorum intuitu seminare in terris quod reddente domino | cum multiplicato fructu recolligere debeamus in celis firmam 
spem fiduciamque tenentes, quoniam ‘qui parce semi-[-nat parce et metet qui seminat in benedicionibus de benedicionibus et metet’ | vitam eternam. Cum igitur inter | opera caritatis non innerito debeat computari ecclesiarum fabricis pias elemosinarum largiciones misericorditer inpartiri, | universitatem vestram rogamus attencius monentes et exortantes in domino quatinus ad fabricam ecclesie sancti Pauli | London. de bonis | vobis a deo collatis aliqua caritatis subsidia erogetis ut per hec | et alia bona que domino inspi-[-rante feceritis eterna possitis gaudia promereri. Nos vero de dei misericordia et Glorione virginis Marie, beati Pauli et | omnium sanctorum meritis confisi omnibus parochianis nostris ac alisius universalis quorum diocesani hanc nostram ratam | habuerint indulgenciam qui ad fabricam dicte ecclesie suas duxerint elemosinas conferendas, si de peccatis suis | vere contriti fuerint et confessi, quadraginta dies de iniuncta sibi peni- 
tencia misericordierem relaxamus. | Datum London. apud sanctum Paulum die sancte Lucie virginis, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.23

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ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORDS ‘TANTRA’ AND ‘YANTRA’ IN THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY

IN the 3rd edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED3) the word ‘tantra’ has been defined as a Hindu or Buddhist mystical or magical text, and adherence to the doctrine or principles of the tantras, involving mantras, meditation, yoga, and ritual. While offering etymological explanation of the word the origin is stated in OED3 to have been traced to a Sanskrit word ‘tantra’ which is said to be literally meaning ‘loom, groundwork, doctrine’ from Śanskrit ‘tan’ stretch. This explanation is wrong. As a matter of fact the word ‘tantra’ is derived from ‘tānu’ which in Sanskrit language means the body. The fundamental idea of tantra as a religious tenet and practice involves subjecting the body to severe pain and suffering through trials and tribulations as a test for a person’s endurance and forbearance. In the Śanskrit language the word ‘tantra’ has nothing to do with ‘loom’ as stated in the origin of the word in OED3. Tantra in the sense of loom has been confused with the almost similar sounding word ‘tāntu’ in Sanskrit which means ‘loom’. We may, for instance, recall the common word ‘tantubaya’ meaning the weaver; and we have an analogous word ‘lutatantu’ which means ‘spider’s cobweb’ in Śanskrit. So ‘tantra’ has nothing to do with ‘loom’ as it relates not to ‘tāntu’ (loom) but to ‘tānu’ meaning the body, the infliction and immolation of which is the basic tenet and

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20 2 Cor. 5:10; cf. Rom. 14:10.
21 operibus is missing in 25124/1 but demanded by the sense; I have supplied it from IV Lateran, can. 62, in J. Alberigo et al. (eds), Conciliorum Oecumenicarum Decreta, 263, and Liber extra 5.38.14 Quam ex eo.
22 2 Cor. 9:6; cf. Gal. 6:8–9.
23 I am grateful to the staff of the Guildhall Library for their courteous assistance and to the members of my graduate seminar on diplomatics and diplomatic editing, who have often expressed reservations about Sparrow Simpson’s dating of 25124/1.