

**‘Those Been the Cokkes Words and Not Myne’**

**Medieval Influences on the Form and Structure of  
David Jones’s *The Anathemata***

**Kirsty Black**

**Goldsmiths College, University of London  
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## **Declaration of Authorship**

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

**Kirsty Black**

June 2007\*

\* Note: This thesis was submitted for examination in June 2007, but the examination did not take place until July 2008. No changes were made to the content after submission.

## Abstract

My thesis examines the ways in which David Jones was influenced by medieval literature and thought whilst composing his long poem, *The Anathemata*. Although several critics have acknowledged Jones's interest in medieval culture, none has analysed the full extent of the medieval contribution to the poem. My thesis suggests that it is far greater than has previously been thought, and has in fact determined the form and the overall structure of the poem.

The thesis reviews the existing literature concerning *The Anathemata*, particularly that offering an analysis of the medievalism in the text, or a suggested structure for the poem, and examines the flaws in the structural models proposed to date. The thesis then assesses the impact of various aspects of medieval thought, including historiography, typology and numerology, on Jones's writing. The extent to which such thoughts were mediated through Jones's acquaintance with and reading of contemporary historians is also analysed. Medieval sources range from the genres of chronicle, history and *vita*, through drama and romance to individual authors such as Malory and Chaucer. These sources are traced in two ways: through an analysis of *The Anathemata* itself, in which borrowings from medieval literature are apparent through textual allusions and imagery; and through a thorough examination of the contents of Jones's library, which reveals that Jones derived a strong understanding of the medieval perspective from critical and historical works as well as from primary texts. The central tenet of the thesis is that this medieval perspective was a dominant influence in the 'shaping' of the text, defining not only the content of the fragments that comprise *The Anathemata* but also offering Jones an established pattern, a 'shape in words', for the composition of the work from those fragments.

The conclusion to my thesis reconciles the perception of a recognisable structure with Jones's statement that the work 'was not planned', by showing that the organisation of the eight fragments into a tripartite structure which contains and unifies the disparate parts is more plausible than existing explanations of the poem's structure. The tripartite structure proposed by my thesis has a significance that reinforces the theme of the poem, is derived from the same medieval sources as the content and demonstrates the fidelity of Jones's vision.

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## List of Abbreviations

Texts by David Jones referred to in abbreviated forms in this thesis:

<i>Ana.</i>	<i>The Anthemata</i>
<i>I.P.</i>	<i>In Parenthesis</i>
<i>D.G.</i>	<i>The Dying Gaul and Other Writings</i>
<i>S.L.</i>	<i>Sleeping Lord</i>
<i>R.Q.</i>	<i>The Roman Quarry</i>

Correspondence by David Jones:

<i>Dai Greatcoat</i>	<i>Dai Greatcoat: A Self-Portrait of David Jones in his Letters</i> , ed. René Hague
<i>I.N.</i>	<i>Inner Necessities: The Letters of David Jones to Desmond Chute</i> , ed. Thomas Dilworth
<i>Letters to V.W.</i>	<i>Letters to Vernon Watkins</i> , ed. Ruth Pryor
<i>Letters to W.H.</i>	<i>Letters to William Hayward</i> , ed. Colin Wilcockson

Frequently used critical works referred to by short title in footnotes:

'Medieval Inspiration'	Blamires, David, 'The Medieval Inspiration of David Jones'
<i>Canterbury Tales</i> , <i>Troilus and Criseyde</i>	Chaucer, Geoffrey, all works. Unless otherwise specified, the edition used for all of Chaucer's works is <i>The Riverside Chaucer. The Student's Chaucer</i> , ed. W.W. Skeat [NLW shelfmark: DJ Collection 484] is used when the exact wording as read by Jones is important; this edition is abbreviated to 'Skeat'.
'Modernist Unfinished'	Deane, Patrick, 'David Jones, T.S. Eliot, and the Modernist Unfinished'
'Fate of Narrative'	Deane, Patrick, 'The Fate of Narrative in David Jones's <i>Anthemata</i> '
'Antithesis and Unity'	Dilworth, Thomas, 'Antithesis and Unity in <i>The Anthemata</i> '
'Engraving the Structure'	Dilworth, Thomas, 'David Jones's <i>The Deluge</i> : Engraving the Structure of the Modern Long Poem'

'Spatial Imagination'	Dilworth, Thomas, 'The Spatial Imagination of David Jones'
<i>Shape of Meaning</i>	Dilworth, Thomas, <i>The Shape of Meaning in the Poetry of David Jones</i>
<i>Commentary</i>	Hague, René, <i>A Commentary on The Anathemata of David Jones</i>
<i>Catalogue</i>	Jones, Huw Ceiriog, ed., <i>The Library Of David Jones (1895-1974): A Catalogue</i>
<i>The Maker Unmade</i>	Miles, Jonathan and Derek Shiel, <i>David Jones: The Maker Unmade</i>
<i>Backgrounds</i>	Miles, Jonathan, <i>Backgrounds To David Jones: A Study In Sources And Drafts</i>
<i>Nennius</i>	Nennius, <i>Historia Britonum: The History of the Britons</i> , trans. Richard Rowley
'Meaning of History'	Robichaud, Paul, 'David Jones, Christopher Dawson and the Meaning of History'
'Undoing of all Things'	Robichaud, Paul, 'The Undoing of all Things: Malorian Language and Allusion in David Jones' <i>In Parenthesis</i> '
'Theologies of History'	Schwartz, Adam, 'Theologies of History in G.K. Chesterton's <i>The Everlasting Man</i> and in David Jones's <i>The Anathemata</i> '
<i>Third Spring</i>	Schwartz, Adam, <i>The Third Spring: G.K. Chesterton, Graham Greene, Christopher Dawson, and David Jones</i>
<i>Decline of the West</i>	Spengler, Oswald, <i>The Decline of the West</i>
<i>Turn of a Civilization</i>	Staudt, Kathleen Henderson, <i>At the Turn of a Civilization: David Jones and Modern Poetics</i>

Full bibliographic details may be found in the bibliography on p. 293.

*Note on Dictionary Definitions:*

The dictionary used throughout is the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, abbreviated to *S.O.E.D.* The definitions provided in the footnotes to *The Anathemata* are quoted from the *S.O.E.D.*, a copy of which was owned and often consulted by David Jones.

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## *Chapter One: Introduction*

### **Chapter One**

#### **Introduction**

Dëar me, and who learned you in the historias, the cosmologies and topographies, the genealogies and *nomina*, leaving aside the rhetorics, sister? Very appetitive ar'n't we? – or was your knowledge infused?

(*Ana.*, p. 135)

It is now fifty-five years since *The Anathemata* was published and despite its acclamation by W.H. Auden as 'very probably the finest long poem written in English this century' (*Ana.*, back cover), both the text and its author remain relatively little-known. Jones's work retains the reputation of being obscure and difficult. This is partly due to the proliferation of footnotes and dense allusiveness of his work, but it is also because the form and structure of *The Anathemata* are not immediately apparent, and because much of the content seems unfamiliar to the modern reader.

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Indeed, the main purpose of the footnotes is to explain the significance of the content. Jones was preoccupied with the idea that Western civilisation is losing or destroying its own inheritance – a spiritual knowledge – and is thus impoverishing itself. *The Anathemata* was conceived as an act of preservation, a means of conserving things that are integral to the European Christian tradition, and which, in Jones's opinion, are in danger of being forgotten. In 1962 he wrote to Vernon Watkins,

So far classical allusions & Biblical ones and (in my case) Catholic liturgical ones still *more or less* [sic] work – but only more or less because the whole bloody past is more or less down the drain, as far as I can make out.<sup>1</sup>

Yet 'the whole bloody past' is one of Jones's chief concerns, as I shall demonstrate in this thesis. In particular, Jones has frequent recourse to the literature, theology and art of the Middle Ages, drawing on these resources for the content and form of not only his written work, but his visual art as well. Although Jones alluded to classical writings, as the quotation above suggests, and he was widely read in later periods of English literature, it is above all to the works of the medieval period that he turns in *The Anathemata*.<sup>2</sup>

There are several reasons for this preoccupation, which will be analysed in greater detail as they impact upon the argument of my thesis. These relate to Jones's historiographical views, according to which the medieval period was the last great period of creativity in the arts; to the fact that Catholicism was the default religion in medieval Britain; to his sense of his Welsh roots (the last Welsh Prince, Llewellyn, was killed in 1282, thus the autonomy and individual culture of Wales was effectively ended

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to Vernon Watkins, 11 April 1962, in Ruth Pryor, ed., *David Jones: Letters to Vernon Watkins* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976), p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, the term 'medieval' is interpreted as Jones used it, to incorporate a long millennium, from the Sack of Rome by the Visigoths in A.D. 410, to the early sixteenth century. This period thus covers the writings of St Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, in the fifth century and those of Gildas in the sixth through to the final performances of the medieval mystery and morality plays in the late 1500s.



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medieval references, or even the majority of them; most are assumed to be understood by the reader.

However, the greatest influence of Jones's medieval sources is not on the imagery or language, but on the form and structure of *The Anthemata*, in which elements of medieval thinking are re-worked and re-presented. Neither the form nor the structure of the poem has yet been explained satisfactorily by existing criticism, which fails to engage fully with the materials openly acknowledged by Jones to be influential on his work.

Despite his assiduity in acknowledging sources, Jones considered the discussion of influences to be, at best, a distraction:

In my view the whole business of critics endlessly nosing around for 'influences' is a bore and virtually useless and deceptive, and gives quite a false impression of how an artist works [...] It's more the whole conditioning civilisational situation into which one was born that determines the form.<sup>5</sup>

I intend to show that although the 'whole conditioning civilisational situation' may well contribute to the form of the work, the way in which the artist or author selects and then reacts to his own specific materials is more significant, though indeed the nature of the reaction may also be linked to the 'civilisational situation'. In this thesis, I propose a new interpretation of *The Anthemata's* narrative form and physical structure based on the medieval materials referenced by Jones himself, and hitherto disregarded by critics of his work.

A review of the existing criticism relevant to this discussion ensues.

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<sup>5</sup> Letter to Harman Grisewood, 22 May 1962, in René Hague, ed., *Dai Greatcoat: A Self-Portrait of David Jones in his Letters* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), p. 190. This book is henceforth referred to as *Dai Greatcoat*.



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### Jones's Works

Although medieval influences are evident in all of Jones's work, both visual and textual, the discussion in this thesis is limited to *The Anathemata*. This book was published in 1952, following several years of work. Jones's *In Parenthesis* had been published in 1937, to great critical acclaim. The only other poetic work to be published during Jones's lifetime was *The Sleeping Lord and other fragments*, which was published in 1974, shortly before Jones's death in October of that year. The remaining two volumes of poetry, *The Roman Quarry and other sequences*, and *Wedding Poems* were published posthumously. In addition, I refer to Jones's two collections of essays, *Epoch and Artist* and *The Dying Gaul*, and to the various volumes of published correspondence.

### Jones's Sources

Jones's poetry has attracted the attention of a variety of critics from different backgrounds, from medievalists to archaeologists and First World War literary scholars and historians. It is beyond the scope of this review to analyse all of the commentary on Jones's work so I will focus on published criticism of his poetry, especially in relation to perceived structure and medieval influences. The writings I have reviewed reflect the range of critical backgrounds and represent a variety of approaches to Jones's work, both positive and negative.

In addition to the critical works discussed below, I have used *The Library of David Jones: A Catalogue*, a meticulously researched guide to the books that were in Jones's possession at his death.<sup>6</sup> His personal library is now maintained in the Special Collections at the National Library of Wales. Although obviously it cannot be proven that

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<sup>6</sup> Huw Ceiriog Jones, *The Library of David Jones (1895-1974): A Catalogue* (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1995), henceforth *Catalogue*.

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Jones read every book listed, the *Catalogue* does offer some guidance as to the authors and texts with which Jones was familiar. The *Catalogue* indicates that Jones annotated many of his books; I have attempted to establish the influence of these sources by determining the extent of the annotation in the books themselves during research at the National Library of Wales. Many annotations have proved illuminating, demonstrating not only that Jones read a particular work, but also whether he agreed or disagreed with the views expressed therein, and I have cited the annotations in my thesis where I feel that they offer confirmation or denial of a particular hypothesis. However, it should not be forgotten that Jones regularly patronised his local library (as overdue books in the *Catalogue* testify), was a member of the London Library,<sup>7</sup> and borrowed books from friends.<sup>8</sup> Conversely, he was also in the habit of lending books to other friends. The *Catalogue*, therefore, can be of use as a guide only, and not as a comprehensive list of Jones's reading material.

The relevant critical literature is reviewed according to three categories: the biographical and general overviews of Jones's work; analyses of the medieval aspects, and Jones's attitude to history; and theories of structure and form in *The Anathemata*. Further criticism of Jones is listed in the bibliography.

### **I. Biographical and General Overviews**

At present, no comprehensive biography of David Jones exists. Thomas Dilworth has been authorised by Jones's estate to write a biography, but this is still a

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<sup>7</sup> A copy of a letter drafted by Jones to the London Library, requesting the renewal of books, is in the manuscript collection at the National Library of Wales (cited in Jonathan Miles, *Backgrounds to David Jones: A Study in Sources and Drafts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990), henceforth *Backgrounds*, p. 3).

<sup>8</sup> Jones's wide circle of friends included not only Eric Gill and the other members of the Ditchling community, but also such eminent figures as Harman Grisewood, Douglas Cleverdon, Christopher Dawson, Tom and Charles Burns, Jim Ede, Bernard Wall, Louis Bussell and of course T.S. Eliot, his editor at Faber. All of these names, and many more, feature throughout his letters in *Dai Greatcoat*.

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work in progress. A biography by Keith Alldritt was published in 2003,<sup>9</sup> to coincide with the Imperial War Museum's exhibition 'Anthem for Doomed Youth', featuring twelve soldier poets of the First World War. Unfortunately, although Alldritt provides a useful context, he has made several basic errors, including Jones's name, and thus the biography is of limited critical use.

René Hague's *Commentary on 'The Anathemata' of David Jones* provides a line-by-line exposition of the poem;<sup>10</sup> the first three sections of it were seen and approved by Jones himself before his death. Its main use is in providing confirmation of the source of certain words used by Jones, although occasionally Hague is able to clarify the intention of words or passages by referring to conversations with Jones. However, the references are generally limited in their scope and the *Commentary* does not venture into criticism of the poem as a whole. Samuel Rees's *Annotated Bibliography and Guide to Research* was also published in 1977;<sup>11</sup> although a helpful starting point, it has been superseded in many respects, both by the aforementioned *Catalogue* and by the amount of criticism that has been published in the intervening quarter-century. A similar fate has befallen Henry Summerfield's *Introductory Guide to The Anathemata*, which offers a simple explanation and overview of the poem.<sup>12</sup>

*David Jones: Artist and Writer* by David Blamires introduces the reader to Jones's visual and written work.<sup>13</sup> The chapter on *The Anathemata* is brief but gives an analysis of the major themes of the poem, a tentative suggestion as to the structure (which will be considered later in this review), and a limited explanation of a few

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<sup>9</sup> Keith Alldritt, *David Jones: Writer and Artist* (London: Constable, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> René Hague, *A Commentary on 'The Anathemata' of David Jones* (Wellingborough: Skelton, 1977), henceforth 'Commentary'.

<sup>11</sup> Samuel Rees, *David Jones: An Annotated Bibliography and Guide to Research* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1977).

<sup>12</sup> Henry Summerfield, *An Introductory Guide to 'The Anathemata' and 'The Sleeping Lord' sequence of David Jones* (Victoria: B.C. Sono Nis Press, 1979).

<sup>13</sup> David Blamires, *David Jones: Artist and Writer* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978).

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passages of particular interest. The other chapters of the book are also of some relevance, however, insofar as they address recurrent themes in Jones's work, particularly his visual art, which impacts on my thesis. The other relevant 'general' discussion of Jones to have been published during this earlier phase of criticism, William Blissett's *The Long Conversation: A Memoir of David Jones*, is less structured; it is a diary of the conversations, both via telephone and in person, conducted between Jones and Blissett over a period of fifteen years until the poet's death.<sup>14</sup> Although it does not claim to offer analysis of *The Anathemata*, *The Long Conversation* gives a useful insight into Jones's mind, and contains many biographical details as well as information on topics that were of particular interest to Jones, and interpretation of specific passages of the poem queried by Blissett.

More recent publications on Jones and his work have for the most part fallen into the category of critical analysis and are thus discussed in the later sections of this review. However, *David Jones: The Maker Unmade*, published ten years ago, provides a guide to the visual art produced by Jones, including the drawings, engravings and paintings, together with a description of the methods used.<sup>15</sup> This is of particular relevance to the final chapter of my thesis, in which I will demonstrate that the structure of *The Anathemata* is influenced by Jones's education, training and habits as an artist, and has close affinities with much of his visual work. Merlin James's catalogue, *A Map of the Artist's Mind*, also published in 1995 to coincide with Jones's Centenary Exhibition organised by the National Museums and Galleries of Wales, adopts a similar approach.<sup>16</sup> Most importantly for this thesis, it includes a reproduction of the

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<sup>14</sup> William Blissett, *The Long Conversation: A Memoir of David Jones* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

<sup>15</sup> Jonathan Miles and Derek Shiel, *David Jones: The Maker Unmade* (Bridgend: Seren, 1995), henceforth *Maker Unmade*.

<sup>16</sup> Merlin James, *A Map of the Artist's Mind* (London: Lund Humphries Publishers, 1995).

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eponymous 'Map of Themes in the Artist's Mind' (Figure 1, in chapter two), created in 1943, which is a text-and-arrows diagram of the influences acting upon Jones's work at that time.<sup>17</sup> This 'Map' is not comprehensive – other influences not included on the diagram can be positively identified in Jones's writing, and confirmed by reference to his own footnotes or correspondence – but it is a useful guide to potential areas for research.

### II. Medievalist/Historiographical Criticism

Analysis of Jones from a medievalist's perspective has tended to focus on the content or language of his written and visual work, rather than the medieval influence on form and structure. Where the criticism has impinged upon the concept of form or structure, it is largely due to the argument that content provides form, and that *The Anathemata* is structured along thematic lines, as shall be shown. One of the earliest essays to examine the medieval aspects is 'The Medieval Inspiration of David Jones' by David Blamires,<sup>18</sup> which argues that Jones's work exhibits two complementary approaches to medieval themes – using the terms of his visual art, either by making an illustration of a particular incident in a story or by investing the object of the painting with medieval associations. Blamires states that the former method results in a 'more or less direct reworking of the medieval theme',<sup>19</sup> and is found more frequently in Jones's paintings, although 'The Hunt' and 'The Sleeping Lord' both offer literary parallels. Blamires argues that Jones's written work tends to use the associative approach, and that this is evinced through Jones's fascination with language and etymology and his

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<sup>17</sup> James, pp. 50-51.

<sup>18</sup> David Blamires, 'The Medieval Inspiration of David Jones', henceforth 'Medieval Inspiration', in *David Jones: Eight Essays on his Work as Artist and Writer: Being The First Transactions Of Yr Academi Gymreig (English Section)*, ed. by Roland Mathias, (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1976).

<sup>19</sup> 'Medieval Inspiration', p. 74.

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use of a suprapersonal tone, which Blamires suggests is medieval in character. However, Blamires does add the qualification that it is impossible to separate Jones's 'view of things medieval from his attitude to the past in general',<sup>20</sup> and suggests that this engagement with the past results from a 'rejection of the superficial utilitarianism of the present',<sup>21</sup> an argument that I will examine more closely in my thesis. According to Blamires, Jones was 'steeped in medieval lore, in poetry, religion, theology and patterns of culture'.<sup>22</sup> Amongst his many topics of interest are: King Arthur (via Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, the *Mabinogion* and Malory), particularly his role as a saviour figure for the culture; Anglo-Saxon history and literature; Middle English literature, including poetry, Malory, *Piers Plowman* and *The Canterbury Tales*; and politics, especially the relations between England and Wales in medieval times. Blamires does not attempt to analyse the poem as a whole but highlights what to him is familiar:

To a medievalist like myself David Jones's work is a source of rare pleasure. A substantial part of its beauty lies in the musing and reflexion that it elicits from the attentive reader... There are clearly many passages, perhaps especially in *The Anathemata*, where the reader may be puzzled to know precisely what the author is referring to... but such puzzlement does not preclude enjoyment, but is rather a stimulus to discover more.<sup>23</sup>

As the title suggests, Xavier Baron's article 'Medieval Arthurian Motifs in the Modernist Art and Poetry of David Jones' focuses on the influence of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* on Jones's work, although it does briefly acknowledge other medieval Arthurian sources.<sup>24</sup> The central tenet of the article is that Jones is both a modernist and a medievalist in his approach to his material:

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<sup>20</sup> 'Medieval Inspiration', p. 76.

<sup>21</sup> 'Medieval Inspiration', p. 77.

<sup>22</sup> 'Medieval Inspiration', p. 77.

<sup>23</sup> 'Medieval Inspiration', p. 87.

<sup>24</sup> Xavier Baron, 'Medieval Arthurian Motifs in the Modernist Art and Poetry of David Jones', *Studies in Medievalism*, 4 (1992) 247-269.

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In his stubborn fidelity to his special vision, he is a modernist. In his loving celebration of that vision of past and present culture and his place in it, he is a medievalist. With accuracy, but without undue restrictiveness, he could be called a modernist medievalist.<sup>25</sup>

Baron argues that the Arthurian allusions contribute to the texture of the poetry and art, but also that the Arthurian tradition has a structural role in Jones's writings, by providing a 'matrix' for the organisation of his material and by conditioning the reader's response. He believes that the medieval, specifically Arthurian, material anchors Jones's work and gives it 'vitality and energy'<sup>26</sup> and suggests that Jones's recourse to this Arthurian material and its celebration of the landscape resulted from his perception of the instability of twentieth-century culture, and in particular his experiences in the First World War, in which he saw the landscape obliterated. This suggestion has interesting implications, which Baron does not explore, for the idea of permanence and temporality; Jones celebrates hills in his poetry as an enduring feature of the landscape but also a containment of the promise of culture (through the founding of cities, such as Troy, Rome and London,<sup>27</sup> on hills, as well as the burial mounds associated with the idea of the 'sleeping warrior' and saviour figure such as Arthur, and of course the hill of Calvary). However, there may be an irony in this depiction, for as *In Parenthesis* shows, the brutality of twentieth-century warfare levelled the topography and denuded it of its distinctive features.

Baron views the fluid, meandering narrative and forms of Jones's poetry and paintings as contrasting with the hard-edged forms of his contemporaries, most notably Wyndham Lewis and the Vorticists. His conclusion is that the fluid nature is characteristically medieval and he quotes C.S. Lewis's description of the medieval 'love

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<sup>25</sup> Baron, p. 248.

<sup>26</sup> Baron, p. 251.

<sup>27</sup> London is founded upon the two hills of Cornhill and Ludgate Hill; these hills are rather less obvious now than they once were.

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of the labyrinthine<sup>28</sup> – a reference that has implications for a discussion of the structure of Jones's work, particularly with regard to a theory propounded (as I shall explain) by Thomas Goldpaugh. He also emphasises the similarities between Jones's appreciation of the universal and the 'figurative mind of the medieval artist'.<sup>29</sup>

Baron's article makes a distinction between Jones's emotional, instinctive response to the medieval Arthurian tradition and Jones's learned use of the Roman material:

Unlike his use of the lore and ritual of imperial Rome, which he picked up secondhand from eclectic reading of Oswald Spengler and Christopher Dawson, he felt the medieval Arthurian tradition in his Welsh blood.<sup>30</sup>

However, I feel that this distinction is somewhat artificial, and too dismissive of both the depth and breadth of Jones's classical and medieval knowledge. Whilst there is no doubt that he felt a deep affinity with the Arthurian tales, he was also interested in Roman culture at an early age: one of his favourite childhood books was Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*. Baron seems to demonstrate a prejudice against 'non-Welsh' influences, for he later claims that *The Anthemata* is 'less effective and compelling' than *In Parenthesis* for two reasons.<sup>31</sup> The first is that *The Anthemata* is about the living presence of Christ in the Mass, and the poet's experience of that presence, suggesting that this is an isolating, rather than encompassing, theme. The second, which seems rather more arbitrary and less convincing, is that *The Anthemata* is 'really a Welsh Londoner's poem and not a London Welshman's'.<sup>32</sup> Why this judgment, with which I would agree, makes the poem 'less effective and compelling' is not made clear.

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<sup>28</sup> Baron, p. 251.

<sup>29</sup> Baron, p. 253.

<sup>30</sup> Baron, p. 251.

<sup>31</sup> Baron, p. 261.

<sup>32</sup> Baron, p. 261.



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Baron's most controversial statement, however, is that Jones's later poems, such as 'The Hunt' and 'The Sleeping Lord', are his most successful because 'most accessible'.<sup>33</sup> This implies that, notwithstanding his assertion that the reader should work to understand and appreciate a poem, Baron's prioritised criterion for appreciation is accessibility. Although some of his observations are helpful in an understanding of Jones's poetry, the necessarily limited scope of the article, combined with Baron's obvious and unsubstantiated prejudice against *The Anathemata*, restricts the overall usefulness of his contribution.

Paul Robichaud's work, 'The Undoing of All Things: Malorian Language and Allusion in David Jones's *In Parenthesis*', is similarly restricted by both theme and subject.<sup>34</sup> Robichaud takes Baron's article as his starting-point, quoting Baron to support his view that 'the Middle Ages are central to David Jones's sense of cultural tradition'. Robichaud narrows Baron's focus further, emphasising Malory's influence on *In Parenthesis* through an analysis of vocabulary. If there is any distinction in their views, it is that Baron tends to view the Arthurian tradition as providing structure as well as texture, whereas Robichaud claims that Malory's book offers Jones suggestive thematic analogues that are brought into the poem through quotation and allusion.<sup>35</sup>

Of all the criticism analysing Jones's poetry from a medievalist perspective, it is Joseph Grennen's 'The "Making of Works": David Jones and the Medieval Drama', that is the most relevant to my own discussion.<sup>36</sup> The central argument of the article proposes a correlation between the 'making of works' of medieval craftsmen and the

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<sup>33</sup> Baron, p. 251.

<sup>34</sup> Paul Robichaud, 'The Undoing of All Things: Malorian Language and Allusion in David Jones's *In Parenthesis*', *Renascence*, 53 (2001), 149-165.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Robichaud's *Making the Past Present: David Jones, the Middle Ages and Modernism* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007) was published in the U.S.A. on 15 May 2007 and launched in the U.K. in September 2007. Therefore the book was not available to me during the writing of this thesis, which was submitted for examination in June 2007.

<sup>36</sup> Joseph E. Grennen, 'The "Making of Works": David Jones and the Medieval Drama', *Renascence*, 45 (1993), 211-224.

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theological work of God, the *opus Dei*; it extends this correlation to Jones's own craftsmanship. The expression 'making of works' is Jones's own, and is an expression that he frequently uses throughout the Preface to *The Anthemata* and elsewhere. However, it is not this central argument that is of most interest to me, but Grennen's observations on themes in medieval drama. Grennen argues that as medieval drama grew out of the liturgy, so it was 'deeply informed by an exegetical approach to scripture' and was 'especially successful in wedding the here-and-now both to a past conceived of in typological terms, and to a future predicted anagogically'.<sup>37</sup> Grennen does not relate this concept to Jones's work, as I do in chapter four, but instead uses it to introduce a specific detail, that of the "'morteyse" mark' borne by Cain and Judas, related ironically to the mortice of the cross. The main body of his article is thus an analysis of the recurrence of the word 'morteyse' in the medieval drama, and its similar significance in Jones's *Anthemata*. Oddly, in my view, Grennen does not directly link the drama with *The Anthemata*; the significance of the word 'morteyse' to both is thus presented as a coincidental analogy, whereas I suggest that Jones was in fact directly influenced by the drama. Grennen's proposition is that:

Even while recognizing that Jones is not concerned – or not primarily concerned – with the irony of the fact that men in crucifying Christ "know not what they do", and that his emphasis is upon the mystery and the satisfaction in the repetition of immemorial patterns, we may nevertheless point to similarities in the imaginative strategies which link past, present, and future between his work and that of the York dramatist.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout his article, he concentrates on the York cycle of mystery plays, as, of the surviving cycles, 'it is the York pageant of the Crucifixion in which attention is most clearly centered on the grim business – the "werk" – of erecting the cross and setting it in its mortise'.<sup>39</sup> According to Grennen, the 'concept of workmanship as a correlative to

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<sup>37</sup> Grennen, p. 212.

<sup>38</sup> Grennen, p. 217.

<sup>39</sup> Grennen, p. 213.

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divine "operation", [is] most clearly visible in the York cycle, [and] is one idea which would have impressed [Jones] strongly'.<sup>40</sup> However, Grennen does not actually suggest that the York cycle influenced Jones's poem, but that it offers an analogy for his way of thinking. Grennen states that 'what Jones was sympathetic to in the medieval dramatic imagination and, through that, in the exegetical world view which underpinned it, is perhaps clear enough', citing the concept of workmanship and the 'powerful capacity for reflecting analogies through punning' of the medieval form of the English language.<sup>41</sup> In addition to the York plays, both in general and to the specific plays of the *Crucifixion* and *Noah*, he refers to only two others, the Wakefield *Cain and Abel* and the Towneley *Crucifixion*. Whilst he analyses the concept of workmanship in the York *Noah*, he does not relate it to *The Anthemata*:

The Ark, built by Noah as a carpenter conforming to divine specifications, was conceived of by exegetes as a typological antecedent of the body of Christ, and was similarly understood by the York dramatist. Thus, in the Shipwrights' pageant of the building of the Ark, we find a corresponding emphasis on work and craftsmanship. Deus shows Noah the proper way to square logs, fit them smoothly, and nail them together, creating a vessel whose proportions reflect the proportions of the perfect human body – a body which will be realized in history only in Christ himself.<sup>42</sup>

Grennen then cites St Augustine's description of the Ark as body of man. On the previous page, he refers to Eb Bradshaw's insistence on the quality of his workmanship (*Ana.*, p. 121), but instead of referring to the York *Noah* he makes the connection between Jones's language and the language of the *Crucifixion* plays. This connection exists, as I will show, but the connection between *The Anthemata* and medieval drama is much deeper than Grennen states.

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<sup>40</sup> Grennen, p. 221.

<sup>41</sup> Grennen, p. 221.

<sup>42</sup> Grennen, p. 214.

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Although there is little in Grennen's article with which I would disagree, with the one exception that follows, he does not fully explore the contribution of the drama to an understanding of the poem, and indeed, presents it as little more than an analogy. As a result, he suggests that 'the exegete was in many ways the victim of his preconceived scheme of the way things ought to be, and ought to be done'.<sup>43</sup> I will question the validity of this statement, and will demonstrate that in fact, exegesis is a central principle of Jones's structuring of *The Anthemata*, using as supporting evidence Jones's illustrations for the *Chester Play of the Deluge*, of which Grennen seems unaware and which are, I would argue, of great significance to any discussion of the influence of medieval drama on Jones's work.

Regarding Jones's attitude to history in general, rather than specifically that of the medieval period, several critics comment on the dislocation of time and place in the poem. However, the most coherent attempt to examine and explain this is Patrick Deane's article on 'The Fate of Narrative in David Jones's *The Anthemata*'.<sup>44</sup> Deane sees the structure as relating to the theme of time; again, the implicit assumption is that the structure of the poem is formed through organic organisation rather than through a designed construction. Deane comments that

One is not surprised, therefore, to find [Jones] attempting to 'redeem' the time-bound act of reading *The Anthemata* by making use of non-chronological methods of organization, such as association and parataxis. This naturally frustrates our refractory desire to uncover a 'plot' – in what Jones calls the 'English' sense of that word: a *fabula*, a 'time-oriented course of events'.<sup>45</sup>

Deane also notes the disconcerting effect of larger segments being time-oriented but not chronological, and that the temporal integrity of the poem is constantly undermined

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<sup>43</sup> Grennen, p. 221.

<sup>44</sup> Patrick Deane, 'The Fate of Narrative in David Jones's *Anthemata*', in *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 57 (1987/8), 306-320, henceforth 'Fate of Narrative'.

<sup>45</sup> 'Fate of Narrative', p.307.

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by obvious anachronisms and typological references. Although the article does not make an explicit statement about the shape of the structure of *The Anthemata*, his comments regarding chronology are germane to my discussion of narrative form in chapter two. Deane's analysis of the text provides some interesting and relevant points but does not relate them to a wider literary context; his approach is intuitive rather than theoretical. Whilst his observations seem to me to be accurate and insightful insofar as they are explained within this essay, I will expand them to argue that they offer evidence of the influence of medieval scholastic thinking.

In 1994, Kathleen Henderson Staudt's book *At the Turn of a Civilization: David Jones and Modern Poetics* was published,<sup>46</sup> offering an overview of all of Jones's poetic works in a modernist context. The chapters on *The Anthemata* are concerned with re-presentation, and with Jones's imagining of history, and are thus relevant to chapters two and three of my thesis. However, Staudt concludes that Jones's theory of history is closely aligned to that of Spengler, which I refute in chapter two; she does not consider the role that medieval history may play in Jones's work. Staudt makes several interesting comparisons with the work of T.S. Eliot and James Joyce, and comments on the difference between Jones's Christian typology and the 'absurdist' view of humanity taken by Joyce. She also offers a useful, though limited, analysis of re-presentation in *The Anthemata*, from which I have quoted where relevant. Whereas Staudt considers Jones's work almost exclusively from the perspective of his 'whole conditioning civilisational situation', my discussion emphasises those aspects of his poetry which differentiate him from his peers, and which are representative of the individual.

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<sup>46</sup> Kathleen Henderson Staudt, *At the Turn of a Civilization: David Jones and Modern Poetics* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), henceforth *Turn of a Civilization*.

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Adam Schwartz's essay 'Theologies of History in G.K. Chesterton's *The Everlasting Man* and in David Jones's *The Anthemata*' uniquely approaches the topic from a purely philosophical/theological perspective.<sup>47</sup>

Particularly in his masterpiece, *The Anthemata*, Jones seeks to demonstrate the unity of all history and to assess its significance against an eternal backdrop... Chesterton and Jones share a theology of history arising from their Catholicism, a hermeneutic centred on Christ and His Crucifixion, the pivotal person and event in history to them. This belief provides a focal point to which they relate all other persons, events, rites, and myths. In making these connections, the two writers simultaneously defend the values of tradition and continuity while stressing the qualitative difference made by Christ... their common contention that all things rhyme in Christ leads them to assert the unique abilities of Christianity to synthesise reason and imagination as well as to limit the scope of historical subjects while simultaneously expanding their substance. In short, Chesterton's and Jones's Catholicism leads them to agree with Eliot, contrary to Aristotle and his modernist successors, that history is a pattern of timeless moments, a pattern that takes its shape from Christ's Redemptive sacrifice.<sup>48</sup>

In chapter three, I explore the extent to which Eliot's concept of a 'pattern of timeless moments' is reflected in Jones's understanding of the timelessness of the Mass, and the importance of that understanding to the chronological form of the narrative. Like Baron, Schwartz focuses on Jones's 'making of things'. He demonstrates the relation of history to art and 'making', and the significance of man as artist. He also argues that in history, art has a sacramental purpose linked to worship – a concept often expressed by Jones himself. Of greater importance to my thesis, however, Schwartz reconciles Jones's use of pagan myth with his Catholic beliefs through the framework of Christian history:

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<sup>47</sup> Adam Schwartz, 'Theologies of History in G.K. Chesterton's *The Everlasting Man* and in David Jones's *The Anthemata*', *The Chesterton Review*, 23 (1997), 65-84, henceforth 'Theologies of History'.

There are several other essays discussing disparate aspects of history, such as Roman history and prehistoric archaeology, in Jones's work, which are listed in the bibliography. However, these articles are also brief (no books have yet been published on the topic), and all express the view already examined that Jones used history in order to validate his material by investing it with both universal and specific associations. Most of these articles are of a documentary nature, and are therefore useful in providing a context to certain passages of Jones's work, but are less obviously influential in a discussion of the structure of *The Anthemata*.

<sup>48</sup> 'Theologies of History', p. 66.

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These substantial differences caused by the 'revolution' of Christ, this Christian view of history, produce critical cultural consequences. In particular, Chesterton and Jones emphasize two principles which they find unique to Christianity, one of integration and one of limitation. Initially, they believe that Christianity united philosophy and mythology for the first time. Whereas in the ancient world, myth and religion were considered one thing and philosophy quite another, Christianity because of its history rhymed these two roads to truth. As C.S. Lewis put it, only in Christ did 'myth become fact'.<sup>49</sup>

The idea that the Christian theory of history can be both inclusive and exclusive will be explored further in chapters two and three, in which I suggest that it allows Jones to synthesise 'myth and fact', and that the rigidity of its outlook in fact gives *The Anthemata* a greater coherence than is at first seen. Schwartz suggests that a 'Christian theology of history gives both authors a defined pattern with which to stitch the various elements of the *Tao* together into a many-coloured yet seamless garment, a whole greater than the sum of its parts',<sup>50</sup> developing these ideas further in *The Third Spring: G.K. Chesterton, Graham Greene, Christopher Dawson, and David Jones*, which was published late in 2005.<sup>51</sup> However, I will argue that, to extend Schwartz's metaphor, the Christian theology provides the fabric as well as the pattern of the poem.

### III. Structural Criticism

That Jones did not intend a particular structural scheme when he started writing *The Anthemata* is universally acknowledged; Jones himself wrote in the Preface,

What I have written has no plan, or at least is not planned. If it has a shape it is chiefly that it returns to its beginning ... I regard my book more as a series of fragments, fragmented bits, chance scraps really, of records of things, vestiges of sorts and kinds of *disciplinae*.  
(*Ana.* pp. 33-4)

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<sup>49</sup> 'Theologies of History', p. 73.

<sup>50</sup> 'Theologies of History', p. 75.

<sup>51</sup> Adam Schwartz, *The Third Spring: G.K. Chesterton, Graham Greene, Christopher Dawson, and David Jones* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), henceforth *Third Spring*, p. 333.

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However, intention and final effect are very different propositions and it is known that Jones was sometimes disingenuous with regard to his own work, downplaying both his ability and his level of effort. Although Jones's introduction dissuaded critics from analysing the structure of *The Anathemata* at first, more recent criticism has tentatively offered possible templates. However, it cannot be denied that the most problematic aspect of analysing the structure is that in doing so, the critic is apparently wilfully ignoring Jones's own description of the work. I would argue that such an analysis is not as contradictory or controversial a thesis as might be first thought; that for an author as precise with his wording as Jones, the addition of the conditional clause 'or at least, is not planned' demonstrates an acknowledgement on the author's part that the resulting poem does indeed have an apparent structure, albeit one that emerged subconsciously during the composition of the poem, or one which was applied retrospectively to Jones's collection of 'fragments'. Indeed, Jones admits the distinction between intentions and final effect in his Preface: 'while Prudentia is exercised about our intentions, Ars is concerned with the shape of a finished article' (*Ana.*, p. 29).

By 1982, eight years after Jones's death, three main hypotheses for the structure of *The Anathemata* had been put forward, as Neil Corcoran summarises in this succinct overview of the varying critical opinions at that time:

*The Anathemata*, more than most long poems perhaps, manifests form as process, as discovery, as 'invention'. And various critics, sensing this, have suggested formal patterns in the work which comprehend and embrace certain kinds of apparent formlessness. David Blamires considers the poem's circularity its basic structure. 'There is no clearly conceived centre to the work', he says, 'or rather, to adapt St Augustine's definition of the nature of God, the poem is a circle whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere.' Jeremy Hooker elaborates this when he describes the poem as 'a circular maze ... a form which embodies probably the most elaborate enactment of the ritual pattern of initiation in all literature', although he also thinks that the poem establishes its meanings through the three central symbols of stone, water and wood. Gwyn Williams has suggested that the absence of a centred design in old Welsh poetry – which used principles of construction radically different from those of the classical tradition – lies behind *The Anathemata*: its pattern is, essentially, 'inter-



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weaving'. Complementing, or perhaps complicating, these notions of the poem as circle, as maze, as weaving, have been various attempts to describe it in terms of the other arts. Blamires has thought of it as collage, and Richard Ellmann and Robert O'Clair have referred to its 'spatial as opposed to linear organisation'.<sup>52</sup>

It is worth noting at this point that Blamires, in his thoughts on the poem's structure, emphasised a fact that many later critics appear to have overlooked, or at least dismissed as irrelevant. This is the fact that *The Anthemata* is presented as eight distinct, named parts; a fact that I will discuss in my thesis and to which I attach greater significance than has been thought to date. Corcoran himself concluded that *The Anthemata*

does not have 'narrative' coherence; it is not intended ... as historically representational or dramatically 'realistic'; it is meant to resonate with meaning rather than to state, or assert, meaning. Its separate pieces and parts are, in the transforming imagination of their juxtaposition, intended to convey the splendour which, as *signa*, they individually possess for Jones. Fragments ... certainly shored against ruins, but also instinct with celebration: 'anathemata' ... composition by the juxtaposing and patterning of pre-existent fragments is the characteristic mode of organisation in the modern long poem and relates *The Anthemata* closely to the methods and techniques of *The Waste Land*, of Pound's *Cantos*, of William Carlos Williams's *Paterson*.<sup>53</sup>

Corcoran suggests that the nature of the poem's composition does not allow for a structure, but that it is the absence of a narrative coherence that provides the theme that binds the disparate fragments together; he calls it 'the essential unity-within-diversity', believing that the poem's structure thereby depends on its fragmentary nature.

Of the four hypotheses summarised by Corcoran – *The Anthemata* as circle, maze, interlacing or a form of literary patchwork – the last is no longer being considered with any seriousness as a structure, although it is accepted as the method of

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<sup>52</sup> Neil Corcoran, *The Song of Deeds: A Study of 'The Anthemata' by David Jones* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), pp. 43-44.

<sup>53</sup> Corcoran, p. 27.

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composition. Whilst the interlacing analogy is interesting, it is more relevant to the linguistic aspects of particular narrative episodes than to the form and structure of the text in its entirety, though further research in this area would be illuminating. More recent criticism has argued that, despite the fragmentary nature of the work, an underlying structure is indeed apparent. As a result, both the circle and maze theories have been further developed. In *David Jones: Mythmaker*, published a year after Corcoran's book, Elizabeth Ward argues that both structures are applicable:

the poem's structural dependence on fragment and allusion, [is] a feature integrally related to its circular and labyrinthine form. It may be thought to derive from David Jones's acquaintance with medieval scholastic thought.<sup>54</sup>

It is particularly interesting that whilst Corcoran considers the circular, fragmentary form of the poem to be typically 'modernist', Ward views the same attributes as a possible result of Jones's medieval influences. However, she does not explore this line of thought further, concluding that 'the end to which *The Anathemata's* complex interweaving of allusions is directed ... recalls the temper of the nineteenth century, not the thirteenth.'<sup>55</sup> Nor does she explore the structure of the poem, having accepted the earlier studies as fact.

Jones's comment that the structure of *The Anathemata* 'is not planned' is supported by the manner of the poem's composition. It originated as a seven-page poem on the Mass. Studies of the manuscripts by Thomas Dilworth,<sup>56</sup> later confirmed by Tom Goldpaugh, have shown how, over a number of years, Jones expanded this text by successively splitting it open and inserting new material; having studied and

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<sup>54</sup> Elizabeth Ward, *David Jones: Mythmaker* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 139.

<sup>55</sup> Ward, p. 139.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Dilworth, *The Shape of Meaning in the Poetry of David Jones* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), henceforth *Shape of Meaning*.

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dated the various manuscripts, Goldpaugh suggests that *The Anthemata* was composed in layers, with the thematic material being introduced simultaneously.<sup>57</sup> According to his findings, the Mass theme was the basis of the poem, the Roman and Celtic material being introduced subsequently. If this deduction is correct, it has further implications for any discussion on the structure of *The Anthemata*, as it would seem to suggest that, notwithstanding the absence of a planned structure at the outset, a structure must have been either consciously or subconsciously imposed onto the content with each successive addition and insertion, as the author decided where to add or insert the material. This process would seem to validate Jones's claim that the poem 'has no plan, or at least, is not planned' whilst at the same time allowing for a discussion of structure, if not within the poem, then around it.

Dilworth's comprehensive examination of structure in David Jones's poetry, *The Shape of Meaning*, is the most extensive study of the structure of *The Anthemata*. I therefore propose to consider his views in some depth.

Dilworth firstly puts forward, then dismisses, the idea originally mooted by Corcoran that *The Anthemata* is a sequence:

The poem's subtitle, *fragments of an attempted writing*, also suggests disunity, though the poet explains his subtitle as referring to the genesis of the work, sections of it having originated in fragments of earlier manuscript material (14-15). The poem does consist of eight numbered 'fragments', of course, each with its own title and, to a degree, its own unity. This raises the question of the work possibly being a sequence rather than a unified poem – a possibility which need not be entertained indefinitely if the poem is, as we shall see it is, structurally and thematically whole. There is a tendency towards sequence because two of its sections, 'Angle-Land' and 'Redriff', stand as detachable units within the poem's structure. They are, however, contained by that structure and contribute to the meaning of the poem and to what I call the 'form of its content'...<sup>58</sup>

Instead, Dilworth argues, *The Anthemata's* structure is composed of concentric circles:

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<sup>57</sup> Thomas Goldpaugh, unpublished paper given at 'David Jones: Diversity in Unity', The David Jones Society conference, Swansea, 13-15 September 2002.

<sup>58</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 154.

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An overall structural pattern begins to reveal itself. This pattern consists of a number of closing circles, each involving a return to a beginning. The outer circles contain the inner ones in ordered succession and create a structure resembling the circles of a target, which diminish in radiance with proximity to the centre.<sup>59</sup>

These circles centre on the Lady of the Pool's monologue, which, according to Dilworth, contains seven of the ten circles he identifies in the poem. The innermost circle is 'Elen's consideration ... of the Passion and its relationship to the Eucharist', which is positioned at the heart of her monologue. Dilworth argues that the Eucharist thereby supports the structure as well as providing the content:

While teleological for the most part, the movement of the poem is ultimately circular by virtue of its return to meditative setting. This circular closing is the outermost of a recession of circles that constitutes the poem's structure ... the poem's outer circumference coincides with its central point: sacramentally, the Eucharist and the paschal events it makes present are identical.<sup>60</sup>

Although I dispute this hypothesis, and reject the idea of concentric circles providing a structure, there are some elements of his argument that I accept and will explore further in my own work. The main points of interest of Dilworth's thesis are that Jones's poetry is almost always centred, that it has a geometrical symmetry, and that for Jones, structure was as symbolically significant as content.

Dilworth also identifies a correlation between the Incarnation and the structure which I will explore further in my thesis; his proposition is that 'the image of the circle has been applied to the Incarnation [...] in ways that do resemble the poem's structure. [...] the correspondence between the Incarnation and the Eucharist is one of the themes of *The Anthemata*'. I will also be looking at the concept and treatment of time and history in *The Anthemata*; Dilworth comments on this briefly in *The Shape of Meaning*, claiming that 'because of its context in time, the poem is timeless in the sense

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<sup>59</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 158.

<sup>60</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, pp. 168-9.

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that it should finally be apprehended all at once'. Dilworth's work also notes the use of archetypes in *The Anthemata*, and suggests that Jones 'shapes a synthesis of Spengler and Frazer to traditional patristic historiography' but does not expand upon this statement, or note its relevance to or implications for the structural aspects of the poem. I will examine Dilworth's analysis of the typological aspects of *The Anthemata* in greater detail in my chapter on the *figura*, but I feel that although some of his correspondences have validity, he relies too heavily on Freudian theory for many of his analogies to withstand scrutiny. He argues that the figures of *The Anthemata* can be viewed as 'a number of sexual couples',<sup>61</sup> mostly characterised by an Oedipal relationship. Dilworth's near-obsession with sex and sexual enactment threatens to undermine his critical objectivity, and often causes him to speculate without evidence, make unsubstantiated generalisations and overlook more obvious explanations or interpretations. The Oedipal complex features strongly in Dilworth's criticism; he uses Freudian theory unquestioningly, for example, in his statement that 'like all boys, young David Jones had Oedipal feelings'.<sup>62</sup> There is no evidence of such feelings in any of Jones's writings or correspondence concerning his mother, and to base such an assumption on an absolute acceptance of Freud's argument that 'all boys' have such feelings, is, I feel, a weak foundation for such a central tenet of Dilworth's work. Dilworth claims that he 'do[es] not mean to imply that Jones's poetry can be explained in terms of an Oedipal fixation',<sup>63</sup> yet that is exactly how he attempts to interpret the work.

Similarly, the description of the churches of London with which the Lady of the Pool begins her monologue is interpreted with a certain amount of eccentricity. Dilworth demonstrates an unfamiliarity with the history of the City of London when he describes

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<sup>61</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 207.

<sup>62</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 204.

<sup>63</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 205.

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the stream in the lines 'At the tunicled martyr's/ from where prills the seeding under-stream' (*Ana.*, p. 127) as 'the Walbrook, underground since the fourteenth century... a menstrual flow emptying at Downgate'.<sup>64</sup> The stream is indeed the Walbrook, but it seems unlikely that Jones would have visualised a 'menstrual flow' emanating from St Stephen, the 'tunicled martyr'. In Roman times, the Walbrook was the main source of fresh water for the newly-founded city (along with the Wells river on the western boundary), the Thames being a tidal river, and therefore partially saline downstream from Battersea. The now covered Walbrook, which empties into the Thames by Cannon Street Station, is the 'seeding stream' because it generated and sustained life in the city built on the two hills of Cornhill and Ludgate Hill;<sup>65</sup> in a second sense, it 'seeded' or divided the city as it flowed between the two hills. Dilworth's vision of a 'menstrual flow' seems remarkably inappropriate in these circumstances.

Other critics have raised similar objections to Dilworth's arguments. Of these, Peter Sanger is the most outspoken; his article 'A Chase for the Wine-Juice Skipper: David Jones and Thomas Dilworth' is critical both of Dilworth's theory and of his style.<sup>66</sup> Sanger suggests that

neither claim [made for the book by Dilworth] should secure *The Shape of Meaning's* accuracy or reliability... Dilworth's statements about a number of smaller matters seem inaccurate or obtuse, and his major interpretations of the forms of Jones' poems and the importance and interrelationships of their characters are dubious. Part of the reason for such a reaction to *The Shape of Meaning* is Dilworth's vocabulary... This is the speciously precise language of the technocratic literary hierophant.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 216.

<sup>65</sup> See Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), pp.10-11, and other histories of the City of London..

<sup>66</sup> Peter Sanger, 'A Chase for the Wine-Juice Skipper: David Jones and Thomas Dilworth', *Antigonish Review*, 77/78 (1989), 229-252.

<sup>67</sup> Sanger, p. 229.

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Sanger argues, as I shall also argue, that Dilworth's theory that *The Anathemata* is composed of concentric circles does not fully address the issues posed by the poem, and that in order to make the structure 'fit', Dilworth has had to ignore much of the text:

This essay cannot examine all the pairs of pages Dilworth chooses to narrow the radii and determine a common centre for the supposed concentric circles in *The Anathemata*... First, both books [*In Parenthesis* and *The Anathemata*] contain more significant material that is not part of a closed circle than material which is. Second, Dilworth's diagram of *The Anathemata* consists of seven circles and a centre which occur only in "The Lady of the Pool" section, and only three which occur elsewhere in the book's other seven sections... The dubious thesis (Dilworth in no way allows it is a provisional hypothesis) that *In Parenthesis* and *The Anathemata* are organized geometrically (or is it in terms of the physics or light or of mass?) distorts his interpretation of both books. As was noted earlier in this review, he is right to say that meaning and content determine form or *shape* in Jones' poems. The logical reverse corollary is that if a reader misinterprets Jones' form, he will misinterpret meaning. This happens in *The Shape of Meaning*.<sup>68</sup>

Sanger does not offer an alternative structure for discussion, other than to assert that the poem is centred although not as precisely fixed as Dilworth claims, and that at the centre of the poem is the Eucharist. However, I will use some of his arguments to support my own refutation of Dilworth's theory in the final chapter of my thesis.

Dilworth, unsurprisingly, took issue with Sanger's criticism, and retaliated in his article 'The Spatial Imagination of David Jones', published two years later.<sup>69</sup> This article is largely a paraphrasing of the ideas expressed in *The Shape of Meaning*, although it offers an interesting and relatively succinct analysis of the distinction between temporal and spatial forms, and of the significance of visual form to Jones, to which I shall return in my final chapter, although my conclusion is rather different to that of Dilworth. Despite the fact that Dilworth attempts to answer Sanger's objections in this article, his explanation remains unconvincing and further exposes the flaws in his theory:

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<sup>68</sup> Sanger, p. 231.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas Dilworth, 'The Spatial Imagination of David Jones', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 37 (1991), 240-252, henceforth 'Spatial Imagination'.

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A reviewer named Peter Sanger vehemently objects to 'the neat plane geometry of Dilworth's diagram of concentric circles' because *The Anathemata* contains 'more significant material that is not part of the closed circle than material which is'. In two respects this statement is inaccurate. First, nothing in the poem or its structure is more 'significant', nor thematically more important to the poem, than the consecration at Mass. Second, only two short insertions, entitled 'Angle-Land' and 'Redriff', totalling thirteen pages, can be construed as not part of the material that shapes this structure, and even they, as typical extensions of its voyage, are symbolically joined to the Greek ship entering the harbour of Athens (which becomes an archetypal ship) by questions at the start of each section.<sup>70</sup>

Unfortunately, Dilworth contradicts the second of these assertions in his endnote to the passage, in which he adds

To be fair to Sanger, I should add that he also objects because my description of the poem's structure 'consists of seven circles and a centre which occur only' in Elen Monica's monologue 'and only three [circles] which occur elsewhere in the book's other sections'. Elen's monologue occupies the middle of the poem and is forty-four pages long. Is it incredible that six circles (not, as he says, seven) open and close in a monologue of that length? Are the three remaining circles too few for the remaining 150 pages of text?<sup>71</sup>

I feel that in this, Dilworth answers his own question and confirms the validity of Sanger's objections.

Notwithstanding the caveats I have mentioned, Dilworth's book remains the seminal work on structure in Jones's poetry, and I will therefore be returning to it in more detail throughout my thesis. Although *The Shape of Meaning* is Dilworth's major work on Jones, I will also refer to others of his essays, listed in my bibliography. The most relevant of these is 'David Jones's *The Deluge*: Engraving the Structure of the Modern Long Poem', which argues that Jones's engravings to illustrate *The Chester Play of the Deluge* provided him with inspiration for the structure of *The Anathemata* through his discovery of 'a kind of spatial form or structure capable of unifying long non-narrative literary works'.<sup>72</sup> Dilworth suggests that the engravings 'achieve an interrelationship and spatial symmetry that give the book a visual or spatial unity which

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<sup>70</sup> 'Spatial Imagination', p. 245.

<sup>71</sup> 'Spatial Imagination', p. 250.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Dilworth, 'David Jones's *The Deluge*: Engraving the Structure of the Modern Long Poem', *Journal of Modern Literature*, XIX (1994), 5-30, henceforth 'Engraving the Structure', p.6.



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it would not otherwise possess', and that one of the constructs of this symmetry is a central division as a source of visual unity, originating from the joining together of two wood blocks but subsequently used as a compositional device in his written work. Dilworth discusses the thematic pairings of the ten engravings of *The Deluge*, and the visual symmetry existing between the pairs – the first with the tenth engraving, the second with the ninth, and so on. He also points out that the same thematic pairing device was later used for the eight engravings of *The Ancient Mariner*, and suggests that the 'paired allusions bracket a central monologue' in *In Parenthesis* as well. In respect of *The Anthemata*, Dilworth claims that 'rhetorical units break off and then resume in inverse order to their breaking-off' and that these occur 'on either side of a central lyric movement' – Elen Monica's description of the celebration of the Eucharist. At this point in the essay, Dilworth reverts to a repetition of the thesis of *The Shape of Meaning*, suggesting that the compositional device of the engravings complements the concentric circle theory expounded in his earlier work. Much of Dilworth's other work is a derivation from or an expansion of the ideas contained within *Shape of Meaning*, and will be discussed where relevant within the thesis.

Finally, the most recent critic to engage fully with the concept of structure in *The Anthemata* is Thomas Goldpaugh, briefly mentioned earlier. Goldpaugh's articles 'Mapping the Labyrinth: The *Ur-Anthemata* of David Jones'<sup>73</sup> and 'To Make a Shape in Words: The Labyrinthine Text of David Jones'<sup>74</sup> continue his proposition, developed from the earlier tentative suggestions of Jeremy Hooker and David Blamires, that the structure of *The Anthemata* is based on the shape of a labyrinth. Although detailed,

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<sup>73</sup> Tom Goldpaugh, 'Mapping the Labyrinth: The *Ur-Anthemata* of David Jones', in *Renascence*, 51 (1999).

<sup>74</sup> Tom Goldpaugh, 'To Make a Shape in Words: The Labyrinthine Text of David Jones' in *David Jones: Diversity in Unity*, ed. by Belinda Humfrey and Anne Price-Owen (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

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the argument seems to me to be seriously flawed; it is difficult to detect a labyrinthine pattern in the poem and Goldpaugh's article makes unsubstantiated assumptions, having adopted Dilworth's concentric circles model as the foundation for the labyrinth. The most obvious of these assumptions, and most difficult to find evidence for, is that there is a 'thread' through these concentric circles that is not two-dimensional, but three – that is to say that the line of narrative twists throughout the poem fragmenting it further and adding an extra element to the circles. I believe that Dilworth's theory of the concentric circles is erroneous due to the dislocation of the fragments in space and time and thus Goldpaugh's hypothesis of a labyrinth is also flawed. The two mariner passages, although sharing similarities of theme and symbolism, do not form a circle, but are instead evidence of Jones's medieval typological thinking, and are used to bind the narrative in a different way altogether. To suggest, therefore, that there is an additional dimension and that the narrative line 'twists' through the supposed circles, without explaining the source of the additional dimension or the cause of the twists, seems to me to be stretching the hypothesis too far.

Goldpaugh's argument is based on his unwritten assumption that the poem's structure is planned, an assumption that is implicit in his writings because of the difficulty of superimposing a labyrinthine structure on the poem after the content has been written – unlike Dilworth's concentric circles model, which is based on the same understanding of Jones's working methods. Although Goldpaugh attempts to reconcile the known process of composition with his theory of the labyrinth, such a motif involves too many complexities to be readily conformable to the simplicity of the composition. Such a structure would therefore contradict the idea of an 'exoskeletal' structure superimposed on the fragments through the process of composition, which is the only type of structure that would comply with Jones's own declaration that *The Anathemata*

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'has no plan, or at least is not planned'. A labyrinth, by its very nature, must be planned – it is a construction, not an organisation of material.

The other major implicit assumption of the labyrinthine theory that might be thought to undermine Goldpaugh's argument is that Jones did not attempt to link form and content. Jones's sensitivity to symbolism is well-documented; as an artist, he was very aware of shape and the interrelationship of form. I have previously quoted Dilworth's opinion that for Jones, the structure would be irrevocably linked with the subject matter; this is an opinion that I share. Goldpaugh's suggestion of a labyrinth motif seems anomalous given the subject matter; the labyrinth has little relevance to the celebration of the Mass depicted in *The Anthemata*. Although it is celebrated in W.F. Jackson Knight's *Cumaean Gates*, which is known to have been a major influence on Jones at the time of writing of *The Anthemata*,<sup>75</sup> the annotations made by Jones in his copy of *Cumaean Gates* indicate that the concept of the labyrinth was of the least interest to Jones of all the material in the book. Although its associations with initiation appealed to his appreciation of myth, it is of limited relevance to the subject of *The Anthemata*. Finally, therefore, for a poet for whom form must reflect content, it seems peculiar that if the labyrinth is to be used as a structural device, it does not reappear as a literal device within the poem. Therefore, I believe that Goldpaugh's labyrinth motif as a basis for the structure of the poem seems arbitrary and incapable of substantiation.

Relatively few critics, then, have commented on either the medieval aspects of Jones's work, or on the form or structure of *The Anthemata* and of those who have, none have addressed the breadth of Jones's knowledge in this subject. Schwartz has suggested that a Catholic theology of history informs the content, implicitly making the association with medieval scholastic writings, Blamires has remarked upon the

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<sup>75</sup> W.F. Jackson Knight, *Cumaean Gates* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936).

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medieval content, and both Dilworth and Grennen have discussed medieval drama in relation to the poem, though neither have systematically analysed its contribution to the form, or to the principles underlying that form.

This thesis argues that Jones drew more thoroughly than has been recognised to date upon a range of medieval sources, including theological writings, fictional and poetic narratives, histories and chronicles, art, and the drama, to create an epic which, in its final form, perfectly reflects and represents its content.

## Chapter Two

### 'Sub Specie Æternitas': History, Memory and Prophecy

Down the traversed history-paths  
    his stumbling *Grenadiere*  
In the communication-ways  
    his burdened infants  
shall learn like vows to take. (*Ana.*, p. 228)

David Jones is a poet, not a historian. He prefaces *The Anathemata* by quoting Nennius: 'I have made a heap of all I could find' (*Ana.*, p. 9).<sup>1</sup> He then adds that his purposes are very different from those of Nennius, as 'this writing is neither a history of the Britons nor a history of any sort'.

Jones's assertion cannot be taken as fact; his statements regarding his work are frequently misleading due to his innate modesty and dismissive attitude towards his poetry. In this case, he seems to base his denial on the assumption that because

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<sup>1</sup> 'Ego autem coacervavi omne quod inveni...', translated as 'Moreover I have also gathered together all that I have found...', in *Historia Britonum: The History of the Britons, attributed to Nennius*, (a parallel text edition, henceforth referred to as *Nennius*), trans. Richard Rowley (Lampeter: Llanerch Press, 2005), pp. 10-11.

his 'intentions in writing at all could not, I suppose, be more other than were the intentions of Nennius', the final work could not bear any resemblance to that of Nennius. However, from Jones's own comments it is difficult to establish the extent to which his intentions differed from those of Nennius who, in Jones's words, "put together this ... about past transactions, that [this material] might not be trodden under foot" (*Ana.*, p. 9).<sup>2</sup> Jones certainly intended *The Anathemata* to be a work gathering together the things 'loved and known' to him (*Ana.*, p. 25), echoing the phrase 'certain things dear to him' (*Ana.*, p. 9) that he had used to describe Nennius's material, and to re-present those things in such a way as to make an offering of them, but in his concern that the significance of certain materials might be lost to contemporary readers, and his efforts to provide explanations of such materials 'in order to open up "unshared backgrounds"' (*Ana.*, p. 14), his intentions appear not dissimilar to those of Nennius.

Jones does not clarify what he means by 'history' when he states so adamantly that *The Anathemata* is not it, but given that several critics have described the work as a history, albeit avoiding the term (Dilworth describes it as 'an anatomy of western culture from its prehistoric beginnings to the present'),<sup>3</sup> and given that Jones felt it necessary to emphasise that the work is not a history, it is perhaps useful to consider the work in the light of Aristotle's distinction between history and poetry. Aristotle was a formative influence on Jones, who favoured his philosophical perspective over that of Plato; Aristotle's ideas are frequently referred to by Jones, both in correspondence and in *The Anathemata*. The Aristotelean

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<sup>2</sup> '...unam hanc historiunculam undecumque collectam balbutiendo coacervavi, et remanentes spicas actuum præteritorum, ne penitus decalcatæ deperirent, quarum ampla seges quondam extranearum gentium infestis messoribus sparsim prærepta est, posterorum memoriæ pudibundus mandare curavi', translated as '...I have haltingly collected together this history and have shamefacedly endeavoured to deliver the few remaining ears of corn about past happenings, seeing that an ample crop has been snatched away already by the hostile reapers of foreign nations', *Nennius*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 152.

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concepts of *poiesis* and *praxis*,<sup>4</sup> or 'making' and 'doing', were central to Jones's attitude towards his various 'makings'. Demonstrating Jones's Thomistic tendencies, The Lady of the Pool refers to Aristotle as a Christian saint when paraphrasing his ideas: 'As Saint Aristotle would 'a' said' (*Ana.*, p.146).

Aristotle's distinction between history and poetry has several implications for a study of *The Anathemata*:

It is also clear from what has been said that the function of the poet is not to say what *has* happened, but to say the kind of thing that *would* happen, i.e. what is possible in accordance with probability or necessity. The historian and the poet are not distinguished by their use of verse or prose; it would be possible to turn the works of Herodotus into verse, and it would be a history in verse just as much as it is in prose. The distinction is this: the one says what has happened, the other the kind of thing that would happen.

For this reason poetry is more philosophical and serious than history. Poetry tends to express universals, and history particulars.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Greek philosopher, history concerns 'what has happened', is less serious and deals with 'particulars', whilst poetry takes as its subject 'the kind of thing that would happen', and expresses this in 'universals'. Aristotle makes no distinction between forms of writing – verse and prose can be used for either history or poetry. 'The kind of thing that would happen' suggests the involvement of imagination, which is absent from the recording of 'what has happened'. The tense implies the presence of conditioning factors, but also an element of prophecy, whereas history, being solely concerned with the past, does not prophesy. This last implication will be discussed in greater detail later.

Jones does not dismiss the concept of 'what has happened' from his attempts to define poetry:

I believe that there is, in the principle that informs the poetic art, a something which cannot be disengaged from the mythus, deposits, matière, ethos, whole *res* of which the poet is himself a product.

My guess is that we cannot answer the question 'What is poetry?' (meaning, What is the nature of poetry?) without some involvement in this mythus, deposit, etc.

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<sup>4</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, VI.1140 a2ff.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, V.5.

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We know – it goes without saying – that the question ‘What is the material of poetry?’ cannot be answered without some mention of these same deposits.

(*Ana.*, p. 20)

This statement implies that the past is of great importance for its formational influence upon the poet, but the use of words such as ‘deposits’ suggests that it is not the past itself that contributes to poetry, but what is left of it. Jones does not venerate history for its own sake; instead he acknowledges the effect that past events have had on the present, and it is the present situation that is of most concern to him.

In a sense, ‘poetry’ necessarily involves ‘history’; the poet’s materials are those of the historian but the main point on which their purposes diverge is the manner of the presentation of material. Jones reworked and refashioned his material into something new, something devotional. His intentions therefore had a creative and religious aspect whereas Nennius sought to compile an inventory which had a practical, political purpose. It was this reworking into an offering which, in Jones’s mind, distinguished *The Anathemata* from a history. However, it is not a distinction that is immediately apparent upon reading *The Anathemata*. The poem draws heavily upon histories of many sorts, which have influenced the form as well as the content. It evinces a strong historical consciousness and much of its content, ‘although fancy-fed’, is also rooted in historical fact as well as ‘not unmixed with some theology’ (*Ana.*, p. 215). Indeed, Schwartz has suggested that for Jones, theology was a necessary tool for understanding history: ‘Thinking that those who make everything, including history, are religious at root and that his own faith was based in reason, he thus felt that only a theo-logic can explain history’s meaning fully’.<sup>6</sup> Christianity is itself predicated on the fact of an actual event occurring in an actual place at an actual time. Jones’s work is not history itself but explores history - ‘what has happened’ - in the light of Aristotle’s comment that poetry concerns itself

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<sup>6</sup> *Third Spring*, p. 333.



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with 'what is possible'. This is further supported by the number of questions incorporated into the text which begin with 'did he...?' or 'did they...?': the interrogatives create retrospective possibilities which are confirmed or denied within the text in a catechismal exposition of the past.

Without time, memory is meaningless, and conversely memory is the method by which the past is made relevant for the present:

But perception is of the present, prediction of the future and memory of the past. And this is why all memory involves time.<sup>7</sup>

Jones may not consider himself to be a 'historian', but in his insistence on the poet's role of 'rememberer' (*Ana.*, p. 20), the distinction between poetry and history is subtle. Although Jones does not attempt to define this distinction, it is implicit that he sees 'history' as being the preserve of the 'fact-men' whilst 'poetry' is the mode of expression of the 'truth-men'.<sup>8</sup> His emphasis on 'recalling something loved' involves an emotional response in the present towards something past, rather than a recording of the present for posterity. In the contemporary sense of history as an objective written record of events, his work is not 'history' – yet at the same time, Jones claims that 'the works of man, unless they are "of now" and "of this place" can have no "for ever"' (*Ana.*, p. 24), implying that poetry, like history, must be a permanent setting down of the contemporary, and is made with the intention of providing a lasting memorial.

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<sup>7</sup> Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, trans. and ed. Richard Sorabji in *Aristotle on Memory* (London: Duckworth, 1972), p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> The phrases are Spengler's. In his copy of *Man and Technics*, Jones made vertical marks in the margin next to the following lines: 'The noble, warrior, adventurer lives in the world of facts, the priest, scholar, philosopher in his world of truths. The one is (or suffers) a destiny, the other thinks in causality' (Oswald Spengler, *Man and Technics*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1932), p. 79). Jones drew a large cross next to the final sentence. The phraseology obviously had a resonance for him, for he annotated his copy of *Decline of the West* with the question 'was then P. a true "fact-man" or "truth-man"?' (see p.216)' (Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the West* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd, 1926), henceforth *Decline of the West*, p. 220).

## History and Memory

Within the poem, past events and experiences are usually presented through the mode of storytelling or reminiscence; the Muse of History, Clio, is 'apt to be musing' (*Ana.*, p. 88), a play on words which emphasises not only Clio's role as goddess and source of inspiration, but also the nature of history as a meditative subject, a topic which encourages associative thought. Historical events and personages, in fact, are almost exclusively introduced in *The Anathemata* as either personal or social memories, in the form of subjectively presented meditations rather than objective records. History is therefore subject to memory, a concept held by several historiographers with whom Jones was familiar, but perhaps expressed most explicitly by Spengler:

The picture of history – be it the history of mankind, of the world of organisms, of the earth or of the stellar systems – is a *memory*-picture. 'Memory', in this connexion, is conceived as a higher state [...] a perfectly definite kind of imagining power, which enables experience to traverse each particular moment *sub specie aeternitatis* as one point in an integral made up of all the past and all the future, and it forms the necessary basis of all looking-backward, all self-knowledge and all self-confession.<sup>9</sup>

Jones's depiction of history in the poem is not an inclusive, logical account, but selective. The historical episodes are selected according to a process of free thought involving recollection: 'mental associations, liaisons, meanderings to and fro, "ambivalences", asides...' (*Ana.*, p. 31). Memory appears to be the governing criterion by which much of the content is chosen; certain lines from other works of literature are included, or an image incorporated, simply because Jones remembers those lines or that image. Indeed, occasionally Jones's memory is at fault, and the lines or image recalled are not an accurate representation of the original. Corcoran suggests that the Welsh location of Tegeingl is introduced into *The Anathemata*

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<sup>9</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 103. Spengler continues, 'In this sense, Classical man has no memory and therefore no history, either in or around himself. "No man can judge history but one who has himself experienced history," says Goethe. In the Classical world-consciousness all Past was absorbed in the instant Present', a statement which may well have reinforced Jones's perception of the increased significance of memory in the Middle Ages.

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because it was the birthplace of Jones's father.<sup>10</sup> In fact, Jones's footnote to the reference makes it clear that the reason for the allusion was the associative meaning of the image of the three hills in the region, *as he remembered it*. Jones accepts that his memory may not be accurate, but concludes that the memory of a fact is more important than the accuracy of the statement:

Tegeingl [...] There are three hills of which my father used to speak to be seen from the vicinity of his birthplace in that part of Wales once called Tegeingl, now called Flintshire. Y-Foel-y-Crio, the Hill of the Cry, Moel Famau, Hill of the Mothers, and Moel Ffagnallt, which I was once told signified hill of despair or dereliction, but I can find no confirmation of this supposed meaning nor anything resembling it. As, however, that is the meaning that I associated with it from an early age, and as it has become integrated with the text, I shall retain it. (*Ana.*, p. 233, n. 1)<sup>11</sup>

Memory as both reason for and method of inclusion can lead to an apparently haphazard presentation of data, with little obvious relationship between the incorporated 'borrowings'. Jones comments that

The title-page describes this book as 'fragments of an attempted writing' because that is an exact description of it...It has been rewritten, large portions excluded, others added, the whole rearranged and considerably changed more than once. (*Ana.*, p. 14-15),

a compositional process that mimics in writing the mental act of remembering.

Catherine Cubitt describes two key features of remembering:

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<sup>10</sup> Corcoran, p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> The significance of these three hills in local legend is probably even closer to the meaning that Jones has assigned to them in the text than he was consciously aware when writing this footnote. Apparently, the first hill was used for executions, whilst the third hill is known as 'the hill of blood'. A nearby farm, Ffagnallt Hall, was the alleged site of the poisoning of Dafydd, a local prince, in the twelfth century; the Hall is still claimed to be haunted, and a curse on the inhabitants is linked to the skull on display, should it ever be removed. In the context of a discussion of memory, psychology and *The Anathemata*, it is interesting to speculate on the psychological reasoning behind the fact that Jones was almost certainly told as a boy of the executions and the skull (Letter from David Jones to Peter Levi, 29 Jan 1965, cited in Dilworth, 'Antithesis and Unity in *The Anathemata*', *Yale Journal of Criticism*, 13 (2000), 67-86, p. 80), but as an adult remembered the place as a manifestation of Ariel Hill, the hill outside Jerusalem ('Ariel' being the poetical name for the city used particularly by Isaiah, and associated with prophecy) otherwise known as Calvary or Golgotha, 'the place of the skull' at which Christ was crucified.

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Firstly, that the process of recollection is not an exact one of information retrieval but rather one in which memories are put together from fragmented sources, often in a simplified form, according to pre-existing patterns... Remembering is a creative activity in which the past is constantly updated according to the requirements of the present... The second feature is that remembering is an inherently social activity. Individual memory is structured through language and ideas shared by society.<sup>12</sup>

Although Cubitt's article was published in 2000, her assertions regarding memory are derived from F.C. Bartlett's seminal text *Remembering*,<sup>13</sup> published in 1932, and subsequent studies of memory. These ideas were thus innovative at the time that Jones was working on his drafts of *The Anathemata* in the late 1930s and 1940s and, I believe, help to explain why the concept of memory as a poetical process is so important to Jones.

The second feature of memory highlighted by Cubitt, that 'remembering is an inherently social activity', is interpreted in *The Anathemata* as an inherently cultural activity. Jones's emphasis on repetition and re-presentation ('he does what is done in many places/ what he does other/ he does after the mode/ of what has always been done' – *Ana.*, p. 243) demonstrates the continuity of collective memory as being a distinctive characteristic of a culture.

### Fragmented Sources and Relics

The first feature Cubitt mentions, that 'memories are put together from fragmented sources, often in a simplified form, according to pre-existing patterns', is particularly interesting given Jones's insistence that he was working on fragments, and from fragments. He quotes the words of Nennius 'or whoever composed the introductory matter to the *Historia Brittonum*' in his Preface to *The Anathemata*. The use of the words 'composed' and 'matter' reflect Jones's own methods; less an original writing, and more a composition, a placing together, of things, in which the

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<sup>12</sup> Catherine Cubitt, 'Memory and Narrative in the Cult of Early Anglo-Saxon Saints' in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 31.

<sup>13</sup> F.C. Bartlett, *Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932).

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creativity arises from the relationship in which those things are placed. It is my belief that medieval cultural values combined with modern thinking led to Jones's particular approach to his materials. The fact that Nennius had voiced similar thoughts to Jones many centuries before is of primary significance and a direct influence on *The Anathemata*, but the ideas that became current in the early twentieth century, that memories are derived from fragmented sources and the process of remembering is therefore a creative one, and that 'remembering is an inherently social activity', may explain why so many modernist poets, including Jones, Eliot, Joyce and Pound, composed fragmented epics that reflected a collective consciousness.<sup>14</sup> The suggestion that the placement of those fragments in Jones's poem may be influenced by 'pre-existing patterns' will be explored in chapters three, five and six which discuss the form and structure of *The Anathemata*; the immediate concern is with the process by which those fragments are selected, and the nature of the relationship between them.

Regarding the purpose of *The Anathemata*, Jones stated:

My intention has not been to 'edify' (in the secondary but accepted and customary sense of that word), nor, I think, to persuade, but there is an intention to 'uncover'; which is what a 'mystery' does, for though at root 'mystery' implies a closing, all 'mysteries' are meant to disclose, to show forth something. So that in one sense it is meant to 'edify', i.e. 'to set up'. Otherwise my intentions would not sort very well with the title of my book, *The Anathemata*, 'the things set up, etc.'

Most of all, perhaps, I could wish of my 'mystery', *misterium* or *ministerium*, that it should give some kind of 'pleasure', for I believe in Poussin's dictum: 'The goal of painting is delight', and as I have already said, it is one of my few convictions that what goes for one art goes for all of 'em, in some sense or other. (*Ana.*, p. 33-4)

This suggests that the poem is an offering, 'things set up, lifted up, or in whatever manner made over to the gods' (*Ana.*, p. 29), in accordance with Jones's definition of '*Anathemata*'. However, this may be another example of Jones's reluctance to admit the full ambition of his work, as the image of the poem as an

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<sup>14</sup> Jones himself had attempted to explain the phenomenon by suggesting that the 'zeitgeist' was responsible, but it may be due to the simpler reason that all four poets, who had many acquaintances in common, were influenced by discussions of contemporary psychological thought.

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offering devoted to the gods, whilst accurate in one sense, does not allow for Jones's insistence on the poet's role as rememberer, nor with the poem's dedication, which is not to the gods but 'for my parents, and their parents before them'. An analysis of Jones's comments thus reveals the purposes of *The Anthemata* to be threefold: devotion; preservation; and commemoration, both of individuals and of the works of God as they have appeared in the lives of men. These purposes are complementary rather than exclusive, and when considered together, make sense of the two themes of the text, the past and the Mass. Jones presents the 'fragmented bits, chance scraps really, of records of things, vestiges of sorts' as a divine offering precisely because they are 'pieces of stuffs that happen to mean something to me'. An offering cannot be truly significant unless it involves an element of sacrifice: 'Take the lamb that you do love/ – his mother's boy' (*Ana.*, p. 232). At the same time, the definition of '*Anthemata*' as 'things in some sense made separate, being "laid up from other things"' suggests that the objects are being conserved in some way. These two purposes are united in the sacrament of the Eucharist, an oblation which involves things consecrated, made separate, and which is also an act of commemoration. The 'fragments' of *The Anthemata* are meaningful to Jones because they are 'loved and known', they are his inheritance. The use of inherited or 'found' material to support the purposes of the poem reflects Nennius's phrase 'omne quod inveni', and, moreover, suggests the rhetorical concept of *inventio*, or the systematic discovery of arguments, as outlined by Aristotle and subsequently developed in medieval thought to encompass the process by which literary works were conceived and made.

Jones described the series of fragments as 'these thought-trains ... [which] have been as often as not initially set in motion, shunted or buffered into near sidings or off to far destinations, by some action or word, something seen or heard, during the liturgy' (*Ana.*, p. 31-2). The particular fragments selected and re-

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presented in the poem are thus connected by a process of association. Jones's diagrammatic 'Map of Themes in the Artist's Mind' (Figure 1, p. 53), drawn in 1943 during the period of composition of *The Anthemata*, visually demonstrates the way in which his imagination was led from one topic to another through associative memory. It also highlights those authors or topics he considered to be of most significance, and to whom or which he continually returned for inspiration or analysis. The 'Map' is not specifically related to *The Anthemata*, and indeed many of the themes illustrated informed Jones's paintings and inscriptions during the 1940s, but it does demonstrate the influences that Jones himself felt were strongest at this critical period in the poem's development. Although most critics have examined the presence of myth and noted the importance of the past in general in Jones's work, whilst Elizabeth Ward, Kathleen Henderson Staudt and Thomas Dilworth have published analyses of mythological influences and comments on Jones's perspective on the past, very few have addressed the influence of historians or the specific nature of the past as presented in Jones's work.<sup>15</sup> Whilst the existing criticism of medieval influences on Jones's work acknowledges Jones's debt to Malory, nothing published to date examines the extent to which the chroniclers, including Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth, annalists and hagiographers affect the form and content of *The Anthemata* – and yet, as Jones's 'Map' shows, Jones himself clearly considered them to be important references. In addition to the

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<sup>15</sup> Staudt does consider the impact of Spengler and Dawson on Jones's views of history, although the analysis is limited, due to the scope of her study on Jones as a modernist poet. Paul Robichaud has examined the influence of Christopher Dawson on Jones's historical approach ('David Jones, Christopher Dawson and the Meaning of History', *Logos*, 6:3 (Summer 2003), pp. 68-85), as has Adam Schwartz, who has recently published an analysis of the relationship between Christopher Dawson and David Jones as part of a work examining the influence of Catholicism on Jones and three of his contemporaries (Adam Schwartz, *The Third Spring*, op. cit.); the book expands upon an article on Jones's 'theologies of history' (Schwartz, 'Theologies of History in G.K. Chesterton's The Everlasting Man and in David Jones's *The Anthemata*'), to which I refer later in the chapter. However, Schwartz looks only to Dawson and Catholic theology as historical influences on Jones, and does not extend his discussion to Jones's medieval sources.

As noted previously (p. 21, f.n. 35), Paul Robichaud's book *Making the Past Present* had not been published at the time of writing of this thesis; it contains some content of relevant to this discussion.

## ***Chapter Two: History, Memory and Prophecy***

illustration, the contents of his library suggested that he researched these sources in some detail and the text and footnotes of *The Anthemata* demonstrate the influence they had upon the content.

Jones himself did not suggest that the chronicles and histories impacted upon the form as well as the content. However, the corollary evidence, combined with textual analysis, strongly supports my theory that Jones was so absorbed in medieval history that, in addition to using the material for the content of *The Anthemata*, consciously or unconsciously his compositional methods integrated medieval approaches to history which are reflected in the final form of the poem.

Jones's preoccupation with medieval culture, particularly history, is reflected in his 'Map of Themes in the Artist's Mind'. It is notable that most of the names and events depicted on the 'Map' are from the medieval period, though Greece, Rome and Byzantium also feature. Modern culture is included only insofar as it provides evidence of the lasting influence of the earlier myths. The numerous arrows and underlinings show, however, that Jones's main concern was with the communication of 'history, pseudo-history and myth' from a people to its descendants. His many late classical and medieval references include such diverse sources as 'histories – Eusebius, Jerome, Isidore, Prosper', 'Welsh saints', 'annals', 'ecclesiastical legend', and 'chroniclers, etc'. Individual names include historians such as Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Gildas, and medieval poets such as Malory and Chaucer, as well as the mythical figures derived from Arthurian romance more widely recognised as influential by critics, like Gawain and Tristan. The list of influences included on this diagram is particularly interesting if *The Anthemata* is considered as a commemorative text – commemorating not just a particular subject or event, but the very act of remembering. Jones's inclusion of hagiographers and chroniclers both individually and as a group on his 'Map' has a double significance: the *vitae* and chronicles are a collection of memories, which thus contribute the material for



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Jones's own compilation of cultural memory, but being a conscious remembering, composed with the purpose of preserving the memories of a people, also provide a method of remembering, a model. These texts have the added benefit to Jones of being ecclesiastical histories; the remembering process has a devotional aim.

### Inheritance and Commemoration

The interests listed on the 'Map' are reflected in the contents of Jones's library. It is evident that Jones's knowledge of the chronicles and other medieval historical works was derived from both primary and secondary sources. Most of the names written on the 'Map of Themes in the Artist's Mind' are represented in the catalogue of his library; for example, the bibliography shows that he owned copies of Nennius, Gildas, Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth and frequently annotated them. They were working texts, therefore, and not simply for display. The publications that he acquired included specialist titles as well as more mainstream critical works, such as the academic monograph by Laura Keeler, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chroniclers*,<sup>16</sup> which provides a detailed analysis of the key features of and differences between the chronicles which followed and were directly influenced by Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.<sup>17</sup> That this book was not an unwanted gift, or a forgotten loan from a friend, is proven by Jones's specific mention of it in the Preface to *The Anathemata* (*Ana.*, p. 38).

Jones was therefore well aware of the function and stylistic characteristics of the genre as well as of the content of individual texts. He also owned criticism and anthologies containing extracts of the chronicles, including Hilda Johnstone's *A*

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<sup>16</sup> Laura Keeler, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chroniclers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946). A list of contents is provided in Appendix 2.

<sup>17</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, trans. Lewis Thorpe, *The History of the Kings of Britain* (London: Penguin, 1966).



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*Hundred Years of History 1216-1327*,<sup>18</sup> a compilation of extracts from twelve sources, and a copy of the British Academy's Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture of 1928, John Edward Lloyd's 'The Welsh Chronicles',<sup>19</sup> which examines the origins of the 'Brut y Tywysogion', particularly in relation to Geoffrey of Monmouth. From these works owned by Jones, it is obvious that he had a strong academic interest in the chronicles, and the references in footnotes and annotations to works not owned by Jones suggests that his research in this area was more extensive than is demonstrated by the evidence of his own library.<sup>20</sup>

The 'Map of Themes in the Artist's Mind' can thus be viewed as a kind of inventory of the poet's materials, a guide to the late classical and medieval poets and historians that Jones considered to be the principal 'rememberers' of the historical material that he himself drew upon in the process of compiling *The Anathemata*. The arrows on the 'Map' are visual examples of the 'lines of communication' that Jones saw as part of the memorial function of literature:

We can assert that the poet is a 'rememberer' and that it is a part of his business to keep open the lines of communication. One obvious way of doing this is by handing on such fragmented bits of our own inheritance as we ourselves received.<sup>21</sup>

The business of 'keep[ing] open the lines of communication' involves more than simply 'handing on' the inheritance, however, as Jones was aware. Communication is a two-way process; one of the recurring motifs of the poem is the veneration of dead ancestors by their living descendants in all epochs, represented by the Neanderthal man who 'cupped the ritual stones/ for the faithful departed'

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<sup>18</sup> Hilda Johnstone, *A Hundred Years of History 1216-1327* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1912). A list of contents is provided in Appendix 3.

<sup>19</sup> John Edward Lloyd, *The Welsh Chronicles* (London: Humphrey Milford [Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, from the Proceedings of the British Academy], 1928).

<sup>20</sup> These footnotes include references to William of Malmesbury (*Ana.*, p. 154), John of Whethamstede (p. 153) and the *Flores Historiarum* (p. 151). Although these texts are alluded to in the critical works outlined above, the actual references are to specific material not contained in the works owned by Jones. It would seem, therefore, that Jones used the texts in his possession as springboards for further research, and that he did in fact follow up interesting leads either in friends' collections or in public libraries.

<sup>21</sup> Jones, 'Past and Present' (March 1953) in *Epoch and Artist*, p. 141.



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the calcined bones' (*Ana.*, p. 80), an image invoked in the poem's Preface as a repository for bones but also as a source of inspiration:

Normally we should not have far to seek: the flowers for the muse's garland would be gathered from the ancestral burial-mound – always and inevitably fecund ground, yielding perennial and familiar blossoms, watered and, maybe, potted, perhaps 'improved', by ourselves. (*Ana.*, p. 25)

Despite Jones's subsequent suggestion that 'bulldozers have all but obliterated the mounds', he implies that his contemporaries had not entirely forsaken the produce of the past, fertilised by the remains of their predecessors. Jones refers to another Modernist writer, James Joyce, in pursuing the analogy: 'And as for "the past", as for "history", it was from the ancestral mound that he fetched his best garlands and Clio ran with him a lot of the way – if under the name of Brigit' (*Ana.*, p. 26), whilst T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* also explores the theme of memory combined with regeneration,<sup>24</sup> opening with the lines 'April is the cruellest month, breeding/Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing/ Memory and desire'. Indeed, the title of the first section is 'The Burial of the Dead'; its closing lines include the question 'That corpse you planted last year in your garden,/ Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?' (lines 71-2). The image of the dead body flowering and its association with memory had a contemporary significance. The red poppy had been adopted as the symbol of remembrance in 1921, the year before the publication of *The Waste Land*, in acknowledgement of the soldiers who had died in the First World War, and to whom Jones had dedicated *In Parenthesis* ('This writing is for my friends ... and to the memory of those with me in the covert and in the open ... and to the bearded infantry ... and to the enemy front-fighters...') (*I.P.*, following p. xv)). Jones's experience in the trenches may well contribute to his especial concern with the close relationship between earth, death and faith.

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<sup>24</sup> T.S. Eliot, 'The Waste Land' in *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974).

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Jones continues this tradition of ancestral commemoration with the 'Redriff' section of the poem, in honour of his maternal grandfather Ebenezer Bradshaw, and in his inscribed dedication to *The Anathemata*:

PARENTIBVS  
MEIS ET PRIOR  
IBVS EORVM  
ET OMNIBVS  
INDIGENIS  
OMNIS CAN  
DIDÆ INSVLÆ  
BRITTONVM  
GENTIS (*Ana.*, p.48)<sup>25</sup>

In the light of Jones's comments regarding inheritance, the inscription could be interpreted as referring to 'forefathers' in the collective, tribal sense, as well as to his own genetic parentage. 'Rite and Foretime' is in a sense a history of those forefathers, a description of the formation of the national identity of the '*indiginis omnis candidae insulae brittonum gentis*', in a similar vein to *In Parenthesis*. In an observation on Jones's earlier poem which could be applied equally aptly to *The Anathemata*, Jonathan Miles writes that 'It is this relation to ancestors and to what has always been done which is the crucial point about the literary eclecticism of *In Parenthesis*',<sup>26</sup> while Nancy Sandars described *The Anathemata* 'not as history, but as something we have experienced in our own flesh; it is closer to direct memory than anything else... It is his, and through him, our family story that Jones is writing down'.<sup>27</sup> The honouring of one's predecessors through the writing of memorial history is characteristic of medieval writers, as Jones was aware:

A number of monastic histories, such as Bede's *Historia Abbatum* or Æthelwulf's poem, the *De Abbatibus* – recount the story of their community through the lives of their founding figures and abbots. It is this recollection of and veneration for founding

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<sup>25</sup> 'For my parents, and for theirs before them, and for all the inhabitants of the bright isles of the British race' (my translation). See Figure 9, p. 239 for a facsimile of the inscription.

<sup>26</sup> *Backgrounds*, p. 80.

<sup>27</sup> N.K. Sandars, 'The Present Past in *The Anathemata* and Roman Poems' in Roland Mathias (ed.), *David Jones: Eight Essays on his Work as Writer and Artist: Being The First Transactions Of Yr Academi Gymreig (English Section)* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1976).

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fathers which forms the context for the cult of the native saints in early Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>28</sup>

In *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Mary Carruthers states that 'it is [her] contention that medieval culture was profoundly memorial, to the same profound degree that modern culture in the West is documentary',<sup>29</sup> a transition also perceived by Jones:

We are, in our society of today, very far removed from those culture-phases where the poet was explicitly and by profession the custodian, rememberer, embodier and voice of the mythus, etc., of some contained group of families, or of a tribe, nation, people, cult. (*Ana.*, p. 21)

However, he felt strongly that although modern culture must, of necessity, be documentary in the sense that it must be based on current reality, the artist's role has not changed. In other words, the function of the artist is to combine both the documentary and the memorial aspects of culture:

... artists depend on the immediate and the contactual and their apperception must have a 'now-ness' about it. *But*, in our present megalopolitan technocracy, the artist must still remain a "rememberer" (part of the official bardic function in earlier phases of society) ... My view is that all artists ... are in fact 'showers forth' of things which tend to be impoverished, or misconceived, or altogether lost or wilfully set aside in the preoccupations of our present intense technological phase, but which, nonetheless, belong to man. (*D.G.*, p. 17)

Jones's first poem, *In Parenthesis*, exemplifies this documentary tendency, with its detailed account of daily life in the trenches, as Colin Hughes has shown in his analysis of the factual basis of the narrative, 'David Jones: The Man Who Was On the Field: *In Parenthesis* as Straight Reporting'.<sup>30</sup> Jones understood that the documentary style suited the technological aspect of modern warfare, but for his poem centred on the Eucharist and the concept of anamnesis he used a 'memorial'

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<sup>28</sup> Cubitt, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Colin Hughes, 'David Jones, The Man Who Was On The Field: *In Parenthesis* As Straight Reporting' (first pub. Manchester: David Jones Society, 1979), rev. and repr. in *David Jones: Man and Poet*, ed. John Matthias (Maine: The National Poetry Foundation, University of Maine, [1989]), pp. 163-192.

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mode. That this was a conscious choice is illustrated by an extract from Part VII, 'Mabinog's Liturgy'. The narrative is medieval in style and in setting, but the tone and vocabulary abruptly shifts as the modern memory of Christmas in the trenches intrudes. From a discursive narrative style evoking the Middle Ages, 'fancy-fed though not unmixed with theology', which alludes to Dunbar ('as three clerks inclining/ when they confess themselves before his Stone/ at the Introit-time' – *Ana.*, p. 215) and medieval theology ('For in the Schools they say:/ if he but take the posture/ the old grey ass may bray a *Gloria.*' – *Ana.*, p. 215), the narrative style becomes documentary in order to evoke the recent events of Christmas 1914 and 1915, a point emphasised by Jones:

If this, though sure, is but allegory  
at all events  
and speaking most factually  
and, as the fashion now requires, from observed data. (*Ana.*, p. 216)

By medieval times, the burial mounds of the early peoples are supplemented with written memorials, but the physical aspect of remembering persists. Jones conflates the pagan practice of burial mounds and the Catholic custom of enshrining the relics of saints within the altar, as a footnote to *The Anathemata* explains:

'tumulus' because the tumuli, the barrows on our downlands and hill-sites, were essentially burial places and because a Christian altar, by the requirements of Canon Law, and in observance of a use at least as old as the fourth century, should contain relics of the dead. Cf. at the beginning of Mass the priest kisses the altar, saying, '...by the merits of thy saints whose relics are here...' and cf. the Offertory prayer *Suscipe sancte trinitas* in which the words occur 'and of these here' (*et istorum*). This prayer is very explicit; it says that the oblation is offered to the Trinity, in remembrance of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension and in honour of the Theotokos, of certain named saints and those whose relics lie under the particular altar at which the Mass is being celebrated, together with all the saints departed.<sup>31</sup> (*Ana.*, p. 51, n. 1)

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<sup>31</sup> The Mass as a vehicle for remembering applies not only to the saints, but also to ordinary people; in 'The Lady of the Pool', set in medieval London, Elen Monica refers to the 'mind-days/ when we mark with a white stone' (*Ana.*, p. 162). Jones's footnote to this phrase explains it as 'the day of anniversary on which a *memento* was made in the Mass, for some benefactor or any person deceased...'



The term used to refer to these relics in medieval times was *memoria*,<sup>32</sup> illustrating how the concept of memory is closely connected with the past, and specifically the preservation of the past, whether imaginatively or physically. Memory was both tangible, in the shape of the relics, and intangible, in the form of the thoughts of the community regarding the saint. The *vitae* were written in order to preserve those intangible memories, thus creating a genre of literature with the purpose of commemoration under specifically Christian auspices. There was a strong association between the act of writing and the concept of memory, as Carruthers comments: '*Memoria*, as these writers understood and practised it, was a part of *litteratura*: indeed it was what literature, in a fundamental sense, was for.'<sup>33</sup> This is a view apparently shared by Jones; *In Parenthesis* was written to remember the events of the First World War.<sup>34</sup> Whilst the writers of the *vitae* sought to commemorate particular individuals, the chronicles and histories became collective memorials, serving a community.

### **Anamnesis**

The ritualistic aspects of the Christian religion, involving repetition and re-presentation, are designed to invoke a collective memory. The language of the liturgy, with its refrains and antiphons, aids the act of remembering and reinforces its meaning, as well as being the 'oral and aural and sacral link with the whole past', as Jones said.<sup>35</sup> Jones's use of liturgical language in *The Anathemata* has a dual purpose, alerting the reader to the existence of the Mass as the central theme of the work but also using familiar words to evoke a particular, common memory. This

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<sup>32</sup> Cubitt, p. 29.

<sup>33</sup> Carruthers, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> It would be interesting to consider Jones's inscriptions from the memorial perspective; many of the inscriptions were produced to commemorate birthdays or Christian feast-days. The urge to commemorate in writing was obviously instinctive to Jones.

<sup>35</sup> David Jones draft letter to Tony Stoneburner, NLW collection, 1985 Purchase, Group A, Box II/1.

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familiarity is reassuring, and in addition, inclusive; Jones frequently uses liturgical language in order to make familiar that which is unfamiliar or remote from present culture, and to emphasise the continuing and unchanging nature of man as artist and 'sign-maker'.

The Eucharist, which underlies *The Anthemata*, is itself an act of commemoration, instigated by Jesus Christ who said 'Do this in remembrance of me'. The poem, beginning and ending with the Eucharist, is thus set 'in the time of the Mass'. Jones described the content of *The Anthemata* as being inspired by the many thoughts that he experienced 'in the time of the Mass', in which 'you can go round the world, and back again, in and out the meanders, down the history-paths, survey *religio* and *superstitio*, call back many yesterdays, but yesterday week ago, or long, long ago, note Miss Weston's last year's Lutetian trimmings and the Roman laticlave on the deacon's Dalmatian tunic, and a lot besides, during those few seconds taken by the presbyter to move from the Epistle to the Gospel side...' (*Ana.*, p. 32). This description gives the key to an understanding of *The Anthemata*. Jones's natural proclivity towards historical subjects (when much younger, he had intended to become a painter of historical scenes) combined with an ability to shift temporal perspective, and the external setting of the Mass result in the three themes of the text: history, time and Christianity. The focus of the poem is thus established as an act of remembering, in a time of remembering, and at a place of remembering. The poem *The Anthemata* is a metaphorical construct for the celebration of the Mass, and has as its literal equivalent the church, which is the physical structure in which the Mass takes place.

Jones views the role of the poet as analogous to that of the priest; both the poet and the priest are the conduits by which a collective experience is re-enacted for the benefit of the community. Indeed, when describing early societies, he

conflates poetry and religion, assuming the former to have the 'dangerous' qualities of the latter due to the influence of poetry over a community:

But we can, perhaps, diagnose something that appears as a constant in poetry by the following consideration:

When rulers seek to impose a new order upon any such group belonging to one or other of those more primitive culture-phases, it is necessary for those rulers to take into account the influence of the poets as recalling something loved and as embodying an ethos inimicable to the imposition of that new order... Poetry is to be diagnosed as 'dangerous' because it evokes and recalls, is a kind of *anamnesis* of, i.e. is an effective recalling of, something loved. In that sense it is inevitably 'propaganda'... (*Ana.* p. 20-1)

This term 'anamnesis' is central to the meaning of *The Anathemata*. It is clear from the contexts in which Jones uses the word that to him, at least, 'anamnesis' implies an essentially religious act of remembering and is irrevocably associated with the celebration of the Mass and the sacrament of the Eucharist in Roman Catholic worship practices:

Anamnesis. I take leave to remind the reader that this is a key-word in our deposits. The dictionary defines its general meaning as 'the recalling of things past'. But what is the nature of this particular recalling? I append the following quotation as being clear and to the point: 'It (anamnesis) is not quite easy to represent accurately in English, words like "remembrance" or "memorial" having for us a connotation of something *absent* which is only mentally recollected. But in the scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament *anamnesis* and the cognate verb have a sense of "recalling" or "re-presenting" before God an event in the past so that it becomes *here and now operative by its effects*'. Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 161. (*Ana.*, p. 205, n. 1)

Staudt comments that Jones's use of the term in contexts other than those strictly of the Eucharist is theologically incorrect:

These two aspects of anamnesis – the material work that claims to be a 're-presenting' or 're-calling' and the dramatic action and gesture that are essential to what is made – are the basis of the analogy Jones draws between the arts and the sacraments of the church.

From a theological perspective, this may seem an ill-considered analogy, because sacramental theology insists that the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist is a unique mystery. Jones, a devout Catholic, is careful not to deny this uniqueness, and he insists more than once that he uses theological terms only by analogy. Nonetheless, he persists in using theological terms, with all their implications and

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resonances, and he presses the analogy as far as he can, out of a sense of historical urgency.<sup>36</sup>

I have used the term in the manner in which Jones used it, as a word originating in the theological discussion of the Eucharist, but applicable as an analogy to the representation of something past in order to make it valid in the present.

The 'remembering process' incorporated in the celebration of the Eucharist specifies the re-enactment of the breaking of the bread and sharing of the wine – a particular experience, central to the beliefs of a community, which must be physically and publicly performed at a particular time and place in order for the original event to remain effectual for that community. Significantly, the Catholic faith to which Jones converted is distinguished from the Anglican faith in which he was brought up by the belief of transubstantiation, amongst other aspects. According to the tenet of transubstantiation, the bread and wine used in the sacrament of the Eucharist does not merely recall the bread and wine of the last supper, but is actually transformed into the sacrificial body and blood of Christ. The re-enactment is thus of the Sacrifice of Christ as well as of His actions at the Last Supper. Remembering is a physical process. This concept of 'physical remembering' permeates *The Anthemata*, from the preoccupation with bones, burial mounds and funeral urns of 'Rite and Fore-time' to the sights, smells and sounds of the City of London and gun-battles at sea. Jones is concerned primarily with a re-living and re-telling of experience, expressed through the number of first-person narratives, or dramatic monologues, incorporated into *The Anthemata* (an aspect of the text which is discussed in chapter five of this thesis). However, although physical remembering is inextricably linked to Jones's Catholic beliefs, it is also intrinsic to classical and medieval philosophy:

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<sup>36</sup> *Turn of a Civilization*, p. 46. For further contextual detail, see discussion of anamnesis in relation to Jones's art, pp. 45-9.

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Thus, recollection was understood to be a re-enactment of experience, which involves cogitation and judgement, imagination and emotion. Averroes and Aristotle both insist on this: "the one who recollects will experience the same pleasure or pain in this situation which he would experience were the thing existing in actuality."<sup>37</sup>

Jones was well acquainted with the works of both philosophers;<sup>38</sup> their intellectual understanding of the faculty of recollection, combined with the immediacy of the Christian representation of the Eucharist, underpins Jones's attitude towards and depiction of the historical events included in *The Anathemata*. Whilst the poem does contain a 'theory of history', derived from classical and medieval philosophy and theology, Jones also *practises* history. Anamnesis, or re-presentation, is not confined to religion, but is essential to a historical understanding, according to Jones. The narration of remembered experiences is, in fact, a re-enactment of those experiences, allowing them to be shared with others.

### A Theory of History

The concept of anamnesis and re-presentation shapes Jones's view of the past; history is seen through a Christian filter, as Schwartz suggests:

[Jones] saw his sense of the past's vitality substantiated by Roman Catholic theology. He held that one thing that made him inwardly a Catholic during the war was a growing belief that "it was She who alone represented the tradition of the Xtian West." Thus, "it was a longing, and a deep need, not to lose connection with these historic origins, that, in part, caused" him to convert. Unsurprisingly, the Mass epitomised this Catholic commitment to continuity for Jones, as he felt that its ceremonials 're-presented the Western patrimony in a unique way: "it (the Latin liturgy) was in a positive way the direct oral and aural and sacral link with the whole past, with the rise of our religion in the Greco-Roman world of the late Roman world, just as the vestments of the sacred ministers afforded a visual and visible continuity with that world ... that continuity constituted something deeply felt – indefinable but inextricably bound up with what had made them".<sup>39</sup>

The theory of history which underpins *The Anathemata* is the 'Christian theology of history, which encompasses personal salvation within eschatological, prophetic and

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<sup>37</sup> Carruthers, p. 60.

<sup>38</sup> I have previously mentioned the Lady of the Pool's reference to Aristotle; she also exclaims 'does old Averroes show a leg?' (*Ana.*, p. 129). Jones footnotes this question with an explanation of Averroes's philosophical beliefs.

<sup>39</sup> *Third Spring*, p. 352.

typological movements in time'.<sup>40</sup> This theology is largely developed from Jones's primary medieval sources included on the 'Map of Themes', and listed earlier in this chapter: chronicles and histories such as those of Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gildas and Nennius and the *Life of St Cuthbert*, and narrative poems such as *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, as well as from Jones's further reading of commentaries on these works.

Of the historiographical approach found in medieval narratives, John Ganim writes a description that could apply equally well to Jones's *The Anathemata*, suggesting that Jones's underlying historical principles were similar to those of the medieval writers:

From the earliest times, that is, Christian thinkers possessed a grand structure, a world view that provided a chronological scaffold for the structure of events; yet they also inherited a tradition of careful chronicling, dating and attending to minutiae from classical antiquity and from the predominantly historical condition of Christianity, that the Incarnation occurred in a real time and place. The impulse was always there to provide logical connections and authenticating details for the events they described. More specifically, an intense historical consciousness seems to have developed from about the twelfth century onwards.<sup>41</sup>

The world view, the chronological scaffold, the attention to minutiae, the inclusion of 'authenticating details' and, above all, the pervasive and unequivocal reference point of the Incarnation, that 'occurred in a real time and place', are all present in the poem. According to Schwartz, Jones continued in the Christian historiographical tradition: 'Jones thought a theology of history, like any intellectual system, should be rooted in the particular. He thus stressed what he ... considered the historicity of Christianity'.<sup>42</sup> It is the same Christian world view to which Ganim refers that underpins Jones's writing; the very fact that there is a well-established 'chronological

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<sup>40</sup> R.W. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain from Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 110. This book is in David Jones's library; although was obviously written after the publication of *The Anathemata*, it shows the extent of Jones's longstanding interest in medieval historiography.

<sup>41</sup> John M. Ganim, *Style and Consciousness in Middle English Narrative* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p.5.

<sup>42</sup> *Third Spring*, p. 334.

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scaffold for the structure of events' and a 'tradition of careful chronicling' allows Jones to assume that his readers' inherited knowledge will inform their interpretation of the non-chronological narrative events of *The Anathemata*. However, as Jones himself feared, the historiographical understanding which allowed medieval readers to make associative links between one image and another, and thus one episode and another, is not necessarily valid for the twentieth century and later:

In practice one of [the artist's] main problems, one of the matters upon which his judgement is exercised ... concerns the validity and availability of his images. It is precisely this validity and availability that constitutes his greatest problem in the present culture-situation.

If the poet writes 'wood' what are the chances that the Wood of the Cross will be evoked? Should the answer be 'None', then it would seem that an impoverishment of some sort would have to be admitted. It would mean that that particular word could no longer be used with confidence to implement, to call up or to set in motion a whole world of content belonging in a special sense to the mythus of a particular culture and of concepts and realities belonging to mankind as such. (*Ana.*, p. 23-4)

Despite Jones's insistence on the 'validity and availability of his images', and his evident concern that a 'particular word', which in the example he gives is an overtly Christian symbol, should evoke 'the mythus of a particular culture and of concepts and realities belonging to mankind as such', Oswyn Murray claims that Jones's theory of history can be separated from his Catholic beliefs:

I am simply asserting that the underlying theory of history behind both *In Parenthesis* and *The Anathemata* is explicitly conceived as universal for Western culture, and not entailing a belief in the Catholic faith. One might perhaps briefly characterise the personal relationship between history and faith in *The Anathemata* in terms of his image of *The Anathemata*, those fragments of historical memory.<sup>43</sup>

The problem with this assessment is that the Christian understanding of history is of a *universal* history. The theory of history behind *The Anathemata* therefore must be universal for Western culture, because it entails a belief in the Catholic faith: the Catholic theory of history is necessarily a universal theory for Western culture.

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<sup>43</sup> Oswyn Murray, 'It was a Dark and Stormy Night...', in Paul Hills, ed., *David Jones: Artist and Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1-17, p. 15.

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Jones does not distinguish his religious beliefs from his historical perspective, as he demonstrates in 'Rite and Fore-time':

Who were his *gens*-men or had he no *Hausname* yet  
no *nomen* for his *fecit*-mark  
the Master of the Venus?  
whose man-hands god-handled the Willendorf stone  
before they unbound the last glaciation... (*Ana*. p. 59)

For this quotation to make sense, the 'man-hands [that] god-handled the Willendorf stone' must be interpreted as having been divinely inspired. The only possible alternative is that the creator of the Willendorf Venus was himself divine; that possibility is precluded by Jones's emphasis on 'man-hands'. If the artist was divinely inspired more than twenty thousand years before the birth of Christ, logic dictates that a god or gods were the source of the inspiration and that the god or gods were either the gods worshipped by the artist or God Himself. The problem with Murray's argument is that the former proposal, which is incompatible with a Christian theory of history insisting on monotheism and an eternal God, is also incompatible with the emphasis on the 'continuity of history' expounded in *The Anathemata*. The 'continuity of history' acknowledged by Murray is directly derived from the continuity of God, and thus the theory of history behind *The Anathemata* does, in fact, entail a belief in Christianity at least, if not specifically Catholicism.

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the significance of Jones's 'Map of Themes in the Artist's Mind' as a tool to enable the identification of influences on *The Anathemata*. There are, of course, other influences on Jones's work that do not appear on this 'Map', but whose significance can be traced from their appearance in his correspondence, footnotes, autobiographical writings and similar writings by his friends and acquaintances. Such influences are less directly discernible in the text; they affect Jones's handling of his material rather than the material itself. Most influences detectable in Jones's work which are not included on the 'Map' are



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irrelevant to the subject of this thesis (for example, Jones's admiration of Gerard Manley Hopkins), which shows that when Jones was drawing his 'Map', it was predominantly a historical landscape that he was charting, and which he considered to be of most significance to his work.<sup>44</sup> However, there are other sources relevant to a discussion of the past, and acknowledged elsewhere by Jones, which are also excluded from the illustration. These include modern historiographers, from whom he derived much of his information and many of his opinions about the medieval sources which feature prominently in the poem. Again, the omission of specific allusions to these writers from the 'Map' demonstrates the importance of the primary material to Jones; twentieth-century historiography is not itself considered in *The Anathemata*. However, it is of interest because of the theoretical opinions it offers, and the varying perspectives it adopts towards the medieval material; as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge, contemporary research and thought, it is significant in determining the reception and interpretation of the earlier sources in Jones's poem. Although, as I have shown, Jones was familiar with several medieval chronicles, histories and other narratives, and probably would have acquired an overall understanding of the ways in which medieval history was presented, Jones's knowledge of medieval historiography was not derived solely from his reading of the primary texts. His personal theory of history largely followed that of the medieval thinkers, and was based on the Christian promise of redemption, but there were certain aspects of modern historiographical thinking which inspired him, and which also influenced the form of *The Anathemata*. As Murray has commented,

[t]he age in which Jones lived was one which was full of grand theories of history, and of concepts of the eternal pattern, as writers and thinkers tried to make sense of the horrific events that had fragmented their own worlds. Maritain, Jung, Toynbee, Spengler, Collingwood, Auerbach, Ernst Robert Curtius each offered their own solutions to the meaning of history.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> One unacknowledged influence, which is of some, albeit limited, relevance to this thesis, is that of contemporary psychological thought. See Appendix 4.

<sup>45</sup> O. Murray, p. 15.

However, he then added 'But Jones's answer owed nothing to them...', a statement which is accurate insofar as Jones did not follow any one particular theory, but perhaps overly dismissive in that he found in these 'concepts of the eternal pattern' inspiration and support for his own understanding of the temporal scheme in which humanity exists.

Of the individuals named by Murray, Auerbach's ideas, particularly those concerning the concept of the *figura*, are in fact essential to an understanding of *The Anathemata*, and will be considered in chapter four. Maritain's thoughts were chiefly of use in enabling Jones to develop his beliefs of 'man as sign-maker', expanding upon Maritain's theory of the gratuitous. Jones's views of the sacramental nature of man are discussed in chapter five, in regard to their relation on the structure of the poem. In respect of 'the meaning of history' and *The Anathemata*, three of the most influential figures were probably Christopher Dawson, the first named of the sources acknowledged by Jones in his Preface, although omitted by Murray, R.G. Collingwood and, controversially, Oswald Spengler, also among the fifty names listed in the Preface.

Dawson was a close friend of Jones and was known to his social circle (and referred to in Jones's correspondence) as 'Kit' or 'Tiger Dawson'. He was also a convert to Catholicism. Jones valued his company highly; his letters frequently refer to Dawson's erudition, and also to his hospitality, for Jones paid frequent extended visits to friends. As a letter to René Hague testifies, he availed himself of Dawson's vast library on such visits: 'this house is solid, comfortable and Victorian, and filled tight as tight with books so that you don't know which to read at all.'<sup>46</sup> Jones also subscribed to, or received second-hand copies from friends of, *History* magazine, and it is possible that he may have found further inspiration on this subject from

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<sup>46</sup> *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 72, letter to R.H., July 1935. The letter was written on the 2<sup>nd</sup>; Jones did not leave for another six days. His visits, as shown here, often lasted a week or more.

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other historians whose articles and reviews were published in the journal, or passed on by friends such as Dawson. Murray contends that

[a]lthough these writers [Maritain, Collingwood *et al*] gave him attitudes, insights and much relevant material, I do not think we should regard Jones's theory of history as a Catholic theory of history. We must not be misled by Jones's idiosyncratic use of the concept of the sacramental into assuming that his view of history is based on the importance of the Christian sacrament.<sup>47</sup>

This statement seems to miss the point of Jones's outlook on life, in which the Christian sacrament of the Mass 'makes sense of everything'; the close nature of the friendship with Dawson,<sup>48</sup> combined with Jones's tendency to seek intellectual support from his friends, and a closer examination of Collingwood's work suggests that in addition to the 'relevant material', these historians also gave Jones the assurance that a Christian theory of history would, in fact, provide the unifying factor and inward continuities that he was seeking in order to make sense of his content, those otherwise disparate fragments of cultural memory. Dawson, for example, proposed that the 'central doctrine of the Christian faith is also the centre of history'.<sup>49</sup> Like Jones, Dawson viewed the Middle Ages as a period of creativity, and through the lens of his Catholic beliefs:

Dawson's view of the Middle Ages bore his faith's imprint even more deeply, and thus challenged conventional historiographical and cultural views more radically. He rejected the term 'dark Ages' on religious grounds: "to the Catholic they are not dark ages so much as ages of dawn", for this era saw the West converted, Christian civilisation founded, and Catholic art and liturgy created.<sup>50</sup>

This concept of the medieval period as the a time in which the arts prospered, coincides with Spengler's theory that the Middle Ages were the cultural climax of the West, although the methods by which the two historiographers arrived at this conclusion are opposed; the emphasis on medieval creativity is thus one which

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<sup>47</sup> O. Murray, p. 13.

<sup>48</sup> For a detailed analysis of the friendship between Jones and Dawson, see Paul Robichaud, 'David Jones, Christopher Dawson and the Meaning of History'.

<sup>49</sup> Christopher Dawson, 'The Christian View of History', p. 235, cited in *Third Spring*, p. 238.

<sup>50</sup> *Third Spring*, p. 249.

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Jones received from two very different perspectives. However, Dawson did not ascribe all of the qualities which he recognised in the medieval period to the influence of Catholicism:

He refused to equate this single epoch with the universal faith that he thought undergirded it, stating explicitly that "Christian culture is not the same thing as medieval culture, it existed before the Middle Ages began and it continued to exist after they had ended". Rather than trying to arrest historical development by retreating into a bygone era, Dawson insisted that "there have been many Christian cultures and there may be many more" because "the concept of Christian culture is far wider than that of the Middle Ages". Moreover, he censured the Oxford Movement and Catholic revivalists for idealising this period, complaining that Catholics were "too obsessed with the Middle Ages", and that this fixation undercut such writers' credibility. He denied flatly ever having been a Bellocite; he belonged (along with Jones) to the Order Group, a collection of Catholics who opposed what they deemed the Chesterbellocian idea that Catholics are necessarily medievalists. While an inaccurate reading of Chesterton's position, if not Belloc's, Dawson's adherence to it does reveal how far he was from holding the romantic view of the Middle Ages often ascribed to him.

His refusal to posit a rigid identity between Catholicism and medievalism does not mean, however, that he found the period lacking in virtues. Recognising that what is Catholic is not necessarily medieval, and what is medieval is not necessarily Catholic, Dawson still felt that "there has never been an age in which European culture was more penetrated by the Catholic tradition, or in which Catholic ideals found a fuller expression in almost every field of human activity". In particular, he thought the Middle Ages saw the development of an organic, communitarian social order grounded in religious principles, one he deemed revolutionary, the source of Western science and culture, and an exemplar of European unity.<sup>51</sup>

Like Dawson, R.G. Collingwood identified the Middle Ages as an important period of thought in Western civilisation, distinct from the Classical period that preceded it and the modern period which succeeded it, and, again like Dawson, saw the Middle Ages as a time of creative thinking rather as 'dark ages', asserting that the use of such phrases 'tell us nothing about those ages themselves, though they tell us a great deal about the persons who use them, namely that they are unable to rethink the thoughts which were fundamental to their life'.<sup>52</sup> Collingwood was the author of *The Idea of History*, a series of lectures and manuscripts first published together posthumously in 1946, although the lectures were delivered during the 1920s. According to the *Catalogue*, Jones had in his possession at his death two

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<sup>51</sup> *Third Spring*, pp. 250-1.

<sup>52</sup> Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 219.

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other books by Collingwood, *The Principles of Art* and *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*. It would therefore be surprising, although not impossible, if Jones was not familiar with the content and theories of *The Idea of History*, probably from the original lecture series; certainly he would have read reviews of the book.<sup>53</sup> Although the sections on 'Christian Historiography' and 'Medieval Historiography' are brief, they touch upon many ideas that have a resonance in Jones's later work. In particular, Collingwood provides a detailed exposition of the characteristics of Christian historiography, which has implications for a consideration of *The Anathemata*. Collingwood suggests that all history is fragmentary, providing a corollary for the fractured narrative of *The Anathemata*, and that

the past leaves relics of itself, even when these relics are not used by any one as materials or its history; and these relics are of many kinds, and include the relics of historical thought itself, that is, chronicles. What particular parts and aspects of the past we now recall by historical thought depends on our present interests and attitude towards life; but we are always aware that there are other parts and other aspects which there is no need for us to recall at present, and in so far as we recognise that these too will one day interest us we make it our business not to lose or destroy their records.<sup>54</sup>

Collingwood distinguishes between history and chronicle, arguing that chronicle is the 'corpse of history',<sup>55</sup> but that true history involves the re-enactment of past experiences in the mind of the thinker. History is the re-presentation of the past in the thoughts of the present:

The gap of time between my present thought and its past object is bridged not by the survival or revival of the object, but only by the power of thought to overleap such a gap; and the thought which does this is memory. [...] [T]he difference between

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<sup>53</sup> For example, the impact of *The Idea of History* is assessed in *History*, vol. 37, published in February 1952. This issue is in the David Jones Collection at the NLW. Although this particular article appeared too late to be a source of ideas for *The Anathemata*, the author, R.W. Harris, comments that 'In 1947 the publication of R.G. Collingwood's *Idea of History* caused a momentary flutter. It was reviewed in a number of learned periodicals, it must be said without much enthusiasm. Mr A.L. Rowse gave it a regretful notice in the *Sunday Times*'. In fact, there is little in *The Idea of History* of which Jones is unlikely to have been aware previously; its main relevance is as a consolidation of ideas in relation to medieval historiography, and comments on the medieval works with which Jones was already familiar.

<sup>54</sup> Collingwood, p. 203.

<sup>55</sup> Collingwood, p. 203.

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memory and history is that whereas in memory the past is a mere spectacle, in history it is re-enacted in present thought.<sup>56</sup>

Collingwood's opinions thus confirm Jones's own beliefs of the significance of anamnesis, or re-enactment, and of the importance of memory to this process.

Collingwood claims that the innovation of the medieval historian was the introduction of divine revelation as a factor:

The Christian revelation thus gave us a view of the entire history of the worlds, from its creation of the past to its end in the future, as seen in the timeless and eternal vision of God. Thus medieval historiography looked forward to the end of history as something fore-ordained by God and through revelation known to man: it thus contained in itself an eschatology.<sup>57</sup>

The implications of this in relation to *The Anathemata* are evident: those of most interest are that history, which is necessarily time-bound, is a human concept, whilst God's vision is timeless; that historiography is eschatological; and that both of these ideas are found in medieval views of history, which are theo-centric. Furthermore, Collingwood outlines the criteria on which Christian historiography is founded, stating that 'any history written on Christian principles will be of necessity universal, providential, apocalyptic, and periodized'.<sup>58</sup> The necessity of universality to *The Anathemata*, and its fundamentally Christian nature, has already been discussed, but Collingwood is more specific:

It will be a *universal* history, or history of the world, going back to the origin of man. It will describe how the various races of men came into existence and peopled the various habitable parts of the earth. It will describe the rise and fall of civilisations and powers...<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Collingwood, p. 293.

<sup>57</sup> Collingwood, p. 54.

<sup>58</sup> Collingwood, p. 49.

<sup>59</sup> Collingwood, p. 49.

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*The Anathemata* fulfils this description, even exceeding it in so far as Jones's 'history of the world' incorporates modern scientific knowledge, and begins with the origin of the world, predating the origin of man.

In his use of Olympiads and consul dates, units created by the Greek and Roman empires, to measure time, Jones may be interpreted as celebrating the achievements of civilisation. However, the collapse of empire is inevitable. Each empire will be supplanted and succeeded by another empire, just as Jones uses the terms and languages of empires interchangeably. Jones thus found supporting evidence in the medieval histories to corroborate his theory of succession and continuity, particularly insofar as it concerns empire.<sup>60</sup> No human empire can ultimately triumph, in accordance with Collingwood's second principle of history:

It will ascribe events not to the wisdom of their human agents but to the workings of *Providence* preordaining their course... Providential history ... treats history indeed as a play written by God, but a play wherein no character is the author's favourite character.<sup>61</sup>

Jones's theory of history is also firmly providential; the concept of preordination is assumed as fact. 'Human agents' are, as chapter four explains, as significant for their function of agency as for their humanity. Each of the figures of *The Anathemata* fulfils a role; each is an agent, acting on behalf of, and directed by, God, from the major speakers such as the Lady of the Pool to the anonymous, briefly-mentioned artists of the past; the sculptor of the Venus Willendorf, discussed previously, is assumed to have been divinely inspired. Collingwood's suggestion of history as 'a

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<sup>60</sup> It should also be noted that although later twentieth century historians have established that the trope of *translatio studii et imperii* was first conceived in the twelfth century, scholars in the first half of the century were unaware of the late date and used it to explain late ninth and tenth century history. Jones would have therefore absorbed the idea of *translatio imperii* in connection with the earlier chronicles; the aspect of continuity that is central to the concept is of particular importance to the themes of *The Anathemata*. Whilst the concept is similar to that of Spengler's cyclic cultural/civilisational model, as I will show, it predates Spengler by several centuries. *The Anathemata*'s use of the successional idea is, I would argue, more akin to that of the progressive model of *translatio imperii* than the resolutely cyclic nature of Spengler's theory.

<sup>61</sup> Collingwood, p. 50.

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play written by God' has a further resonance for *The Anathemata*, which exploits the dramatic potential of this imaginative approach to history, as will be shown in chapter five. The principle of universality is further elucidated by Ernst Breisach, who argues that 'the proper Christian chronicle was always the universal chronicle, spanning all of time and all peoples'.<sup>62</sup> Breisach argues that 'extensive medieval chronicles can be schematised as having three basic parts',<sup>63</sup> the characteristics of which are as follows:

	I. Biblical-Patristic History segment	II. Intermediate segment	III. Contemporary segment
Scope:	Potentially from Creation to the early church.	Local or regional history from the earliest time up to the contemporary segment.	The author's time and that immediately preceding it.
Typical sources of knowledge:	"Authorities"; Bible, works of Church Fathers, early Christian chronicles.	Earlier annals, chronicles.	Experience of author and that of author's generation.
Basic character:	Strictly derivative.	Mostly derivative.	Relatively innovative.

**Figure 2: Breisach's segmentation of chronicles.**

These three segments 'stood in a fluid relationship to each other. A fundamental cleavage separated the first segment from the second and third. The biblical-patristic segments told most clearly of the human encounter with the divine, containing God's unique revelation in Christ'.<sup>64</sup> The characteristics of the chronicles outlined above are also found in Jones's historiography, expressed in *The*

<sup>62</sup> Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), p. 128.

<sup>63</sup> Breisach, p. 128.

<sup>64</sup> Breisach, p. 128.



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*Anthemata*, in which the discussion moves from the Creation of the world, through the pre-history of Europe, the theological arguments of the Church Fathers and scholasticism of the Middle Ages, to the time of the author and his immediate forebears, and beyond to the promised Redemption, a discernible scheme that has implications for the structure of *The Anthemata*, as I will demonstrate in chapter six.

Collingwood's third principle, that Christian history is apocalyptic, can also be applied to *The Anthemata*:

It will set itself to detect an intelligible pattern in this general course of events, and in particular it will attach a central importance in this pattern to the historical life of Christ, which is clearly one of the chief preordained features of the pattern. It will make its narrative crystallise itself round that event, and treat earlier events as leading up to it or preparing for it, and subsequent events as developing its consequences...<sup>65</sup>

That *The Anthemata* is centred on the Incarnation cannot be doubted; events are dated according to the Nativity or Passion, whilst being judged for their significance in relation to the Christian salvational scheme. The apocalyptic nature of *The Anthemata* is more complex. Although 'apocalypse' is frequently understood to refer to 'the end of the world', the term is actually derived from the Greek word meaning 'uncover'; it means 'revelation of the future', 'vision' or 'prophecy'.<sup>66</sup> This is the point at which the Aristotelean and Christian, as defined by Collingwood, concepts of history diverge; Aristotle used the inclusion of prophecy as one of the elements distinguishing poetry from history, whilst Collingwood implies that the Christian view of history is prophetic.

Finally, Collingwood suggests that history is periodised:

Having divided the past into two, it will then naturally tend to subdivide it again: and thus to distinguish other events, not so important as the birth of Christ but important

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<sup>65</sup> Collingwood, p. 50.

<sup>66</sup> S.O.E.D.

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in their way ... Thus history is divided into epochs or *periods*, each with peculiar characteristics of its own...<sup>67</sup>

The term 'epoch', like 'anamnesis', is fundamental to Jones's writing. It forms part of the title of a collection of his prose writings, *Epoch and Artist*, and although he does not specifically use the word in the Preface to *The Anathemata*, several passages are concerned with the idea of epoch and it appears in the text of 'Rite and Fore-time':

From before all time  
                                  the New Light beams for them  
and with eternal clarities  
                                  *infulsit* and athwart  
the fore-times:  
                                  era, period, epoch, hemera.                                   (*Ana.*, p. 74)

It is noticeable that Jones's comments about the role of poets and other artists are inextricably linked to their position in and relationship with time:

The poet is born into a given historical situation and it follows that his problems – i.e. his problems as a poet – will be what might be called 'situational problems' ... It is axiomatic that the function of the artist is to make things *sub specie aeternitas*.  
'He said "What's Time? Leave Now for dogs and apes!  
Man has For ever".'  
True, but the works of man, unless they are of 'now' and of 'this place', can have no 'for ever'. (*Ana.*, p. 24)

What is more significant is that Jones is almost as preoccupied with place as with time, as the use of the terms 'situation' and 'epoch' demonstrate; an epoch is a period of history with its own defining characteristics, which are a function of physical location as well as of temporal location. Jones commented that 'the Incarnation commits Xtians [*sic*] to an inescapable concern for time and place, site and event',<sup>68</sup> and that the Catholic Church is necessarily committed 'to history, to

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<sup>67</sup> Collingwood, p. 50.

<sup>68</sup> Jones, undated manuscript, David Jones 1985 Purchase. Group A, Box IV / 16, NLW. Quoted in Schwartz, p. 334.

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locality, to epoch, and site',<sup>69</sup> whilst Schwartz suggests that it was Jones's concern for

authenticating particularity that made him especially interested in dating the Passion's events. He again used various contexts, from conventional historical ones to nautical, mythological, and astrological references, to help him convey his sense of the Crucifixion's specific, temporally conditioned character. (*D.G.*, p. 167)

However, Jones suggests that there is no conflict between the contemporary – the epochal – and the eternal, that those things which have most resonance 'for ever' are, paradoxically, the things most representative of a particular time and place, or epoch. As another critic has suggested, for Jones, 'history is never a glorious pageant or any unattainable apotheosis of reactionary views, it may be poetic but it is always local and particular, a private soldier's view'.<sup>70</sup>

In summarising the Christian theory of history, Collingwood claims that 'all these four elements were in fact consciously imported into historical thought by the early Christians';<sup>71</sup> examples of early Christians already cited are Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede. These four elements are integral to the coherence of *The Anathemata*. Eusebius, Isidore and Bede all significantly influenced Jones, as his 'Map of Themes in the Artist's Mind' shows; the nature of that influence lies as much, if not more, in the historiographical principles of their writing, which for Jones were crystallised by his reading of the passages from the *Idea of History* quoted above, as in their content.

Much comment has already been made on Jones's use of Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West*, most notably by Jonathan Miles.<sup>72</sup> Inarguably, the *Decline of the West* was a major influence upon David Jones's work. William Blissett writes of Jones's 'long interest in "old Spengler"'. He read Spengler quite early but

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<sup>69</sup> Jones, 'A Christmas Message, 1960', in *The Dying Gaul*, p. 167.

<sup>70</sup> Peter Levi, 'The Poetry of David Jones' in *Agenda*, David Jones Special Issue, 5:1-3 (1967), 80-89, p. 81.

<sup>71</sup> Collingwood, pp. 50-1.

<sup>72</sup> *Backgrounds*, pp. 36-64.

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was completely saturated in him during the early years of the war - 1940-2'.<sup>73</sup> Although Jones wrote to Harman Grisewood in February 1942 'I've been immersed in Spengler', he did not accept Spengler's theories without question, adding 'I'm battling with him...' Whilst it is indubitable that Jones was interested in Spengler's writings in the early 1940s, it seems probable that the most attractive aspects of *Decline of the West* were those that reinforced Jones's theory of history developed from his study of medieval literature over the previous two decades. The phrase 'battling' suggests that Spengler challenged many of Jones's preconceptions, which Jones was unwilling to concede. The extent to which Spengler's influence permeated Jones's thinking can be seen in the familiarity with which Jones annotated his copies of *Decline of the West* and *Man and Technics*; amongst the frequent underlinings, vertical marks and 'good's scribbled on the text, we also find comments such as 'very true',<sup>74</sup> 'This moralizing wont do and ill becomes old Ossy'<sup>75</sup> [sic] and 'Not utterly convinced that the comparison works here',<sup>76</sup> demonstrating an engagement with the text beyond merely reading it. This last comment, referring to an analogy drawn between two groups of historical figures, suggests that Jones believed that Spengler's comparison did work elsewhere. It is notable that the section of *Decline of the West* concerning the correspondences between historical situations has a large number of underlinings, vertical markings and marginalia and the comments written on the flyleaf of Jones's copy show a particular interest in the concept of 'contemporaneity' of cultures.<sup>77</sup>

Whilst Spengler's influence can undoubtedly be seen in *The Anathemata* as well as Jones's later poems, critics such as Jonathan Miles and Thomas Dilworth, have tended to focus on the Spenglerian aspects of Jones's thinking to the

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<sup>73</sup> William Blissett, *The Long Conversation: A Memoir of David Jones* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, )p. 65.

<sup>74</sup> *Decline of the West*, pxi.

<sup>75</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 40.

<sup>76</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 411 (against 'The Roman Stoic has his counterpart...').

<sup>77</sup> E.g. flyleaf note by Jones: 'Vol II p50 "history" understood only by some late "corresponding" of event'.

detriment of other possible historiographical influences.<sup>78</sup> This is in part due to Jones himself, whose frequent references to Spengler in correspondence and conversation as well as in the footnotes to *The Anathemata* may have misled many of his friends and critics into overstating the sphere of influence *Decline of the West* occupied. The chief contribution seems to be in confirming Jones in his views of the 'decline' of civilisation, and in reinforcing the links Jones had made in his own mind between the crumbling of European civilisation, epitomised in the two world wars, and the fall of the Roman Empire. Jones was indeed 'saturated' in Spenglerian thinking, but he did not lack the powers of critical and impartial analysis. His comments on the *Decline of the West* are numerous, but whilst many are positive, as many are neutral or even in disagreement with the book. Jones's occasionally cynical retorts to arguments are typical of his discerning handling of source material, and demonstrate that such material was not absorbed in its entirety into his own writing.<sup>79</sup>

Possibly the most controversial tenet of *Decline of the West* regarding history from a twentieth-century perspective, and certainly to a discussion of *The Anathemata*, is Spengler's theory of historical cycles, and the related concept of historical equivalents. Spengler rejected a linear concept of history in favour of a cyclical system in which cultures were 'born', 'bloomed' and 'died'. He identified eight such cultures and argued that the number invited a comparative analysis. The process undergone by each culture was the same, allowing assumptions to be

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<sup>78</sup> Miles does acknowledge that Jones does not fully commit to all aspects of the Spenglerian view:

'It is true, as Hague suggests, that there appears to be a difficulty about "reconciling Spengler's basic thesis of the isolation of cultures with D.'s monism", sending us to Dawson's *Progress and Religion* to show, as he writes in his *Commentary*, that a wide gulf separates Jones and Spengler' (*Backgrounds*, p. 50), and 'There are, however, some interesting and important divergences between Jones's conception of the West and Spengler's narrower, essentially Teutonic conception of Faustian culture. Jones suggests that the West, or at least our island, is a fusion of classical, German and Celtic deposits' (*Backgrounds*, p. 52).

<sup>79</sup> An example of Jones's sardonic conversational style of commentary can be found on p. 65 of his copy of *Man and Technics*: 'well, well – here the red boy himself is bloody moralising'.

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made and the future to be projected for any one culture, implying a prophetic perspective based on historical analysis. His theory suggested that a culture originated in a period of creativity, that it reached maturity when all of its possibilities 'in the shape of peoples, languages, dogmas, arts, states and sciences' had been fulfilled, at which point it became a 'Civilisation':

The Civilisation is the inevitable *destiny* of the Culture... Civilisations ... are a conclusion, the thing-become succeeding the thing becoming, death following life, rigidity following expansion, intellectual age and the stone-built, petrifying world-city following mother-earth and the spiritual childhood of Doric and Gothic.<sup>80</sup>

Western (that is to say, European) culture reached its zenith in the late medieval era; since then, it was sublimated into civilisation. Civilisations represent not achievement but decline, as Spengler's metaphors of death, rigidity and stone suggest. They do not regenerate themselves, but are replaced by new cultures, which then follow the same cyclical pattern.

Whilst cultures have high points, civilisations decline to new lows, expressed through imperialism:

Here, then, I lay it down that *Imperialism*, of which petrifacts such as the Egyptian empire, the Roman, the Chinese, the Indian, may continue to exist for hundreds or thousands of years – dead bodies, amorphous and dispirited masses of men, scrap-material from a great history – is to be taken as the typical symbol of the end. Imperialism is Civilisation unadulterated.<sup>81</sup>

Spengler's contempt for empire finds resonance in Jones's negative depiction of empire. However, whilst Jones demonstrates a concern over the 'greediness' of imperial powers, his attitude is more ambivalent than Spengler's. Jones finds aspects to celebrate, whereas Spengler is remorselessly pessimistic. Although Jones's worry over the state of Western civilisation is real and sincere, ultimately the tone of *The Anathemata* is that of optimism. The difference is due to Jones's faith, and his unbreakable belief in the promise of salvation offered by Christ's Crucifixion,

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<sup>80</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 31.

<sup>81</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 36.

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which is a spiritual regeneration precluded by Spengler's insistence on the absolute death of civilisations; Jones's Catholic religion enables him to associate 'empire' with redemption, as well as with war, human greed and arrogance. The Roman soldiers who captured, tortured and crucified Christ, and Pontius Pilate under whose orders they operated, were agents of empire; but according to Jones's Christian theory of history, they were also agents of God, and their actions were necessary for human salvation. In addition to the emotional impetus for rejecting the negativity of Spengler's outlook, Jones's faith gives intellectual reason for not accepting Spengler's theory in absolute entirety, as I will show shortly. However, although Jones did not unquestioningly accept the whole of Spengler's thesis, certain of his statements were nonetheless of value to Jones.

To Jones, the *Decline of the West* offered a fruitful intellectual route to pursue, although Elizabeth Ward overstates the influence that Spengler's concept of historical cycles had on his poetry, and misinterprets Jones's use of the material:

Where *In Parenthesis* takes as its model of current historical malaise a real instance of crisis, on a scale beyond falsification, carrying its own weight in indictment, *The Anathemata* reverts to the purely abstract notion of history-as-cyclic – a Spenglerian continuum of morphological relationships, according to which human life develops inexorably through the coils of 'cultures' and 'civilisations', periods of growth and degeneration – in order to justify David Jones's private cultural despair. The effect is to reinforce primitivist analogical interpretations of modern history, as in the poem's identification of the decline of Rome with the cultural decay supposedly evident in contemporary urban life...<sup>82</sup>

Despite the obvious analogical methodology apparent in Jones's repeated use of the metaphor of the wasteland as a consequence both of the 'robbery' of the Roman Empire and of modern warfare, Jones's purpose is not to provide a 'primitivist [...] interpretation of modern history'. Instead, he views the existence of such correspondences from a typological perspective, demonstrating the influence of

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<sup>82</sup> Ward, p. 153. In fact, I would argue that Jones's 'private cultural despair' was not a personal despair at all, but a widespread attitude in the mid-1940s, when Jones was working on *The Anathemata* and the Second World War had already lasted for several years.

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medieval historiographical techniques. In fact, *The Anathemata* does not 'revert to the purely abstract notion of history-as-cyclic', as I have shown, but uses the concept as his starting point to explore the possibilities of history.

The Spenglerian cyclic vision of history was not new, but had been proposed by many earlier historians, both ancient and modern, such as Vico and Hegel. The idea was debated intensely by medieval scholars and theologians, including St Thomas Aquinas, and St Augustine, who rejected it as incompatible with the Church's teaching. Jones read and owned *De Civitate Dei* and *Confessions*,<sup>83</sup> but found additional commentary on this topic in contemporary historians' writings.<sup>84</sup> In

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<sup>83</sup> Schwartz's analysis of Jones's interpretation of Augustine is possibly over-critical; he suggests that Jones

'was also suspicious of a figure man Roman Catholics revered: Augustine of Hippo. He invoked Augustine throughout his poetry, yet he also deemed the saint "'wrong' about all kinds of things" [Jones to Jim (probably H.S. Ede), undated 1953, David Jones 1985 Purchase. Group C, Box 2, NLW]. Specifically, Jones (perhaps betraying his own insecurity in this regard) felt that Augustine never renounced his own early dualism sufficiently. For example, he noted Dawson's analysis of Augustine's "sympathy with the Platonic tradition", and added a telling annotation: "a blood still too much". Whereas Greene tended to an Augustinian attitude and Dawson blended Augustinianism and Thomism in his work, Jones's experience with disembodied beliefs made him, like Chesterton, fully confident only in the Angelic Doctor's diagnoses and prescriptions'. (Schwartz, p. 330).

'Suspicion' is too strong a word, considering the prevalence of Augustinian allusions in Jones's writings, and elsewhere Schwartz appears to contradict this view by declaring that 'despite Jones's wariness of some of Augustine's ideas, then, his theology of history's structural subversion of whiggish schemas was perfectly Augustinian.' (p. 339).

<sup>84</sup> Some idea of the relative importance he assigned to his sources may be ascertained from the following extract from a letter to Desmond Chute, dated 3 February 1953:

'I don't feel you should tire your eyes out on Old Spengler, p'raps. It is an enormously long work. I want to post this to you now but I'll try & say a bit more of why he was illuminating to *me* next time I write.

Gilbert Sheldon's *Transition from Roman Britain to Xtian England* I think you would find very interesting, if you can get a copy. Published in 1932 by Macmillan. It's a very stimulating book, and he was a very civilised man. Xristopher D[awson] knew him, I remember. Collingwood & Myres in their *Roman Britain* book admit in their bibliography that Sheldon is 'attractive & stimulating' but qualify this by saying that his book was 'not based on a thorough acquaintance with the evidence.' But it is undoubtedly a valuable little book. I think also you would like C.N. Cochrane's book, *Xtianity & Classical Culture*, Ox. 1940. I found it most illuminating, but I expect *you* are much more acquainted with its subject matter than I was, or am, myself. Must post now.' (*I.N.*, p. 43).

Unfortunately, if Jones did 'say more' about Spengler to Chute, the evidence has not survived.



*Christianity and Classical Culture*, a book owned and annotated by Jones,<sup>85</sup> C.N.

Cochrane succinctly summarises Augustine's argument:

In this connexion we may call attention to the vigorous attack launched by St Augustine against the theory of cycles, the *circuitus temporum*, as he calls it; 'those argumentations whereby the infidel seeks to undermine our simple faith, dragging us from the straight road and compelling us to walk with him on the wheel; argumentations which, if reason could not refute, faith could afford to laugh at'. According to him the real basis of this theory may be traced to the inability of the scientific intelligence to grasp the notion of 'infinity' and to its consequent insistence upon 'closing the circle'

[...]

To the Christians, of course, nothing could be more abhorrent than the theory of cycles. For it flatly contradicts the Scriptural view of the *saeculum* as, from beginning to end, a continuous and progressive disclosure of the creative and moving principle. It likewise denies by implication the Christian message of salvation...<sup>86</sup>

The Augustinian interpretation of cyclical theory as static and anti-Christian suggests that whatever else Jones may have found of value in Spengler's work, never could he have accepted fully Spengler's idea of history as unremittingly cyclical.<sup>87</sup> However, the suggestion that human behaviour followed particular patterns, and that these patterns were repeated throughout history, did have a resonance for Jones: 'Spengler had very special insight into the cyclic character of the periods of decline, and certainly the trend, as far as we can see, of the contemporary world, verifies a number of his conclusions' (*E&A.*, p. 242). In fact, the 'periods of decline' are not exclusive to Spengler's theory of history, but are also a feature of medieval, overtly Christian, historiography, evident in the works of at least three of the early British historians named on Jones's 'Map of Themes'. Hanning observes that 'to Gildas,

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<sup>85</sup> C.N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture: a study of thought and action from Augustus to Augustine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940). See previous note for Jones's comment on this book.

<sup>86</sup> Cochrane, pp. 482-3.

<sup>87</sup> Further arguments undermining Spengler's conclusions are to be found in Collingwood's articles in *Antiquity* (several issues of which are catalogued in Jones's library); see e.g. *Antiquity* 1: 3 (311-325) and 1:4 (435-446).

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degeneration is the characteristic movement of British history',<sup>88</sup> whilst R.W. Southern remarks that Geoffrey of Monmouth

told a tragic history of decline and destruction, the result of treachery within and barbarism without... But over this retreat there hovered the promise of renewal; Geoffrey's history here joined hands with prophecy and opened up the promise of a still greater future for this people predestined by God for universal rule.<sup>89</sup>

Of Bede, Southern believes that he 'is quite original in giving to each age this rhythm of dawn, growth and destruction, containing the promise of a new dawn. It is a rhythm which has a faint similarity to the Hegelian dialectic of history, and this similarity is strengthened by the way in which Bede ties his ages together in a movement analogous to the seven ages in the life of man'. Significantly, Bede identifies cyclical characteristics in the pattern of history, which resemble the culture-civilisation cycle of *Decline of the West* except that, importantly, there is a forward movement to each cycle, demonstrated by the analogy of the progression through the seven ages of man.

Bede thus provides a model in which the attraction of the cyclical theory, and specifically the elements of repetition and re-enactment that it contains, may be reconciled with the eschatological impulse of Christianity; it is Bede, rather than Spengler, whose model Jones ultimately accepts as his theory of history. Jones makes a distinction between cyclical elements, or the cyclical character or periods, and the theory of history itself as a cycle. As Miles comments,

Jones was clear about the nature of the gulf between Christian teaching and the pervasive ancient vision of cyclical time, marking in his copy of C.H. [sic] Cochrane's *Christianity and Classical Culture* a passage noting that there was nothing in Christian teaching "more remarkable than the notion of progress and none more incongruous with the thought and practice of classical antiquity" [see full quotation above]. Yet although Christianity in one respect replaces periodic regeneration of the world with one historical redemption ("*epi Pontiou Pilatou*") that looks forward to one

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<sup>88</sup> Hanning, p. 57.

<sup>89</sup> R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 1. The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth', in R.J. Bartlett (ed.), *History and Historians: Selected Papers of R.W. Southern* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 15.

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future regeneration, in another respect it practises an annual cycle of mystical regeneration, and, in its repetition of the Divine archetype of the Mass, seeks to abolish time by allowing the act to take place both in time (though, here again, as a part of a daily or a weekly cycle of celebration) and out of time.<sup>90</sup>

The element of progression necessarily involved in a Christian understanding of history requires that at most, history takes a helical form. However, although human history must be linear, God is not subject to the measurement of time, but transcends it: '*Alpha es et Omega* that which/ the whole world cannot hold.' (*Ana.*, p. 207). Christian belief therefore does entail a belief in eternal cyclical time, the beginning and the end of which are both contained in God, but this is separate from an understanding and a recording of history, which relates to human time, and is measurable.<sup>91</sup>

Despite this fundamental difference between the theories of Bede and Spengler, some of Spengler's ideas echo the historiographical techniques of the medieval chroniclers and writers of *vitae*, including the concept of history as a 'memory-picture', quoted previously, and Spengler's use of the term 'epoch':

This French revolution might have been represented by some other event of different form and occurring elsewhere, say in England or Germany. But its 'idea' – which (as we shall see later) was the transition from Culture to Civilisation, the victory of the inorganic megalopolis over the organic countryside which was henceforth to become spiritually 'the provinces', – was necessary, and the moment of its occurrence was also necessary. To describe such a moment we shall use the term (long blurred, or misused as a synonym for period) *epoch*. When we say an event is epoch-making we mean that it marks in the course of a Culture a necessary and fateful turning-point. The merely incidental event, a crystallisation-form of the historical surface, may be represented by other appropriate incidents, but the *epoch* is necessary and predeterminate.<sup>92</sup>

Significantly, two of the most obvious areas of overlap in effect, if not in method, between Spengler and his medieval predecessors are the concept of 'empire' and

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<sup>90</sup> *Backgrounds*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>91</sup> The division between the measurable linear time of human history and the infinite cyclical time of God's eternity, and the impact that this has upon the form of *The Anathemata*, will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>92</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 148.

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the theory of correspondences, or equivalents. Jones reserves particular opprobrium for imperial powers. He repeatedly paraphrases Augustine's writings on empire ('robbery is conterminous with empire' – *Ana.*, p. 85).<sup>93</sup> The Bishop of Hippo was not alone in deploring this aspect of civilisation. Later historians also showed a consciousness of the destructive aspects of empire, as Hanning describes: Nennius's writings show that 'imperial tyranny and loss of freedom are ruinous',<sup>94</sup> whilst according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, 'the part played by Maximianus in the founding of the new nation of Brittany, to the detriment of Britain, is symbolic of the destructive effect of imperial ambitions upon the nation'.<sup>95</sup> Empire is associated with the periods of decline in the histories of early Britain, just as it is linked with the death of civilisation by Spengler.

Spengler's theory of the morphology of cultures states that a particular fact or event in any particular culture has an equivalent in every other culture, which he then viewed as 'contemporaneous':

The application of the 'homology' principle to historical phenomena brings with it an entirely new connotation for the word 'contemporary'. I designate as contemporary two historical facts that occur in exactly the same – relative – positions in their respective Cultures, and therefore possess exactly equivalent importance. It has already been shown how the development of the Classical and that of the Western mathematic proceeded in complete congruence, and we might have ventured to describe Pythagoras as the contemporary of Descartes, Archytas of Laplace, Archimedes of Gauss. The Ionic and the Baroque, again, ran their course *contemporaneously*. Polygnotus pairs in time with Rembrandt, Polycletus with Bach. The Reformation, Puritanism and, above all, the turn to Civilisation appear simultaneously in all Cultures; in the Classical this last epoch bears the names of Philip and Alexander, in our West those of the Revolution and Napoleon.<sup>96</sup>

It has been suggested that Jones's comparison of twentieth century events with those of the Roman Empire is evidence of his reading of Spengler. However, medieval historians also drew connections between contemporary personages and

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<sup>93</sup> In addition, Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, declares of their rapist father Mars, 'Though he was of the Clarissimi his aquila over/ me was robbery./ 'T's a great robbery/ –is empire.' (*Ana.*, p. 88); further references are to be found in *The Sleeping Lord*.

<sup>94</sup> Hanning, p. 110.

<sup>95</sup> Hanning, p. 147.

<sup>96</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 112.

events and Roman ones, ignoring temporal differences and disrupting chronology in a way which prefigures Jones's own ambivalent attitude towards empire. Just as Jones conflates the *Pax Romanitas* with Neville Chamberlain's Munich Agreement speech, 'Peace in Our Time' (*Ana.*, p. 186), so similar anachronistic connotations were incorporated into medieval histories:

The tendency to link the present time with the period of the Roman Empire and to emphasise a continuity indicates a characteristic feature of the concept (or consciousness) of history in the high Middle Ages that seems to contradict the tendency to determine and record precise historic dates. On the one hand, the authors acknowledged and noted change and development, and they distinguished between epochs or phases in history; on the other hand, their perceptions of the events leave the amazing impression of a certain "timelessness" that ignored a real difference in the epochal character insofar as this went beyond the political succession of power, reign, and kingdoms. On the contrary, it allowed events that were long past to be applied directly to the present... It was no doubt important for the chroniclers to attribute the factual events to a certain date, but in substance they might at any time detach this event from its chronological context and transfer its contents to the present or to a level that was independent of time.<sup>97</sup>

Parallels may be drawn between Spengler's theory of correspondences and the typological practice employed by medieval historians of conflating epochs and events. According to Goetz, the medieval chronicler demonstrated a

strong tendency to 'place' historical facts in the right chronological order and attribute them to their exact date. On the other, temporal changes – the differences in times and epochs – were often neglected by unceremonious comparisons of events from distinctly different centuries or eras.<sup>98</sup>

Jones's imagined scene on the eve of the Nativity is depicted using characters ('we malkins three' – *Ana.*, p. 215) from a Shakespeare play, *Macbeth*, written and set in different periods. The *Macbeth* setting of the meeting of the prophetic sisters on the moor is thus lifted and used in an anachronistic manner, similar to the 'set piece' descriptions (of feasting, coronations and other occasions) found in the chronicles. That Jones did this deliberately in order to recreate this effect is, to my mind, highly

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<sup>97</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz, 'The concept of time in the historiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries' in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 155-7.

<sup>98</sup> Goetz, p. 139.

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probable; in 1955, three years after the publication of *The Anathemata*, he remarked upon the medieval method in an essay:

The influence of Geoffrey's pseudo-history was extraordinarily pervasive and remained so for many centuries. In reporting on some formal and contemporary thirteenth-century occasion a chronicler might (and did) lift a passage straight from Geoffrey's twelfth-century description of a fictitious sixth-century occasion.

(E&A, p. 223)

This technique involves 'borrowing' the description given by the earlier passage, using the same terminology, and presenting it as a first-hand account of a contemporary event; the conflation of periods occurs through the application of the description of the past to the events of the present:

This phenomenon can be observed in the technique of medieval historiographers who carelessly described events of the present with the wording of their ancient sources, referring to completely different situations (a method that has been widely discussed)... A typological way of thinking enabled the chroniclers to detect (or even construct) a correlation of events that was widely separated in place and time. This construction, however, was not made haphazardly but, on the contrary, completely consciously.<sup>99</sup>

Hanning notes a slightly different use of repetition in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, in which variations of a particular incident or motif culminate to give the impression that the same situation recurs throughout history:

in recounting the successive reigns of the British monarchs, he repeatedly inserts variants of several basic situations – feuds among brothers, British expeditions to Rome, the illicit love of kings, etc. – which have far-reaching national consequences. The inevitable effect upon the reader of this repetition of incidents at various points in British history is a subconscious realisation that 'this has happened before' – i.e. that history continually repeats itself.<sup>100</sup>

Both the 'lifting' of passages and the repetition of 'variants of several basic situations' are prevalent in *The Anathemata*, exemplified by the voyage motif which recurs throughout the poem, the various manifestations of which are often easily identified as having been borrowed from an earlier source, as the next chapter demonstrates.

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<sup>99</sup> Goetz, p. 160.

<sup>100</sup> Hanning, p. 141.

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Goetz gives another example of the medieval tendency to ignore temporal disparities, in the portrayal of figures and events from the past in a modern setting. In this process, the conflation of periods occurs through the application of the conventions of the present to an interpretation of the past, in an inversion of the 'lifting' technique described above:

In pictorial representations, historical figures were dressed in contemporary clothes and furnished with the medieval insignia of power: throne, scepter, crown, and orb... The Middle Ages were not characterised by a historical or individual, but by a typological representation.<sup>101</sup>

*The Anathemata* also employs this method in its harmonisation of past and present: the anachronistic furnishings shown in the medieval paintings recall the various modern trappings included in Jones's depiction of Roman figures in *The Anathemata*, from the 'syndicate's agent' whose 'bit from the Urbs/ waits in the car' (*Ana.*, p. 89) to Pontius Pilate himself, slumbering under the mosquito nets in an air-conditioned room, 'after tiffin and before his first stiff peg' (*Ana.*, p. 239).

Although the purpose of the chronicles was to preserve memories, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the typological methods used show that the process of composition was a selective one; in choosing which present events to record, and which aspects of those events to emphasise, the chronicler was effectively creating history; in further selecting past events as analogies, the writer assumes an authority that is not immediately apparent. 'Truth' becomes a subjective quality: 'History was a "sequence of time", the importance of which lay in a constant re-presentation, not in a representation of the past as such, but of a certain past that was relevant for the present'.<sup>102</sup>

The major difference between the medieval 'contemporisation' of the past, and Spengler's theory of historical equivalents, is that in Christian historiography,

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<sup>101</sup> Goetz, p. 155-7.

<sup>102</sup> Goetz, p. 165

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history is progressive; the similarities between situations are not the result of the two events or figures actually being identical, as Spengler insists, but can be ascribed to prefiguration (the typological scheme of *The Anathemata* will be analysed more fully in chapter four), or, in the case of minor repetitive elements, patterns of human behaviour. Oswyn Murray makes an important point when he states that 'history is [...] important to David Jones, but not the history of grand events – rather the small history of repeated actions [...] All past history informs or gives meaning to the present: it creates a system of signs and sacrament.' Whereas Jones sees meaning in 'repeated actions',<sup>103</sup> Spengler's preoccupation is solely with the 'grand events' of history.

Jones exploits the selective depiction of the past to reinforce the continuity of the actions and beliefs of mankind. The 'representation of... a certain past' is crucial to the Christian faith, and is integrated into that faith through the practice of anamnesis, discussed earlier in this chapter. The implications of selective representation are not lost on Jones; it was to this aspect of the poet's role that he referred when he described poetry as 'dangerous' because it is 'inevitably "propaganda", in that any real formal expression propagands [*sic*] the reality which caused those forms and their content to be' (*Ana.*, p. 21). It is also propaganda because it is necessarily subjective, 'recalling something loved', and proposing a single perspective. In the case of *The Anathemata*, the past events that are selected are chosen for their typological properties, and in the retelling, it is the aspects analogous to and relevant for the Christian narrative that Jones emphasises.

### Prophecy

Most critics of *The Anathemata* have tended to focus on the poet's concern with the past. However, Kathleen Henderson Staudt suggests that Jones's

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<sup>103</sup> O. Murray, p. 6.



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relationship with the future tense is of greater significance, and offers a way of understanding the past that does not involve a discussion of history. Like Murray, Staudt is wary of overestimating the influence of Jones's contemporaries; she claims that Jones 'is misunderstood or understood in too limited a way when we align him too closely with conservative Christian thinkers and writers such as Christopher Dawson and T.S. Eliot'.<sup>104</sup> However, in posing an alternative perspective, Staudt apparently fails to realise the full implications of the conservative Christian aspects of her own proposition: 'The theological conception of the poet as prophet seems to me to offer another way out of our struggles'.<sup>105</sup> As discussed, the third principle of Christian theory identified by Collingwood is its apocalyptic, that is to say prophetic, nature. As the earlier definition of apocalypse suggested, both terms are synonymous with the 'revelation of future events', and thus the Christian perspective is one which combines both the past, through its insistence on the historical fact of the First Coming of Christ, and the future, through its anticipation of the Second Coming; prophecy is the means by which the future is disclosed in the present. It is the prophetic aspect of the Christian theory which makes sense of the typological methods used by the medieval chroniclers, who thus identified in the events of the past a prophecy or prefiguration of the future.

The prophetic element is strong in *The Anathemata*, as several critics, including Staudt and Adam Schwartz, have remarked, suggesting that Jones himself is the prophet-figure. Jones denies these claims: the poet

has not infrequently to say, quoting from the same clear source of Englishness, 'Those been the cokkes wordes and not myne'. Rather than being a seer or endowed with the gift of prophecy he is something of a vicar whose job is legatine – a kind of *Servus Servorum* to deliver what has been delivered to him, who can neither add to nor take from the deposits. (*Ana.*, p. 35)

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<sup>104</sup> Kathleen Henderson Staudt, 'What's Under Works Up: The Prophetic Modernism of David Jones', in Paul Hills, ed., *David Jones: Artist and Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 158-171, henceforth 'Prophetic Modernism', p. 160.

<sup>105</sup> 'Prophetic Modernism', p. 160.

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Through allusion and appropriation, Jones frequently conflates poetry and prophecy in his own written work; his poem 'A, a, a, Domine Deus' opens with the words 'I said, Ah! What shall I write?' (*S.L.*, p. 9), echoing the prophets Isaiah (40:6 'The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry?') and Jeremiah (1:6 'Then said I, Ah, Lord God! behold, I cannot speak: for I *am* a child.'). Jones again alludes to Isaiah in *The Anathemata*, but describes him as a 'poet':

Lighting the Cretaceous and the Trias, for Tyrannosaurus must somehow lie down with herbivores, or the poet lied, which is not allowed. (*Ana.*, p. 74)

In fact, in his denial of being a seer or having a 'gift of prophecy', Jones finds authority in another biblical source:

Also Amaziah said unto Amos, O thou seer, go, flee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there: But prophesy not again any more at Beth-el: for it *is* the king's chapel, and it *is* the king's court. Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit: And the LORD took me as I followed the flock, and the LORD said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.<sup>106</sup>

The reticence to claim prophetic powers, and the insistence on the speaker's humility and task of delivering the message is echoed in *The Anathemata's* Preface.

Positing that 'not being a prophet himself', he is instead a reteller of prophecies, Jones continually emphasises the function of poet as 'rememberer and transmitter of tradition' with a 'rhetorical humility that makes him more of a jester', in Schwartz's view.<sup>107</sup> Yet the roles of prophet and fool are not so dissimilar, after all – and it is not coincidental that Jones prefaces his work with a quotation from Shakespeare's *King Lear*:

*This prophecie Merlin shall make  
for I live before his time* (Ana., title-page)

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<sup>106</sup> Amos 7:12-15.

<sup>107</sup> *Third Spring*, p. 369.

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The lines are spoken by Lear's Fool, a character with whom Jones identified as a poet, as marginal to society and yet intrinsic to it. The words themselves are self-referential, and have an inherent circularity. The prophecy that Merlin shall make has already been made by the Fool himself who lives before Merlin's time; as a parody of a stanza attributed to Chaucer, it is paradoxically not original the first time it is delivered (by Shakespeare), but is simply a retelling. Prophecy is not innovative thought but *a priori* experience, an inversion of memory. Despite Jones's refutation of prophecy, he does in fact acknowledge the assimilation of prophecy within poetry, inasmuch as the poet himself is chronologically anomalous. As Shakespeare's Fool lives before his time, and takes as his authority an earlier poet, so Jones applies this model to his own predecessors:

Hopkins, 'as one born out of due time', but before his time (yet how very much of his time!), was just such another. And we know how he, Manley Hopkins, stands over so many later artists, saying, in the words of another and pre-eminent living artist, 'And I Tiresias have foresuffered all'.  
And Browning too might well have his say and continue the quotation, 'Enacted on the same divan or bed'...

(*Ana.*, p. 26)

The reference to Tiresias is significant, suggesting the reconciliation of the figures of poet, prophet, priest and fool. Although the temporal element is obviously important to Jones, what is more important is that these figures must all speak the truth, regardless of the consequences. Tiresias, a priest, was blinded for revealing Hera's secret to Zeus – arguably a foolish act – but was granted the gift of prophecy in compensation; Lear's Fool incurs the displeasure of the king for uttering the truth concerning the future; and the prophet Isaiah 'is not allowed' to lie. The priest, fool and prophet are united in the figure of the poet, the adviser who is compelled to speak truthfully, however unpleasant the subject, and who may not deviate from the message he has been tasked with delivering. If the message is the truth, it must be the same message; according to Christian theology, there is only one truth. Jones

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reinforces this view: 'There is only one tale to tell even though the telling is patient of endless development and ingenuity and can take on a million variant forms' (Ana., p. 35), and it is further emphasised through the cyclical prophecy of Lear's Fool. Prophecy predicts what will happen from a study of what has already happened; as the Fool suggests, the same story will be reiterated continually. The apocalyptic tone of *The Anthemata* is not limited to the prophetic or priestly figures featured in the text, a typological characterisation which will be analysed in greater detail in chapter four, but is also derived from the cyclical nature of the narrative, itself a reflection of Jones's understanding of eternal time.

Ward claims that *The Anthemata*:

risks the abandonment of the historical subject. In so doing, it loses the explicit temporal scheme in relation to which the fluidity or fragmentation of *In Parenthesis* is controlled, and it also loses the dramatic possibilities inherent in the choice of a delimited time, place and action. The result is an isolation of the mythical perspective itself, an attempt to render the historical shape of an essentially meta-historical vision without benefit of a consistent dramatic medium.<sup>108</sup>

Ward apparently has misunderstood the temporal scheme at work, and misinterpreted an understanding and reworking of 'the historical subject' as an 'abandonment' of it. She is not alone amongst critics in having failed to notice the progression of liturgical, or sacred, time throughout the poem, but she has taken the opposing argument further than most in suggesting that the temporal scheme is entirely lost. Ward describes *The Anthemata* as 'the product of a myth-haunted imagination, its historicity superficial'. She does not enlarge upon her definition of 'historicity', which I take to refer to Jones's precise dating of particular events. The perceived lack of a temporal scheme appears to be an assumption based on the temporal discontinuity of the three major sea-voyages, and the fact that the different parts, whilst each founded in a particular time and place, are not arranged in a

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<sup>108</sup> Ward, p. 123.

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strictly chronological order – the ‘Lady of the Pool’ section, for example, is set four centuries earlier than that of ‘Redriff’. It is erroneous to dismiss the temporal setting and movement. It seems that other critics of Jones’s work have read the poem with a modern desire for historical narrative, that is to say, a wish for a narrative continuity based on a chronological order, and that as a result the juxtaposition of fragments ‘out of time’ has caused confusion and perhaps been seen as a flaw in the work. Such a compositional practice should be viewed instead as evidence of the extent to which medieval thinking was inherent to Jones’s artistic practices. There is, in fact, a chronological order to the ‘fragments’, but it is not the chronology that modern readers have come to expect. It is the ability to recall events that gives sense to the passing of time, and thus the ordering of the past. As Aristotle said,

But the main thing is that one must know the time, either in units of measurement or indeterminately. Assume there is something with which a person distinguishes more or less time. Probably it is in the same way as he distinguishes magnitudes.<sup>109</sup>

History is an expression of memory; so too is narrative, which enables the communication of memories. Both concepts are integral to a discussion of structure in Jones’s *Anthemata*, and, I suggest, provide an explanation for the disruption of chronology that is a notable feature of the work and which has perplexed so many critics.

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<sup>109</sup> Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, p. 57.



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fact. Dilworth's comments reflect the general opinion. He states without elaboration that '*The Anathemata* is not, like *In Parenthesis*, a narrative poem and therefore cannot be an epic',<sup>1</sup> and is 'free of the controlling gravity of a realistic narrative ground'.<sup>2</sup> However, Dilworth does allow that 'Jones's poem implies a narrative',<sup>3</sup> and that within the poem, 'narrative too is present' in the voyage accounts.

As Chapter Two showed, much of the content of *The Anathemata* is determined by the faculties of memory and prophecy, the ways in which the human mind reconciles the past and future tenses with the present time. Narrative is the mode by which the human mind understands time and is inextricably linked with temporal discourse:

Most crucially, perhaps, by marking off distinct moments in time and setting up relations among them, by discovering meaningful designs in temporal series, by establishing an end already partly contained in the beginning and a beginning already partly containing the end, by exhibiting the meaning of time and/or providing it with meaning, narrative deciphers time and indicates how to decipher it. In sum, narrative illuminates temporality and humans as temporal beings.<sup>4</sup>

These characteristics of narrative are to be found within *The Anathemata*, whether explicitly, as in the 'end already partly contained in the beginning and a beginning already partly containing the end', or implicitly, in the 'meaningful design' of the 'temporal series' that informs the poem.

This chapter will thus examine the relationship between time, narrative and form in *The Anathemata* and specifically the ways in which particular narrative techniques and a temporal scheme are used to create a coherent form. In both aspects, Jones appears to have disregarded the concept of narrative coherence as understood by twentieth-century readers and instead to have reverted to using techniques and schemes more commonly found in medieval literature.

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<sup>1</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Gerald Prince, *Dictionary of Narratology* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1987, rev. 2004), p. 60.

### Narrative Coherence and Form

It is evident to all readers of Jones's work that the poet has a deep intellectual interest in the past, as evinced in the previous chapter, and that this interest is expressed through references to historical events and the inclusion of narrative episodes which are given an explicit temporal and geographical location. However, these episodes are discrete, and there appears to be no narrative connection between them; the events to which they refer are actual or imagined historical events but have no direct chronological link. The eight parts are thus seen as lacking integrity, and within each part it is difficult to perceive a narrative coherence to the episodes, anecdotes and references that comprise that part. As a result, *The Anathemata* appears to consist of a number of unrelated episodes, each taking a narrative form and involving an element of historicity. I have used the term 'narremes' to refer to these brief narrative units inset into *The Anathemata*.

The term 'narreme', also identified as being synonymous with 'kernel', 'nucleus' and 'bound motif',<sup>5</sup> was first used by Eugene Dorfman,<sup>6</sup> who describes it as a narrative incident with a causal link to the preceding and succeeding incidents, integral to the plot or substructure of the story. Prince does not define 'narreme' but defines the synonymous terms as describing an element of narrative that is essential to its causal-chronological coherence. However, the limitation of the term as described by Dorfman and subsequently by Prince is that it is applicable only to texts with a causal-chronological plot. In the strictly temporal sense, *The Anathemata* lacks such a plot, although it does have a controlling narrative based not on action but on thought and speech ('rather as in a longish conversation', *Ana.*, p. 33). This narrative is causal ('what goes before conditions what comes after and vice versa', *Ana.*, p. 33), and in the context of thought or speech, chronological ('where one thing leads to another', *Ana.*, p. 33). Dorfman suggests that

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<sup>5</sup> Prince, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Eugene Dorfman, *The Narreme in the Medieval Romance Epic: An Introduction to Narrative Structures*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 5-7, cited in Prince, p. 67.



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all incidents are marginal and belong solely to the superstructure if their omission would not affect the basic storyline, however poetic, delightful, entertaining, artistic and otherwise memorable they may be. The remaining incidents, proved functionally necessary to the continuity of the story as written, are narremes, forming the substructure or internal framework of the narrative.<sup>7</sup>

In this chapter, the term 'narreme' is used to describe a discrete narrative episode, linked to preceding and succeeding narrative episodes, which is necessary to an understanding of *The Anathemata* as a whole, and to the continuity of the controlling narrative, but which is not dependent on other narrative episodes for meaning in itself. Examples of narremes include the Lady of the Pool's monologue concerning her lovers, the conversation of the three witches, and the voyage of 'Angle-Land'.

The narremes are placed within a framework whose function and shape is unclear. The framework has a semblance of narrativity; for example, the voyages featured in different episodes are connected spatially, one beginning where the last ended, but there is no temporal connection. Several centuries separate the voyages; the direction of movement in time is not consistent but switches between forwards and backwards, with no apparent pattern. However, I will use the term 'narrative' to describe the overall textual impetus of *The Anathemata* for two reasons. The first reason is that there is a narrative voice in the poem, a voice which interrogates, muses, reminisces about past experiences and speaks on behalf of unknown participants using the first person plural pronoun:

Our van

                          where we come in:

not our advanced details now, but us and all our baggage. (*Ana.*, p. 190)

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<sup>7</sup> Dorfman, p. 7.

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This narrative voice is significant, not just because of its association with memory and community, but also because it indicates a performance and an attempt at communication, a concept which has implications for the form of the poem.<sup>8</sup>

The second reason that the term 'narrative' is relevant to a discussion of *The Anthemata* is that although the form of the poem lacks chronological order it does in fact have a temporal coherence connecting the discrete narremes, contrary to current critical thought. The term 'narrative' encompasses three elements: it describes an account of a series of events, in an order, and establishes causal connections between those events. If the order is understood to be historical-chronological and the connections between events to be causal, then *The Anthemata* lacks narrative coherence. If, on the other hand, it is accepted that a controlling narrative superstructure can be composed of and interrupted by discrete, complete narremes (the substructure), that the arrangement may be ordered by a principle other than historical chronology, and that the causality may be one of thought rather than action, then the narrative that the poem 'implies' becomes more explicit. Chronology and 'temporal coherence' are not necessarily synonymous, and though 'chronological' means 'arranged in order of time',<sup>9</sup> the time referred to does not have to be historical time. Existing criticism has focused on Jones's departure from historical chronology in its treatment of the narrative form of *The Anthemata*, but instead of looking to earlier sources and known influences on Jones for potential models, critics have suggested that Jones was concerned not with history, but with 'post-history':

When George Steiner argued in 1965 that Jones's work should be considered 'among prolegomena to future forms', he had in mind not only its resistance to classification, but also coincident with this, its eschatological focus. For Steiner, the future meant 'the other side of history', and proceeding from the view that all generic distinctions are historically rooted, he reasoned that the literature of post-history (if it is to exist at all) would be generically unrecognisable. Although his prime concern

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<sup>8</sup> As the introduction indicated, the term 'form' refers to the organic form of the work. This chapter is not concerned with the structure of the poem, its division into eight parts and the physical arrangement of those parts, which will be analysed in chapters four and five.

<sup>9</sup> S.O.E.D.

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was with the forms literature would take in a Marxist Utopia, he perceived that the issue was a general one – and one that could be illuminated by any writing pointing to, and beyond, the fulfilment of time.<sup>10</sup>

In fact, this view of *The Anathemata* fails to take into account Jones's preoccupation with history and the past, and assumes that the poem experiments with a new narrative form rather than remodelling existing forms. Deane continues:

One is not surprised [...] to find [Jones] attempting to 'redeem' the time-bound act of reading *The Anathemata* by making use of non-chronological methods of organisation, such as association and parataxis. This naturally frustrates our refractory desire to uncover a 'plot' – in what Jones calls the 'English' sense of that word: a *fabula*, a 'time-oriented course of events' – and we find ourselves unable to say precisely what the work is 'about', or more particularly what it is 'doing'.<sup>11</sup>

This suggests that the frustrated attempt to find a 'plot', a narrative coherence based on chronological organisation, in *The Anathemata* has led critics to assume that the poem lacks coherence and therefore a recognisable form. The need for narrative coherence achieved through the chronological arrangement of material is a modern trait, and it is perhaps due to this preoccupation with predominantly chronological narrative that Jones's *Anathemata* is not as well-known as the writings of many other twentieth-century authors.<sup>12</sup> It is not just contemporary works that are expected to have a narrative coherence; the requirement is now applied retrospectively. It is apparent that the presence of narrative coherence is a quality that is now sought for and valued in texts written at a time when that quality was not so highly valued or considered necessary. Catherine Cubitt suggests, '[a]lthough some modern scholars have tended to regard narrative as natural and a human universal, it was by no means as important a literary form in the early Middle Ages as it is today';<sup>13</sup> she further claims that 'few early medieval authors [of histories and

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<sup>10</sup> 'Fate of Narrative', p. 306.

<sup>11</sup> 'Fate of Narrative', p. 307.

<sup>12</sup> In this context, it is interesting to note that James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* may have been accepted into the literary canon by academics, but remains considerably less popular than *Ulysses*, which has a more obvious narrative coherence. Both books are still considered to be 'obscure' and 'difficult', but a narrative plot may be detected in *Ulysses*.

<sup>13</sup> Cubitt, p. 62.

*vitae*] were concerned to write a coherent and connected account'.<sup>14</sup> Jones's interest in medieval history perhaps has greater implications for the form of *The Anathemata* than has been acknowledged to date. Whilst chronological narrative is now the most common mode of literature, medieval writers did not necessarily consider chronology or narrative to be significant factors in the creation of a text. Deane does recognise that the narrative form of *The Anathemata* is concerned with issues of temporality, even if chronology is discarded:

What is disconcerting about [the arrangement of sections of *The Anathemata*] is that though the larger segments of the poem are, broadly speaking, 'time-oriented', they are not as a whole chronological. They are resolved in the same kind of timeless circularity that can be discerned in almost every other aspect of the poem: its syntax, patterns of images and allusions, and its attempts at narrative writing. One must also add that the temporal integrity of each of these segments is constantly undermined by obvious anachronism and typological reference. All of this suggests that the work's demur at familiar genres is more thoroughgoing even than at first seems the case: *The Anathemata* is obviously not a story, but its rejection of chronology is so pervasive as to set it apart from almost every other conventional literary form.<sup>15</sup>

However, not all 'conventional literary forms' are dependent on chronology or involve narrative coherence. Whilst *The Anathemata* is difficult to categorise according to twentieth-century classifications, the poem can be seen to draw upon the medieval forms of *meditatio* and *compilatio*, which largely disregard chronology, the chronicles which, though nominally ordered according to historical time, lack narrative coherence, and the *vitae* or histories which rely heavily upon the oral tradition and thus may ignore both conventions.

Evidence of all four forms (oral *vitae* and histories, *meditatio*, *compilatio*, and chronicles) may be seen in the narrative organisation of *The Anathemata*. Jones was less concerned with the formal construction of the poem than with the traditional principles underlying, and thus informing, the narrative. Jones's identification of the poem as a 'longish conversation' suggests the influence of the oral mode, and implies narrative coherence through association; it also links *The Anathemata* to a

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<sup>14</sup> Cubitt, p. 47.

<sup>15</sup> 'Fate of Narrative', p. 307.

long literary tradition, including epics such as *Beowulf* as well as the *vitae*. The concepts of *meditatio* and *compilatio* carry connotations of particular subjects appropriate to those genres; both forms are also associative, the former having similarities to the oral narrative and the latter comprising thematically linked materials. Both are sources of techniques which allow Jones to create a narrative coherence without adhering to strict chronological principles. Finally, the chronicle, with its system of brief narrative entries, conflation of human time and sacred time, and monastic origins, suggests a treatment of time appropriate to the subject of *The Anathemata*, underpinning the narrative in place of the historical chronology expected by twentieth-century readers. The ensuing discussion will analyse the extent to which each of these forms contributes to the form of *The Anathemata*.

### **Oral Narrative**

Cubitt suggests that 'the stringing together [of] a series of episodes or anecdotes in a very loose framework' was a common method amongst medieval writers of histories and *vitae*, such as Gregory of Tours and Asser.<sup>16</sup> *The Anathemata* follows this model; the concept of a series of episodes, often taking the form of anecdotes as in 'The Lady of the Pool' or dialogue, as in 'Redriff' and 'Mabinog's Liturgy', contained within a framework, is central to *The Anathemata*. As has been observed, the progression of the controlling narrative relies more on the psychologically associative context of the narremes than on historically causal or chronological connections between them. The episodes do not lead on to each other by means of chronological causation, but through their thematic relationship and geographical setting. In this, Jones resembles the chronicler of the life of Cuthbert, who:

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<sup>16</sup> Cubitt, p. 47.

### Chapter Three: Narrative and Time

rarely endeavoured to provide causal relationships between chapters and the chronological connections he establishes are usually vague and weak... His preferred method of opening a new chapter is to announce the names of either the source of the miracle or of those involved and also to record shortly afterwards the physical location of the events... The anonymous author, therefore, chooses to place his stories within contexts that replicate the frameworks within which memories of Cuthbert were preserved, within communities or landscapes.<sup>17</sup>

The emphasis on the particular, on the names of those involved and the physical location of the events, is replicated in *The Anathemata* ('On to one of the mountains there/ on an indicated hill/ not on any hill/ but on Ariel Hill/ that is as three green hills of Tegeingl/ in one' – *Ana.*, p. 233), suggesting a rejection of the early twentieth-century predilection for the abstract,<sup>18</sup> and a desire for specificity, which Jones recognised in the medieval chronicles. Jones also identified the connection between memory and landscape, discussed in the previous chapter, and the importance of incorporating physical landscape into a literary text in order to evoke the particular, reflecting his 'intense concern for the particular and concrete, for the very facts of history'.<sup>19</sup> Cubitt suggests that the decision of the author of the life of Cuthbert to insist upon a familiar context for the stories 'does not guarantee the factual accuracy or reliability of the anonymous author but simply suggests that his literary techniques perhaps remained close to oral discourse'.<sup>20</sup> The close relationship between early written texts and oral narratives is echoed in Jones's

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<sup>17</sup> Cubitt, p. 49.

<sup>18</sup> On a related note, it is interesting that Jones was ejected from membership of the 7 & 5 Society, a group of artists formed in 1919. It originally espoused conservative attitudes and a post-WWI 'return to order' manifesto. Ben Nicholson was elected chairman in 1926 and recruited Jones in 1928. However, in 1934 Nicholson engineered a vote that only non-figurative works should be shown, which resulted in the Society's focus on abstraction and renaming as the 7 & 5 Abstract Group (later simply the '7 & 5'). (Marco Livingstone, 'England: III. Painting and Graphic Arts; 6. After 1914', *Grove Art Online* (Oxford University Press), [accessed 12/04/2007], <http://www.groveart.com/>).

In 1936 Jones wrote to Jim Ede 'I have just received a communication from the Worshipful Company of 7 & 5 to the effect that I am not a member – having only registered 2 votes at the last election. What a pity I did not send in my dignified letter of resignation a year ago – but in a way it's much nicer to be hoofed out – certainly whatever happened I suppose my stuff would no longer 'go with' their particular goodness' (3 April 1936, *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 82). In 1964, Jones wrote to Peter Levi that 'the dominant personality was Ben Nicholson... but he became more and more an apostle of the 'abstract' and in the end would tolerate no other work.' (*Dai Greatcoat*, p. 82).

<sup>19</sup> *Third Spring*, p. 356.

<sup>20</sup> Cubitt, p. 49.

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description of *The Anathemata* as a 'longish conversation', implying the spoken word, and his directions that the text should be read aloud: 'I intend what I have written to be said' (*Ana.*, p. 35). Indeed, Jones compares his poem to an oral narrative in his analogy of a traveller 'making a song or a story about a journey he had taken from his home through far places and back' (*Ana.*, p. 42).

The underlying impetus for the imitation of the oral mode in a written text is threefold. It is related to Jones's view of the function of the poet, discussed in the previous chapter. The poet is the 'voice' of the community, the intermediary between the people and a higher authority, as demonstrated by the association with the figures of the priest and the prophet. The use of one or more narrative voices thus endows the text with poetic authority, and creates a dramatic undercurrent. Secondly, the proximity to oral narrative encourages the use of a colloquial or vernacular tone, leading to an immediacy of effect and sense of inclusion, or community. Finally, in medieval ecclesiastical writing, the oral mode is closely connected to the relationship between performance and text in the liturgy:

[T]he use of texts within a monastic environment can be compared to the environment of vernacular poetry. In the liturgy, the worlds of oral and written are inseparably linked since its essence lies in the performance of written text as a shared experience on the part of the whole community. Liturgical performance also militates against lengthy narratives since the readings consist of short excerpts from the Bible, placed alongside other texts and prayers meditating often in an oblique fashion on the same underlying theme. Full understanding of the daily services required concentration and the ability to make associations between different texts.<sup>21</sup>

Whilst this relationship between liturgy and text is clearly of great significance to Jones's poetry, the concept of *The Anathemata* as an approximation of liturgical performance will be considered later in the thesis. In this chapter, however, what is of more interest is the suggestion that the influence of the liturgy may be traced in the narrative form of the text. The concept of a fragmented narrative form of short biblical excerpts juxtaposed with meditative episodes, which requires associations to be made by the reader, has obvious resonance for a reading of *The Anathemata*.

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<sup>21</sup> Cubitt, p. 64.

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Further evidence of both the liturgical and oral influence can be seen in the element of repetition, widely used in medieval texts and in *The Anathemata*. In the liturgy, this characteristic has a ritualistic function; it is also a mnemonic device. Whilst *The Anathemata* draws upon both traditions, neither has a practical purpose for a twentieth-century written text, and the use of repetition as an aide-memoire or to adhere to ritual convention would have a superficial effect. Jones rarely uses literary devices purely for a decorative effect; in his poetry, form is usually closely linked to function.

The other aspects of the poem mentioned by Deane ('its syntax, patterns of images and allusions, and its attempts at narrative writing', as well as the 'obvious anachronism and typological reference'), together with those narrative features not mentioned, such as digressions and catalogues, are typical of the techniques used in Old and Middle English writings, reinforcing the theory that Jones looked to the past rather than the future for a literary form on which to model *The Anathemata*:

Scholars of medieval vernacular literatures have been keen to point out that these cannot be easily analysed by the techniques of modern narratology. Old English literature is perhaps more marked by lists, catalogues and digressions than by linear narrative [...] It was familiarity and an associative way of thinking on the part of the audience which endowed these poems with coherence. Enjoyment of *Beowulf* relies upon knowledge not only of its subject's life but also of the numerous heroic episodes alluded to in its digressions; its reader or hearer was required to make connections between the superficially disparate but juxtaposed events to appreciate fully the poem's resonances.<sup>22</sup>

Whilst modern critics seem to consider lists, catalogues and digressions as weaknesses in poetry, Jones uses and celebrates these traits as characteristic of the literary tradition of the British Isles. However, the most immediate effect of the digressions and the juxtaposition of seemingly unrelated events and episodes is that of disintegration, rather than coherence - they interrupt and distract from narrative continuity. Elen Monica's catalogue of the churches of the City of London at which Crouchmass is due to be celebrated at first appears to impede the progression of

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<sup>22</sup> Cubitt, p. 62.



the narrative; it is only on re-reading the passage that it becomes apparent that the digression is thematically linked to the previous episode. Similarly, 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' lists boatbuilding techniques and terms which again seem to digress from the main narrative rather than promote it. The cohesive effect of the catalogues is realised only with hindsight and contributes to thematic coherence instead of narrative coherence. Like the reader of *Beowulf*, the reader of *The Anathemata* has to rely on his own ability to make connections between passages and events in order to appreciate the poem's resonances.

### **Meditatio and Compilatio**

Both the *meditatio* and the *compilatio* forms are widely found in medieval literature; amongst the books owned and read by Jones, examples of the former genre include Anselm's twelfth-century devotional works and later medieval tracts on the Mass, including Langforde's fifteenth-century *Meditations in the Time of the Mass*,<sup>23</sup> the full influence of which will be analysed in chapter five. Jones was familiar with the *compilatio* form from his understanding of medieval historiography, gained from the sources discussed in the previous chapter. Another significant medieval influence on *The Anathemata* is Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which encompasses both forms.

The word 'meditation' frequently occurs in any discussion of Jones's work (Deane refers to the poem as an 'oblique meditation on the progress of the spirit'),<sup>24</sup> often prompted by Jones's own comment that the fragments of *The Anathemata* are thoughts inspired by, about and occurring during the Mass (*Ana.*, p. 31). The *meditatio* tradition developed from the twelfth century onwards; in his discussion of the relationship between Chaucer's 'Parson's Tale' and the *meditatio* form, Thomas H. Bestul comments that '[in] the prologue to the Parson's Tale, the discourse that is

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<sup>23</sup> 'Langforde's *Meditations in the Time of the Mass*' in J. Wickham Legg, ed., *Tracts on the Mass* (London: *The Henry Bradshaw Society*, 1904) [vol. xxvii].

<sup>24</sup> 'Fate of Narrative', p. 311.

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to follow is twice referred to as a “meditacioun”. The Parson states that he will put “this meditacioun” under the correction of clerks (X.55), and at the end of the prologue Harry Bailly instructs the Parson: “Telleth ... youre meditacioun” (X.69).<sup>25</sup> According to Bestul, ‘the term, especially in the twelfth century, was usually associated with contemplative works which recorded an individual speaker’s private communion with his soul or with the deity and which were somewhat free-ranging in form’.<sup>26</sup> Like *The Anthemata*, the *meditatio*’s subject is religious, and it is not constricted by adherence to chronological principles. However, Bestul refers to differences between early and late medieval manifestations of the form:

[A]mong the earliest and most widely current definitions of meditation were those of Hugh of St. Victor, where in one place meditation is described as ‘sustained thought along planned lines’ and in another it is said to be focused consideration of a single topic with an eye toward elucidating its obscurities. Reflecting late-medieval taste in general, meditations in this period tend to be compendious and, consequently, to become systematic, even mechanistic in form. They were, like the Parson’s Tale, often compilations drawn from several sources [...] Both the Parson’s Tale and the devotional writing of the time reflect a common literary taste for the *compilatio*.<sup>27</sup>

*The Anthemata* is neither ‘sustained thought along planned lines’ nor ‘focused consideration of a single topic’, but it does have a central theme – that of the Redemption of mankind through the Passion of Christ, and the consideration of this theme is sustained throughout the poem, even when other topics are more immediately apparent. *The Anthemata*’s fractured perspective thus has closer affinities with the later meditations, which draw upon multiple sources. However, even the later meditations tend towards to a coherent linear narrative progression, notwithstanding the compositional method used. Although Jones’s poem draws upon the *meditatio* tradition, it does not sit entirely within this generic classification, but as the quotation above suggests, the distinction between forms is not always clear in medieval literature.

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<sup>25</sup> Thomas H. Bestul, ‘Chaucer’s Parson’s Tale and the Late-Medieval Tradition of Religious Meditation’, *Speculum*, 64 (1989), 600-619, p. 600.

<sup>26</sup> Bestul, pp. 601-2.

<sup>27</sup> Bestul, p. 602.

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Whilst Jones's description of the work as 'fragments' would seem to deny the text a narrative integrity, reinforcing the fractured nature of the form, at the same time it places *The Anathemata* alongside a tradition already acknowledged by him as an influence, that of the compilation chronicle or history, which has inherent problems with integrity and continuity. Indeed, Jones's assembling of 'pieces of stuff that happen to mean something to me and which I see as perhaps making a kind of coat of many colours' (*Ana.*, p. 34) openly admits affinities with the medieval method of *compilatio*. The ordering principle for a *compilatio* is not plot, or narrative coherence, but thematic relevance or significance. In addition to the histories, examples of the *compilatio* include fictional narratives; if it is not unfeasible to suggest that the *Parson's Tale*, amongst other works, influenced Jones's understanding of the *meditatio* form, the *Canterbury Tales* itself provides a model for the fictional *compilatio*. Two manuscripts conclude with the sentence 'Heere endith the Tales of Caunterbury compiled by Geffrey Chaucer'.<sup>28</sup> That Jones was familiar with the historical *compilatio*, and was conscious of a similarity in methods, is evident from his paraphrasing of Nennius in his Preface. Referring to Nennius's chronicle, Hanning has claimed that 'complications stem from the fact that the *Historia Britonum* is not a continuous narrative by one author, but a compilation of texts whose dates and places of origin are various and often obscure'.<sup>29</sup> Jones's work has greater narrative coherence than the *Historia Britonum*, but the disjointed nature of the controlling narrative reflects the difficulties presented in the earlier work, of creating something new from a range of materials, whilst maintaining the individual characteristics influenced by the materials' temporal and geographical provenance. The concept of *compilatio* not only helps to explain the composition of *The Anathemata*, but suggests that even at the most basic stage of assembling his materials, Jones had adopted a medieval mindset towards his work. Indeed, this

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<sup>28</sup> Cited in Norman D. Hinton, 'The *Canterbury Tales* as *Compilatio*', in *Essays in Medieval Studies*, I (1984), 28-40.

<sup>29</sup> Hanning, p. 91.

theory may also offer an explanation for the proliferation, by twentieth-century standards, of footnotes, and the unusual density and degree of referencing of those notes. M.B. Parkes has suggested that the transition from monastic to scholastic culture in the twelfth century led to changes in the presentation of material, which is 'reflected in changes in features of layout and in the provision of apparatus for the academic reader'.<sup>30</sup> Parkes observes that

the principal developments in the *mise-en-page* of the book in the twelfth century centred on the presentation of the gloss. Inherited material – the *auctoritates* – was organised in such a way as to make it accessible alongside the text to be studied [...] The whole process of indicating text, commentary, and sources was incorporated into the design of the page, presumably by a process of careful alignment worked out beforehand in the exemplar [...] The practice of indicating sources in the margin derived from earlier manuscripts is here systematised, and becomes the ancestor of the modern scholarly apparatus of footnotes.<sup>31</sup>

Jones considered the design elements of the printed page to be as important as the content; he spent a considerable amount of time on the typographical elements. This interest may derive from his artistic training, but it is also influenced by his understanding of the composition of medieval manuscripts, in which illustration or design and text are interlinked. The similarities between the medieval 'process of careful alignment' and Jones's own compositional methods are demonstrated by the insertion of illustrations in *The Anathemata*, arranged in such a way as to allow the extensive footnotes to remain with the text to which they refer. Jones uses his *auctoritates* with the intention of 'show[ing] forth what is his by this or that inheritance' (*Ana.*, p. 10); he 'glossed the text in order to open up 'unshared backgrounds' (*Ana.*, p. 14). In Jones's view, then, the primary issue to be surmounted was the problem of access to the *auctoritates*, which are not necessarily immediately familiar to or understood by his readers. This was a dilemma also faced by the medieval compilers:

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<sup>30</sup> M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book' in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson, pp. 115-143, p. 115.

<sup>31</sup> Parkes, pp. 116-7.

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The drive to make inherited material available in a condensed or more convenient form led them to recognise the desirability of imposing a new *ordinatio* on the material for this purpose. In the thirteenth century this led to the development of the notion of *compilatio* both as a form of writing and as a means of making material easily accessible. Compilation was not new (it is implicit in the work of Gratian and Peter Lombard); what was new was the amount of thought and industry that was put into it, and the refinement that this thought and industry produced.<sup>32</sup>

Although *The Anathemata* does not attempt to replicate the presentational aspects of the earlier *compilatio*, it is nevertheless apparent that the concept was of use to Jones in terms of both compositional method and underlying theory: it validates Jones's efforts to retrieve and re-present material, often theological in nature, and to make it relevant for the present. Indeed, Jones takes his responsibilities as a compiler, rather than as an *auctor*, seriously:

You use the things that are yours to use because they happen to be lying about the place or site or lying within the orbit of your 'tradition'. It is very desirable in the arts to know the meaning of the word ex-orbitant, or there is pastiche or worse.

Of course, in any case, there may well be pastiche, padding, things not gestant and superficialities of all sorts; but all this is inevitable if you get outside what I believe Blake called the artist's horizon. I have tried to keep inside it. Necessarily within that 'horizon' you will find material of which it could be said

'...in scole is gret altercacioun  
In this matere, and gret disputision'

and, although it is absolutely incumbent upon the artist to use this disputed 'matere', he may be the least qualified to discuss it, nor is it his business, *qua* artist. He has not infrequently to say, quoting from the same clear source of Englishness,

'Those been the cokkes words and not myne'.

Rather than being a seer or endowed with the gift of prophecy he is something of a vicar whose job is legatine – a kind of *Servus Servorum* to deliver what has been delivered to him, who can neither add to nor take from the deposits.<sup>33</sup> (*Ana.*, p. 34-5)

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<sup>32</sup> Parkes, p. 127.

<sup>33</sup> The quotations in this extract are from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and specifically 'The Nun's Priest's Tale' (VII.3237 and VII.3265). Jones's choice of the phrase 'Servus Servorum' may have been influenced by Chaucer also; in the opening verses of Book I of *Troilus and Criseyde*, which has a bearing on the content of this chapter, the lines 'For I, that God of loves servantz serve/ Ne dar to Love, for myn unlikelynesse...' may be found (*Troilus and Criseyde*, l.15-16).

Jones's emphasis on neither adding to nor taking from his material echoes the principles behind the creation of the *compilatio*:<sup>34</sup>

The compiler adds no material of his own by way of exposition (unlike the commentator) but compared with the scribe he is free to rearrange (*mutando*). What he imposed was a new *ordinatio* on the materials he extracted from others. In the words of Vincent of Beauvais: 'Nam ex meo pauca, vel quasi nulla addidi. Ipsorum igitur est auctoritate, nostrum autem sola partium ordinatione'. The *compilatio* derives its value from the authenticity of the *auctoritates* employed, but it derives its usefulness from the *ordo* in which the *auctoritates* were arranged.<sup>35</sup>

Parkes cites the *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais as an example of the way in which *ordinatio* influences the structure of the *compilatio*, arguing that in this text, the *ordinatio* operates at two levels, the 'adoption of a general scheme or structure' and the 'choice of a critical procedure', and that 'at the higher level of *ordinatio* Vincent sought to enclose natural science, Christian doctrine, and the history and achievements of the human race within the general framework of a 'speculum', or mirror of the universe.'<sup>36</sup> In *The Anathemata*, Jones too seeks to enclose a diverse range of subjects within the framework of liturgical time, or the time of the Mass, as this chapter will demonstrate. The evidence of the text itself suggests that in trying to find some form in which he could make his inherited materials accessible and relevant, Jones turned to the medieval concept of *compilatio*, in which narrative coherence is less important than schematic coherence.

### Narrative Techniques

Although the narrative structure of the *compilatio* may lack continuity, or even chronology, particular techniques are used to ensure a narrative coherence despite the disparate nature of the materials, techniques which are also found in

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<sup>34</sup> And also Chaucer again: 'Whoso shal telle a tale after a man,/ He moot reherce it as ny evere he kan/ Everich a word, if it be in his charge,/ Al speke he never so rudeliche and large, / Or ellis he moot telle his tale untrewre, Or feyne thing, or fyndes wordes newe.' (*Canterbury Tales*, I (A) l.731-736).

<sup>35</sup> Parkes, p. 128.

<sup>36</sup> Parkes, p. 128.

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chronicles, *vitae* and other medieval works.<sup>37</sup> Repetitive elements are used in order to create an associative context and to integrate disparate episodes, and it seems probable that Jones adopts similar methods in *The Anathemata*. Cataloguing is one specific example of repetition already mentioned, but further types of repetition include the recurrence of a particular image, such as the ship, or of a narrative trope like the voyage motif.

In support of his claim that *The Anathemata* has no narrative coherence, Corcoran cites the fact that the second voyage described in the poem begins at the point of termination of the first, but several centuries later. He points to the fact that, in the sections on London, Jones jumps backwards and forwards in time as further evidence that the 'fragments' have no logical connection, other than the fact that they reflect Jones's preoccupation with the concept of London as the 'New Troy'. It is ironic, then, that the motif of the ship and its journey is one of the ways in which Jones invests the poem with a narrative coherence.

There are in fact seven identifiable voyages in *The Anathemata*: four diegetic voyage narremes, and a further three metadiegetic narrative episodes. The first diegetic narreme describes the arrival of the Pelasgian ship into Athens harbour in 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', which mutates into the second voyage, of the Phoenician/Phocaeen sailors along the Atlantic seaboard to Cornwall – although the ship appears to retain the Pelasgian skipper. The third diegetic narreme constitutes Part III, 'Angle-Land', which is a geographical continuation of the second voyage, but transposed to the fifth century, following the fall of Rome and collapse of Roman rule in Britain. The fourth diegetic narreme is Part VI, 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', in which the focus is on the ship itself, and both the temporal and geographical locations are unspecified. Two of the three metadiegetic voyages are embedded in the Lady of the Pool's monologue in Part V: the brief mention of the Margaron, sister-ship to the

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<sup>37</sup> Some of these techniques, such as the typological interpretation of events, or the inclusion of anachronistic 'lifted' material, were mentioned briefly in the discussion of the historiography of the chronicles and histories in chapter two.

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Troy Queen, and its journey north to hunt for narwhal ivory; and the longer tale originally recounted to Elen Monica by the skipper of the *Mary's* return from Aleppo, minus her top-mast, smaller mizzen-mast and most of the fore-mast, the mizzen-mast itself undamaged but sloping perilously, and with her sails in rags. The third metadiegetic voyage episode is the hunting trip of Manawydan, a digression from the description of Guinevere at Midnight Mass in Part VII, 'Mabinog's Liturgy'.

The voyage narreme has three functions in *The Anathemata*, all of which contribute to the formal cohesion of the poem, and which will be analysed in detail in the course of this discussion. Firstly, it serves as a structural device, providing narrative progression and linking otherwise disparate narrative episodes. Secondly, the narremes contain language or imagery of significance, taken directly from medieval works, with the voyage episode thus functioning as a re-presentation of the literary past. The effect of this is to evoke a particular time-setting, as in the Manawydan passage in which the Old English vocabulary and the references to Othere, a travelling merchant at the court of King Alfred, add a sense of historical truth to Jones's description of the mythical figure of Manawydan at the court of the equally mythical King Arthur. The consistent reiteration of particular phrases and images reinforces one of the themes of the poem, anamnesis, and contributes to the verbal integrity of the text. The third, and most obvious, function of the voyage episode is to provide a framework for the symbolic imagery of the ship, emphasising the connection between ship and Church. In this context, *The Anathemata* draws upon an allegorical significance established by the earlier works to which it alludes, such as the perils of the sea representing the temptations of life, or the association between water and baptism. Whilst the metaphor of the voyaging ship is a commonplace, the ways in which Jones uses it show the influence of his medieval sources. Perhaps more obviously, these sources can also be identified through verbal or factual references. It can be inferred that Jones was as aware of the intentions behind the medieval use of the ship metaphor as he was of the aesthetic



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effect, and that this understanding may have contributed to the significance of the ship motif and voyage narrative to the structure of *The Anathemata*.

The first function of the voyage narrative in the poem, as a narrative device, is clearly inspired by earlier writers, and enables a shifting of the temporal and spatial location of the text whilst maintaining a semblance of continuity. In Gildas's *De Excidio*, it is the fact of the voyage that is important, representing a physical movement from Rome to Britain, and back:

A legion was soon despatched that had forgotten the troubles of the past. Soundly equipped, it crossed to our country by ship, came to grips with the dreadful enemy, laid low a great number of them, drove them all from the country, and freed from imminent slavery a people that had been subjected to such grievous mangling.<sup>38</sup>

The Romans' second mercy voyage is described in heroic terms, emphasising their salvational mission:

They hurried the flight of their horsemen like eagles on the land and the course of their sailors on the sea, and planted in their enemies' necks the claws of their sword-points – claws at first unexpected, finally terrifying; and they caused among them a slaughter like the fall of leaves at the due time of the year. They were like a mountain torrent increased by tributaries tempest-swollen, that, thundering as it goes, wells out beyond its channel, back furrowed, forehead fierce, waves – as they say – cloud-high (because of them the pupils of the eyes are darkened, despite their constant refreshment from the flickering of the eyelids, when they encounter the lines of the whirling clefts); it foams wonderfully, and with a single surge it overcomes the obstacles in its path. This was the way our worthy allies instantly put to flight across the sea the columns of their rivals – such as could get away.<sup>39</sup>

Gildas describes the enemies of the Britons returning by sea after their first rout, 'relying on their oars as wings, on the arms of their oarsmen, and on the winds swelling their sails'<sup>40</sup>, and then after their second defeat 'emerg[ing] from the coracles that had carried them across the sea-valleys... like dark throngs of worms who wriggle out of narrow fissures in the rock when the sun is high and the weather grows warm',<sup>41</sup> in terms contrasting to those used for the Roman mission. The

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<sup>38</sup> Gildas, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom, *The Ruin of Britain and other works [De Excidio]* (London: Phillimore, 1978), 15:2, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> Gildas, 17:2, p. 22.

<sup>40</sup> Gildas, 16, p. 21.

<sup>41</sup> Gildas, 19:1, p. 23.

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repeated mention of the arrival by sea of both the enemies and the rescuers of the British people not only reinforces their geographical insularity, but as Hanning suggests, serves as a structural technique. He observes that the *De Excidio* is 'organised basically into blocks of narrative which alternately delineate the Britons' relationship with Rome and with God [...] (Movement across bodies of water will serve as one of many recurrent narrative devices by which Gildas binds together the various sections of his history)'.<sup>42</sup> For Gildas, the voyage itself is of relatively little interest, and the ship has no allegorical value. It is the concept of the sea as the source of both threat and salvation, and of the control of the sea by both the barbarians and the Romans, but significantly not the Britons, that concerns him. It is also the means by which the narrative progresses: first the enemies arrive by sea, then the Romans, with each successive arrival marking a new stage in the narrative.

The seafaring narremes in Jones's *Anathemata* echo the *De Excidio* in both respects, emphasising insularity and contributing to the narrative structure. The voyage narreme, interposed between static narremes, connects different geographical and temporal locations. It also implies causality, though this can be misleading, as the succeeding narreme is not necessarily historically consecutive. 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' unites 'The Lady of the Pool', set in London, with 'Mabinog's Liturgy', the first half of which is set in the South West and Wales. The reader's inference is that the ship of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' has left the Port of London, retraced its route along the Channel and found its way up the Severn, though this is in no way implied by the text of Part V. Similarly, Hague finds it necessary to point out that the ship of 'Angle-Land' is not the same ship as that of the preceding part, 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea',<sup>43</sup> despite the fact that the narreme starts in exactly the same geographical location as the previous narreme terminated (the English

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<sup>42</sup> Hanning, p. 51.

<sup>43</sup> *Commentary*, p. 113.

Channel, by St Michael's Mount). The voyage trope thus provides a verbal continuity and an aesthetic coherence, even when there is a semantic disparity.

The second function of the voyage narreme, as a vehicle for recurring imagery and language in the poem and a type of literary anamnesis, is manifested in 'Mabinog's Liturgy'. The Manawydan episode shows strong linguistic affinities with the description of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan appended to King Alfred's translation of Orosius. In early 1950, Jones acquired a copy of Henry Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*,<sup>44</sup> which contains both accounts, albeit in Anglo-Saxon. Whether Jones had access to a translation, published or by friends, or whether he laboriously translated the poems and prose himself is unclear, but he certainly had an interest in using Anglo-Saxon words, and provides translations of several phrases in his footnotes, suggesting that he was at least familiar with the Old English texts to which he refers.<sup>45</sup> The *Anathemata* gives a fictional account of Manawydan's hunting trip to gather the 'furnishings of polar ivory' with which Guinevere decorates herself:

Manawydan himself, on the whale-path, but four and a half degrees of latitude without the Arctic parallel, two hundred and twenty nautical miles south-east by south of Islont with Thor's Fairy-Haven Isles looming on his starboard beam about six Gaulish leagues, alone and by himself – except for his *mor-forwyn*-mates – running free with the wind on the starboard side, carried away and handsomely, the rare dexter tooth of the living bull narwhal that bluffed the southwester nose-ender with spiralled ivories lancing the bright spume scud.

The cruising old *wicing!*

This he averred he achieved on his ocean-trip to the Thing-Ness in Gynt-land, his *hiaeth* upon him, some fifteen days out from his *dinas* in Cemeis in Demetia

(where he latins his oghams).

Plotting his course by the North Drift route that streams him warm to Hordaland

to Norway o'er his faem

over the gurdy brim in his mere-hengest

(he's stepped the Yggdrasil for mast!)

To the Horder's moot in Norvegia

over the darkening mere-flood

on a Gwener-Frigdaeg noon.

(*Ana.*, p. 199-200)

<sup>44</sup> Henry Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898). Autographed and dated by David Jones, Feb 21<sup>st</sup> 1950.

<sup>45</sup> David Jones writes 'I cannot read Anglo-Saxon, but there are many words and whole sentences which one can recognise and with some assistance as to the phonetics one can get the feel and rhythm of it' (*Dying Gaul*, p. 221, n. 20). He mentions the high quality and ready availability of modern translations, suggesting that he was familiar with more than one translated edition of Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose.

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In his footnote to this passage, Jones notes the Anglo-Saxon provenance of 'brim' and 'mere-flood' for sea, and 'mere-hengest' for boat – though such etymologies are not confined to this particular narreme, or indeed derived solely from the Ohthere voyage. Elsewhere in *The Anathemata*, Jones draws upon the imagery of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and *The Seafarer*<sup>46</sup> for descriptions of the sea.<sup>47</sup> For example, Elen Monica's allusions to 'striking the soundings in the gannet's bath' (*Ana.*, p. 146), 'thronging waters' (*Ana.*, p. 159) and 'whale's entire domain' (*Ana.*, p. 159) are direct references to the entry for 975 in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.<sup>48</sup>

Then men his law broke  
and then was eke driven out,  
beloved hero,  
Oslac from this land,  
o'er rolling waters,  
o'er the gannet's-bath;  
hoary-haired hero,  
wise and word-skilled,  
o'er the water's throng,  
o'er the whale's domain,  
of home bereaved.  
And then was seen,  
high in the heavens,  
a star in the firmament,  
which lofty-souled  
men, sage-minded,  
call widely,  
*cometa* by name;  
*men skilled in arts*,  
wise truth-bearers.  
Throughout mankind was  
the Lord's vengeance widely known,  
famine o'er earth.  
That again heaven's Guardian,  
bettered, Lord of angels,  
gave again bliss  
to each isle-dweller,  
through earth's fruits.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that Jones had read Ezra Pound's translation of *The Seafarer*, published in 1912, but it would be surprising if he had not, especially given their mutual connection through T.S. Eliot and others. Jones may even have heard Pound recite it; a recording was made in 1939, the copyright of which was retained by Faber & Faber, of which Eliot was a director.

<sup>47</sup> Although not entirely relevant to the discussion of the voyage narreme, it is nevertheless worth noting that Jones uses the imagery of the *Dream of the Rood* in the description of the ship's mast in 'Keel, Ram, Stauros'.

<sup>48</sup> Jones erroneously cites AD 973 in his footnote.

<sup>49</sup> J.A. Giles (ed), *The Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England: Also the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), p. 385. I have quoted the edition used by Jones in this instance, due to the particular phraseology of this edition.

However, it is not just his use of Old English vocabulary and kennings such as 'whale-path', or the poetic devices of alliteration and assonance, that evoke the combined linguistic influence of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry and the report made to King Alfred's court of Ohthere's voyage. Manawydan himself is an amalgamation of Oslac, the exiled hero whose wiseness and sagacity reflect the semi-divine authority ascribed to Manawydan,<sup>50</sup> and Ohthere, the Viking trader from Norway, a visitor to Britain. According to Jones, Manawydan was 'a sea-god, perhaps an agricultural god, who appears in the tales as a Welsh ruler', and yet Jones refers to the seafarer of the narrative as a 'cruising old *wicing*', suggesting that he is a native of Scandinavia rather than Wales.

The physical descriptions of the journeys are also similar. Ohthere explores the territory to the north, going 'due north along the coast, keeping the uninhabited land to starboard and the open sea to port continuously for three days. He was then as far north as the whale hunters go at their furthest',<sup>51</sup> as Jones's Manawydan travels just south of the Arctic parallel, 'on the whale-path', with the land of Iceland and the Faeroe Islands on his starboard beam. Despite the land to starboard, the journeys are, of course, in different locations: Ohthere begins his voyage from his Norwegian home and travels along the Scandinavian coast, whereas Manawydan's voyage presumably starts from King Arthur's court in Wales, taking him along Britain's western coast before he rounds Iceland. However, both Manawydan and Ohthere are dependent on the wind. Manawydan 'plots his course by the North Drift route', whilst Ohthere

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<sup>50</sup> It is of interest to a study of Jones's work that in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Oslac's voyage precedes the appearance of a comet in the heavens that foretells the vengeance of God and, ultimately, restitution. In *The Anathemata*, the Manawydan narreme is inset into the Christmas Mass narrative, with its obvious connotations of the Star of the Nativity, and of the promise of restitution inherent in Christ's birth.

<sup>51</sup> 'Ohthere' narrative, in Niels Lund, ed., Christine Fell (trans.), *Two Voyagers at the Court of King Alfred* (York: William Sessions, 1984), p. 18-19.

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continued due north as far as he could reach in the second three days. There the land turned due east, or the sea penetrated the land he did not know which – but he knew that he waited there for a west-north-west wind, and then sailed east along the coast as far as he could sail in four days. There he had to wait for a due northern wind, because there the land turned due south, or the sea penetrated the land he did not know which.<sup>52</sup>

Ohthere hunted whales and walruses for their ivory and traded in animal skins:

His main reason for going there, apart from exploring the land, was for the walruses, because they have very fine ivory in their tusks – they brought some of these tusks to the king – and their hide is very good for ship-ropes.<sup>53</sup> This whale is much smaller than other whales; it is no more than seven ells long. The best whale-hunting is in his own country; those are forty-eight ells long, the biggest fifty ells long; of these he said that he, one of six, killed sixty in two days. [...] Their wealth, however, is mostly in the tribute which the *Finnas* pay them. That tribute consists of the skin of beasts, the feathers of birds, whale-bone, and ship-ropes made from whale-hide and sealskin. The highest in rank has to pay fifteen marten skins, five reindeer skins, one bear skin and ten measures of feathers, and a jacket of bearskin or otterskin and two shipropes. Each of these must be sixty ells long, one made from whale-hide the other from seal.<sup>54</sup>

He presented tusks of the 'horshwælum', or horse-whales, to King Alfred. Jones may have translated this as referring to narwhals - the Vikings hunted both narwhals and walruses – or may simply have thought that narwhals were more appropriate as providers of ivory for the wife of Arthur. Manawydan brings back 'the rare dexter tooth of the living bull narwhal'; the male narwhals have one tusk considerably longer than the other, and this tusk was thought to have magical properties similar to those of the unicorn's horn. Jones elaborates upon the connection, referencing the source as 'John of Hess, a medieval itinerary-writer' (*Ana.*, p. 136, f.n. 2), in an earlier use of this motif: the Lady of the Pool alludes to 'him that shipped/ the bull narwhal off Thor's own haven in Faëry an' palm-off/ the single ivory for genu-ine Helyon unicorn on the con-/juror-doctors' (*Ana.*, p. 136), in a foreshadowing of Manawydan's journey according to the textual chronology, or a recalling of it according to a historical chronological understanding. Jones thus embellishes the

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<sup>52</sup> Ohthere, pp. 18-19.

<sup>53</sup> Original text from 'for the walruses...' to '...to the king': 'for þæm horshwælum, for ðæm hie habbað swiþe æþele ban on hiora toþum – þa teð hie brohton sume þæm cyninge'

<sup>54</sup> Ohthere, pp. 19-20.

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Old English account with medieval mythical symbolism; this conflation of early medieval and late medieval sources is prevalent throughout the text.

Although Manawydan's voyage appears to have been based on a ninth-century historical account, other voyage narremes show verbal and imagistic affinities with the works of several Anglo-Saxon and medieval writers, including Gildas and Chaucer. Jones's copy of Skeat's *The Student's Chaucer*<sup>55</sup> provides evidence of Chaucer's influence on the voyage imagery of *The Anathemata*.<sup>56</sup> For example, Jones heavily annotated the following passage from *Troilus and Criseyde* in his edition, and wrote 'O Wind O wind' on the frontpages:

Out of these blake wawes for to sayle,  
 O wind, O wind, the weder ginneth clere;  
 For in this see the boot hath swich travayle,  
 Of my conning that unnethe I it stere:  
 This see clepe I the tempestuous matere  
 Of desespeyr that Troilus was inne:  
 But now of hope the calendes biginne

O lady myn, that called art Cleo,  
 Thou be my speed fro this forth, and my muse<sup>57</sup>                 (*Troilus and Criseyde*, II.1-10)

Whilst the story of Troilus and Criseyde has little to do with the subject matter of *The Anathemata*, this passage is echoed in the Lady of the Pool's description of the Mary's voyage from Aleppo to London:

Thicked shapeless hours by muffle of grey fog  
   grey hauls of wind  
   more wind  
 strong head-wind walls of wind  
   half-a-gale o' wind.  
   Thicks of rain  
   Gale!  
   The weather 'gins to clear?                 (*Ana.*, pp. 139-140)

<sup>55</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. W.W . Skeat, *The Student's Chaucer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897).

<sup>56</sup> Jones predominantly uses two methods of allusion in his use of Chaucer. The first is to evoke a certain phrase of Chaucer's using the context of the quotation without direct reference without the quotation itself. In this case, the actual quotation is invariably found to be annotated in his copy of Skeat. His alternative method is to quote the words directly, but without using the context. Again, many of these phrases are to be found marked in his copy, or alluded to by page numbers and key words scribbled on the endpapers of the text.

<sup>57</sup> Significantly, it is the muse Clio who is invoked several times in *The Anathemata*, as discussed in the previous and following chapters.

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The fact that Jones does not reference Chaucer in his footnotes to 'The Lady of the Pool' suggests that the paraphrasing is subconscious. It is evident that in this case the weather described by Chaucer is used for allegorical purposes; Chaucer says 'This see clepe I the tempestuous matere/Of desespeyr that Troilus was inne' (*Troilus and Criseyde*, II.5-6), whilst Jones's Captain says of the *Mary*, 'For certain this Barke/was Tempest-tost.' (*Ana.* p. 141). Jones implies that at this moment, the sailors on board the ship were also in the throes of despair, for five 'shining exhalations' later appear, 'rejoicing them/ for that she *cannot* be lost!' (*Ana.*, p. 142). Another phrase from the quotation, 'For in this see the boot hath swich travayle/ Of my conning that unnethe it I steer', is echoed in the vocabulary of Elen Monica's description of the *Mary's* voyage in *The Anathemata*: 'Had conned their ship/ for them as put Jonah by the board and were the man at the/ steer-tree in the Saving Barque that Noë was master of' (*Ana.*, p. 150).

Like several chroniclers, Jones emphasises the insular nature of Britain,<sup>58</sup> particularly in 'Angle-Land', as the ship noses its way along the coast from the Atlantic to the northernmost parts of the North Sea, and in Manawydan's journey in 'Mabinog's Liturgy'. The sea provides the means of transport from, and thus connection with, the Mediterranean ports, but also divides Britain from the continent. The sea is also a valuable resource, a hunting-ground, and a means of trade. The commercial aspects of the maritime industry are continually emphasised throughout *The Anathemata*, from the tin-trade that brought the pre-Christian Mediterranean sailors to Cornwall, to the ivory- and fur-trades that led the Anglo-Saxon and Viking peoples to exchange goods, through the unnamed items being bartered in the Lady of the Pool's late medieval London, and finally (in historio-chronological terms) the late Victorian industry of the London docks, with its reliance on timber from around the world. However, despite the obvious references to commercial trade, *The*

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<sup>58</sup> The image of the bountiful island is introduced in the opening pages of both Bede's *The History of the English Church and People* and Nennius's *Historia Britonum*, amongst other examples.



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*Anathemata*'s subtext focuses on intellectual and cultural trade, and in particular, the use of sea-routes to promulgate the Christian message.

Whilst the *De Excidio* describes the arrival of physical salvation from Rome, Jones uses the voyage metaphor in an allegorical way (the third function of the narreme) to allude to the spiritual salvation which comes from Rome, the seat of the Pope, head of the Catholic faith. The motif of the 'ship of the Church', disseminating the Christian message, is an acknowledged commonplace in medieval literature, but there is evidence to suggest that whilst writing the voyage narremes of *The Anathemata*, Jones had in mind Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* in *The Canterbury Tales*, the story of Custance, daughter of the Roman Emperor, in which the narrator recounts her ordeals by sea and the conversion of the British king.

In addition to the marginalia in *Troilus and Criseyde* found in Jones's copy of Skeat's *Chaucer*, Jones made various marks in the margins of the *Man of Law's Tale*, and also annotated the frontispiece of the book with the line 'To Walis fled the Christianitee', and the number of the page from which this quotation is taken. These annotations imply that not only was Jones sufficiently aware of and interested in the *Man of Law's Tale*, but that one point was of particular significance to him – the seeking of refuge in Wales of the early Christians. The association of Wales with Christianity would have made this Tale of particular value as a source to Jones, who frequently uses literary works for their contextual ramifications as well as for the actual words quoted or paraphrased.

In his analysis of the ship imagery of *The Man of Law's Tale*, V.A. Kolve identifies

a return to earlier history, as recorded in chronicles and the early lives of the saints. Chaucer here takes his audience back to a time when issues were more simple, right and wrong more clearly opposed, and the Church a shining article of faith rather than a massive, powerful, and corrupt institution. *The Man of Law's Tale* concerns the very period when England was converted to Christianity.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> V.A. Kolve, 'The Man of Law's Tale: The Rudderless Ship and the Sea' in *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), pp. 297-358, p. 297.

Custance is presented as a historical rather than as a fictional character, and her voyages are described factually, as events which contributed to the conversion of the British people. Chaucer's dependence on the chronicles and *vitae* for the elements of conversion history with which to structure his own narrative is mirrored in Jones's similar attitude to the earlier sources. Kolve suggests that

Chaucer went to the *Chroniques* precisely because it was a book of history, and that the story attracted him (as it had Trevelyan and Gower) because it not only concerned a chapter in the history of his own nation's conversion to Christianity, but constituted part of an even larger true history – the spreading of the faith, the Christianisation of Europe.<sup>60</sup>

Jones's use of chronicle material may also have been as influenced by the historical context of the composition of that material as by the content of it. However, it is not the figure of Custance that concerns Jones; the three aspects of *The Man of Law's Tale* that are of most significance to *The Anathemata* are the Providential Pilot, the episodic narrative of the repeated journey of the vessel of salvation, and the way in which Chaucer subsumes the historical facts into a poetic narrative.

Kolve observes that the emphasis on the lack of a rudder is Chaucer's innovation. Chaucer thus removes any means of human control over the direction of the boat, placing instead 'the invisible Christ himself as helmsman: "He that is lord of Fortune be thy steere!"'.<sup>61</sup> Jones's skippers are ambiguous figures, semi-human, but sharing characteristics with both Christ and Noah.<sup>62</sup> Whilst the ship of *The Anathemata's* diegetic narrative is clearly not rudderless, under the control as it is of its Providential pilot, the ship of Elen Monica's monologue, the *Mary*, has a very human crew ('with her Rotherhithe mate and her Limehouse skipper and a Sittingbourne bred pilot in her conning-house' – *Ana.*, p. 137), but no apparent means of power or steering on the open sea: she has lost several of her masts and

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<sup>60</sup> Kolve, p. 299.

<sup>61</sup> Kolve, p. 319.

<sup>62</sup> See chapter four.

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limps into harbour with "[h]er yards and spirits and all her spars, all woolded; what you could see of her/ chewed-up main course were patched as a Welshman's quilt' (*Ana.*, p. 137). Indeed, the reference to the Sittingbourne pilot indicates that the *Mary* is being towed by tug up the Thames to the Pool of London. The ship, though 'writ-off for lost bottomry' is 'not a loss/ and fetching it, though by hollow seas tossed and laboured of/ hard blows from every point of the card'. The obvious implication of this passage is that the *Mary* was brought home safely though the grace of God, as the crew's thanksgiving for imminent victory suggests:

To prayers, all is won, all is won.  
To prayers.  
And up went their powder-bin, aft of midships. Then echoes  
the sergeant-gunner, broken on the deck:  
To prayers all is won  
no matter where his commas come they've nowt bar  
*concedo* to that one (Ana., p. 147-8)

In this particular narrative episode, Jones continues the tradition of the ship left to Fortune's whims. Kolve suggests that the custom of exiling individuals in boats without sails or oars can be traced back to the ancient Greeks, who viewed the sea as an arbiter of innocence. In the chronicles, there are numerous instances of saints and other figures putting to sea without the means of controlling their destiny.<sup>63</sup> Jones refers to one such example, that of the voyage of St Brendan (*Ana.*, p. 73, n.3), in which the sinful world is compared to the perils of the sea. The sea is a source of danger, but it is also the means of judgement. The ship, tossed on its waves, is at its mercy, however the ship is also the safest way of crossing the sea, as Augustine remarked: 'For if there be perils in the ship, without the ship there is certain destruction'.<sup>64</sup> *The Anathemata* emphasises the truth of both statements, exposing the perils of the ocean through the Lady of the Pool's monologue, with its inherent theological implications, and her stern warning to the captain that he has left it late to set sail, but celebrating the strength of the Ship of the Church in 'Redriff'

<sup>63</sup> Cf. William of Malmesbury, *Flores Historiarum*, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

<sup>64</sup> Augustine's commentary on Matthew, cited in Kolve, p. 314.

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and 'Keel, Ram, Stauros'. If the ship can be viewed metaphorically as a salvational vessel, being the Ship of the Church and protecting those souls who travel within her, the physical voyage that it undertakes is also salvational, in that it carries the message of Christianity across the seas. That Jones fully intends all of these connotations is not in doubt; in a note to *The Anathemata*, he writes 'What is pleaded in the Mass is precisely the argosy or voyage of the Redeemer ... on behalf of us argonauts and of the whole argosy of mankind' (*Ana.*, p. 106). This is further elaborated upon in his 'Introduction to the Rime of the Ancient Mariner':

Two centuries after Minucius, among some of the great Greek and Latin Fathers, men, like him, steeped in the Greek and Roman cultural inheritance, there were those who, like him, observing the mast and its sail-yard, pondered the matter deeper. They saw that the ship, the mast, the voyagings, the odysseys and argosies, the perils and ordeals that were part and parcel of classical tradition, could and should be taken as typic of the Church's voyaging. They had a perception of the vessel of the *ecclesia*, her heavy scend in the troughs of the world-waters, drenched with inboard seas, to starboard Scylla, to larb'rd Charybdis, lured by persistent Siren calls, but secure because to the transomed stauros of the mast was made fast the Incarnate Word.

All this: the barque, the tall mast, the hoisted yard, the ordeals of the voyage, has in various ways filtered down through the centuries. It could not very well be otherwise for, after all, there is but one voyager's yarn to tell.

[...]

In the long run, and certainly for us today it is impossible not to see the validity and rightness of Gregory of Nazianzus, of Basil of Caesarea, of Gregory of Nyssa, of Clement of Alexandria, of Ambrose of Milan and of various other less known figures in perceiving that much in the Odysseus saga (and other classical deposits) had correspondences in the voyaging of the Christian soul and in the argosy of the Son of God. (*Dying Gaul*, pp. 215-6)<sup>65</sup>

However, Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* is primarily a literary work, rather than theological, as is *The Anathemata*, which shares some narratological features with Chaucer's *Tale*. As Kolve observes, *The Man of Law's Tale* invokes other histories, particularly Biblical episodes such as that of Jonah and the Whale (the waves of the sea cast Custance up onto the beach, just as the whale casts Jonah) and the crossing of the Red Sea as a prefiguration of baptism into the Christian

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<sup>65</sup> Of Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner', Jones said 'It is evident that this great poem, taken as a whole and in spite of various very differing themes, belongs to the tradition of the wonder-voyages and is evocative of the argosy of mankind and hence cannot avoid evoking the Redeemer, our Odysseus, who in Homer is, at his own command, made fast to the stepped mast' (*Dying Gaul*, p. 214).

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faith. The comparisons are strengthened through the deliberate verbal echoing. Similarly, the Lady of the Pool's tale draws upon other canonical narratives, alluding to Shakespearean drama as well as the Christian account of the Passion. The importance of storytelling, and its association with maritime trade, is intrinsic to both the *Tale* and 'The Lady of the Pool'. Chaucer explicitly states that the Man of Law learnt his story from a merchant, whilst the Lady of the Pool's sailors served on mercantile ships, plying the trade routes. The vocabulary used is that of the marketplace:

And much beside have I learned as 'ld fill a book;  
of bazaar and mart, far parts and uses.                   (Ana., p. 159)

The sea-crossings are the means by which cultural knowledge is transmitted, the narrative itself echoing the oral spread of the message of Christianity.

In *The Man of Law's Tale*, Custance's journey takes her from Rome to Syria, from Syria to Britain, from Britain to Rome again via Spain, and finally back to Britain. Kolve suggests that the tale, 'episodic in the extreme', transcends the historical particularity of these voyages to portray 'an image of life as a passage that must be understood in many ways'.<sup>66</sup> Custance takes the Christian belief from the centre of its practice in Rome to the Muslim stronghold of Syria, where it is rejected and the Muslims are killed through their own treachery; cast ashore in Britain through divine Providence, Christianity receives a warmer welcome. The voyages thus represent the transmission of belief. However, they also represent the testing of that faith; Custance undergoes many hardships, but emerges with her Christian resolve intact. Kolve concludes that 'the tale creates a residual image that is geographical: a map of Europe with a boat moving on its waters', a boat that is, nevertheless, an allegorical rather than an actual vessel. *The Anathemata* similarly presents the reader with a map of Europe, the boat constantly moving in time and

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<sup>66</sup> Kolve, p. 302.

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place; but if the voyages are joined geographically, the map shows the route taken by the Ship of the Church, bringing the Christian religion from its birthplace in Jerusalem to the northern reaches of Europe, before returning to the site of the Crucifixion. In terms of the narrative structure, the voyage narrative provides both spatial movement and temporal movement, whilst representing a historical and theological truth. The same blend of history and theology, subject to the demands of narrative form, features in Chaucer's work which, according to Kolve, shows:

what poetry can do at its maximum dignity, in the service of historical fact and Christian truth. The extreme rhetorical stylisation of the tale – the intrusiveness of the narrator, with his apostrophes, similes, Biblical catalogues, and exclamations of praise and blame – constantly calls attention to the fact that we are attending to history made into art, its vast detail sifted for significance and related to patterns of universal truth.<sup>67</sup>

Kolve asserts that in *The Man of Law's Tale*, Chaucer

sought to demonstrate, using the same material [as chronicles], how poetry can communicate several truths at once, on several levels – even on that highest plane where the historicity of the *saeculum* is absorbed into the timelessness of eternity. The tale is firmly anchored in one specific period of history – that is its substantive contribution to the design of the first day – but it seeks as well to represent other periods and other lives, including Everyman's, through the polysemous nature of its art.<sup>68</sup>

It is arguable that it is this aspect of the story of Custance that is, in the end, of most interest to Jones as a poet. Whilst there are, as I have shown, several other medieval sources for the concept of the salvational voyage as a narrative device, it is the way in which Chaucer manipulates time and conflates historical and theological truth to produce fictional narrative that is of most relevance to *The Anathemata*. Chaucer used the chronicles' account of Custance as the basis of *The Man of Law's Tale*, but made certain changes in order to render the story more 'truthful', if less historically accurate. One of these changes was to the temporal scheme of the story. In the original account, the length of each episode was carefully documented:

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<sup>67</sup> Kolve, p. 299.

<sup>68</sup> Kolve, p. 301.

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Constance arrives in Northumbria in the eighth month of the fourth year; in the second month of the second journey she is attacked by the apostate steward; in the fifth year of that journey she encounters the Senator and his navy; and she lives for twelve years with the Senator and his wife before the final reunions take place.<sup>69</sup>

The trials of Trevet's Constance thus last for more than twenty-one years, whereas in *The Man of Law's Tale*, Chaucer omits several of the references to time, specifying only that the first journey took more than three years, and that the second lasted at least five. Kolve concludes that 'though their sum is made indeterminate by the phrase "and moore", they are linked by the single boat and the single "steereless" mode of voyage, and they associate her journey's end with the number eight',<sup>70</sup> a symbolic association which again links Chaucer's methods with those of Jones, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Six. The historical accuracy of the chronicles, and the human timescale, is thus subsumed into the theological truth of Christian teaching and eternal temporality. Although *The Anathemata* itself is obviously a work of fiction, Jones's intense interest in the particular leads him to place incidents in a specific time and to incorporate actual historical events; like Chaucer, however, he seeks to universalise these events, and to lift them out of human time into eternal time, the 'time of the Mass'. *The Man of Law's Tale* provides Jones with an example of the successful transformation of material from chronicle to poetry.

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<sup>69</sup> Kolve, p. 350.

<sup>70</sup> Kolve, p. 350.



**Figure 3: David Jones, Illustration 2 for the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.**

This illustration clearly depicts the typological significance of the voyage as a voyage of redemption. The albatross is pictured in a crucifixion pose, pierced through its right side, and pinned to the cross of the mast and beam.



### **Historical Nature of Incarnation as basis of chronicles**

As discussed in Chapter Two, the chronicles were based on a Christian historiographical perspective, which viewed the Incarnation as a historical event, having occurred in a particular time and place, and history as therefore centred on the life of Christ. The scope of the chronicles was comprehensive, with a dating system that began with the Creation and anticipated the Last Judgement and the promise of salvation. According to the historiographer Ernst Breisach, 'the proper Christian chronicle was always the universal chronicle, spanning all of time and all peoples'<sup>71</sup> – all time and all peoples known to the chroniclers, that is, which limited the content to an essentially European focus. This description is also applicable to *The Anathemata*, and offers an explanation of why various critics have considered the work a history. In scope, it includes the origin of mankind, and before that, the geological formation of the world, as well as references to twentieth-century events and those of the intervening thousands of years; it traces the racial mix of modern Britons from man's predecessor, the Neanderthal man, through the ancient civilisations of the Mediterranean with a particular focus on the Roman Empire, and the various tribes of Europe through to the British soldiers of the First World War. Dilworth's analysis of *The Anathemata* as an 'anatomy of western culture from its prehistoric beginnings to the present'<sup>72</sup> and Louis Bonnerot's suggestion that it is a demonstration of 'the Christian *mythus*, running through the whole course of man's history from the farthest geological beginnings'<sup>73</sup> imply that the work makes use of a familiar chronology, that of European history considered from a Christian perspective, which was equally the basis of the medieval chronicles. *The Anathemata* begins with an acknowledgement of the current temporal situation, placing the text firmly within its temporal and historical context, 'at the sagging end

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<sup>71</sup> Breisach, p. 128.

<sup>72</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 152.

<sup>73</sup> Louis Bonnerot, 'Down the Traversed History Paths', in *Agenda* 1-3 (1967), 124-134, p. 125.

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and chapter's close' (*Ana.*, p. 49), like the priest-figure, 'so late in time, curiously surviving' (*Ana.*, p. 50). This reflection on the passing of time and the deliberate historical location of the narrative in the opening passages reflect a concern of many of the chronicles:

It should not be surprising that place, time and history form not only the contents of famous medieval encyclopaedias, such as the *Imago mundi* of Honorius Augustudunensis, but that some chronicles start with 'time tables' or even with theoretical discussions on time. (Bede the Venerable's 'chronicle' actually was part of the author's treatise on time.) The chronicle of Marianus Scottus was not only preceded by tables for the calculation of Easter, but, moreover, the complete first book was devoted to various computations. Bernard of Saint Blasien likewise prefaced his chronicle with calculations of time.<sup>74</sup>

In fact, *The Anathemata* also starts with a discussion of time. Jones's notes to Part I of the poem, 'Rite and Fore-time', reveal an anxiety to establish the precise timing of the events of Easter: 'The conditions determining the exact time of the Passover were that the moon must be at the full, the vernal equinox past, and the sun in Aries...' (*Ana.*, p. 52, f.n.1). This concern for accurate dating of the paschal events is maintained throughout the text through a series of elaborate references; the preoccupation with measuring time is inextricably and explicitly linked to the Christian tradition in *The Anathemata*, although Spengler suggests that it is a trait of Western culture as a whole, and that 'without exact time-measurement [...] Western man is unthinkable'.<sup>75</sup>

Whilst the influence of the chroniclers, and especially Bede, can be seen in the techniques used in the historical dating of events in *The Anathemata*, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter, there is evidence to suggest that Jones also drew upon two other sources when measuring time: Augustine and Chaucer. Despite the certainty of historical dates, the nature of time itself is uncertain. Jones's lines 'I do not know what time is at/ or whether before or after/ was it when – / but when is

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<sup>74</sup> Goetz, p. 142.

<sup>75</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 134. See also pp. 122-137, in which Spengler argues that the means of reckoning time within a culture is closely related to a sense of history.

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when? (*Ana.*, p. 170) reflect the anguished questioning and humility evident in Augustine's meditation on time in *Confessions*:

What is time? Who can explain this easily and briefly? Who can comprehend this even in thought so as to articulate the answer in words? Yet what do we speak of, in our familiar everyday conversation, more than of time? We surely know what we mean when we speak of it. We also know what we mean when we hear someone else talking about it. What then is time? Provided that no one asks me, I know. If I want to explain it to an inquirer, I do not know.<sup>76</sup>

From Augustine's analysis, and from later scholars who developed his ideas, Jones obtained the concept of 'human time' and 'God's time' or 'eternal time', the former being measurable, and divided according to past, present and future, and the latter, infinite and without tense.

From Chaucer, Jones borrowed the idea that human time may be measured in different ways; several of Jones's computations of time bear a close resemblance to Chaucer's own words. Chaucer himself lifted some of these descriptions from Nicholas of Lyne,<sup>77</sup> with whose work Jones was also familiar, and in thus re-using these 'found chronographies', Jones further manipulates time by conflating the past and present. Helen Cooper identifies three methods that Chaucer uses to calculate the time of day – numbered clock time, liturgical time and natural, or sun, time – and three ways of calculating dates: numbered, liturgical and natural, or astrological dating. She suggests that Chaucer contrasts the mechanical measurement of time with the timelessness of God. Jones appears to have a similar purpose in mind; the historicity of the events included in the narrative of *The Anathemata* contradicts the timelessness of the Mass framework in which the narrative is contained:

Upon all fore-times.

his perpetual light

From before time

shines upon them.

Upon all at once

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<sup>76</sup> St Augustine, *Confessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), trans. Henry Chadwick, p. 230.

<sup>77</sup> Helen Cooper, 'Chaucer and the Numbering of Time', unpublished paper given at the London Chaucer Conference, 19-20 April 2007, Senate House, London.

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upon each one  
whom he invites, bids, us to recall  
when we make the recalling of him

daily, at the Stone. (*Ana.*, p. 81)

The opening lines of Chaucer's *General Prologue* are a particularly fruitful resource of dating references for Jones, using imagery of thirstiness and of rebirth which Jones associates with Christ's cry of 'Sitio!' and with the Resurrection, whilst explicitly evoking early spring, which coincides with Easter:

Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote  
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,  
And bathed every veyne in swich licour  
Of which vertu engendred is the flour;  
Whan that Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth  
Inspired hath in every holt and heath  
The tender croppes, and the yonge sonne  
hath in the Ram his half cours yronne...<sup>78</sup>

On several occasions, Jones paraphrases or alludes to Chaucer without acknowledging the borrowing, suggesting not only that the quotation is deeply ingrained in his subconscious, but also that Jones adopts Chaucer's calculations of time as his own. In 'The Lady of the Pool', Jones uses the imagery obliquely ('Then was the droughts of March moisted to the root by that/ shower that does all fruit engender' – *Ana.*, p. 157), whilst in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', the lines from the *General Prologue* are reworked to evoke the setting of the Passion in natural, or astrological, time:

In this year  
  at the shrill, cruel, lent of it  
the young sun well past his Ram's half-course, runs toward  
the Bull.  
The virid shoots precious and separate as yet on the frond-  
ing wood. ( *Ana.*, p. 190)

Chaucer conflates the different methods of calculating time. In *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, both the calendar system and biblical time are used to determine the month, which is then further emphasised using astrological time, whilst the

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<sup>78</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, l.1-8.

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numbering method gives the actual date. The time of day is denoted using both liturgical time and natural time:

Whan that the month in which the world bigan,  
That highte March, whan God first maked man,  
Was complete, and passed were also,  
Syn March [was gon], thritty dayes and two,  
Bifel that Chauntecleer in al his pryde,  
His sevene wyves walkynge by his side,  
Caste up his eyen to the brighte sonne,  
That in the signe of Taurus had yronne  
Twenty degrees and oon, and somewhat moore,  
And knew by kynde, and by noon oother lore,  
That it was pryme, and crew with blissful stevene.  
'The sonne,' he seyde, 'is clomben up on hevene  
Fourty degrees and oon, and moore ywis...'<sup>79</sup>

Similarly Jones is inconsistent in his choice of methods used to calculate time, conflating calendar months with astrological time, astrological time with liturgical time (as in his use of 'lent' combined with the symbolism of the Ram and Bull in the passage from 'Mabinog's Liturgy' quoted above), or liturgical time with maritime and military time and numbered clock time – and even 'social time':

But tell me his cry  
        no, his cry before his *mors*-cry.  
Of his black-houers' cryings  
        his ninth hour out-cry....  
At the taking over of third day-relief  
                                three hours since  
the median hour.

(On the keels-roads  
on her sea who is lode of it  
they would be sounding six bells  
        and the first dog-watch relief  
can bide a full hour yet.)

It is the empty time  
        after tiffin  
and before his first stiff peg.  
The fact-man, Europa's vicar  
the Samnite of the Pontian *gens*  
within the conditioned room  
                                sleeps on  
secure under the tiffany.  
        They sting like death  
at afternoon.

(*Ana.*, p. 238-9)

<sup>79</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, VII.3187-4389. Significantly, this is the same source ('The Nun's Priest's Tale') from which Jones quoted in his Preface, suggesting that Jones was very familiar with the Tale, and would therefore have been aware of Chaucer's use of time.

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The 'ninth hour out-cry' refers to the canonical hour of *none*, or three o'clock in the afternoon, 'three hours since/ the median hour' of midday according to numbered time. Jones's footnote explains the 'third day-relief' reference with the comment that he was 'under the impression that one of the routine hours for changing guard in the Roman army was 3 p.m.' (*Ana.*, p. 239, f.n. 1), whilst 'six bells' refers to the maritime division of the twenty-four hour day into seven watches, and of sounding bells to mark the hourly time in each watch. Six bells in the afternoon watch (the watch before the 'first dog-watch relief') again refers to three o'clock. Finally, Jones uses social time to make an anachronistic observation, which draws parallels between the colonial attitudes of the Roman Empire and those of the British Empire: Pontius Pilate is depicted as having a post-prandial nap in anticipation of a sundowner drink. The care with which the time of day is established, using the four different ways of calculating time described above, echoes the precision with which the timing of the Manciple's Tale's conclusion is given by multiple methods:

By that the Maunciple hadde his tale al ended,  
The sonne fro the south lyne was descended  
So lowe that he was nat, to my sighte,  
Degrees nyne and twenty as in highte.  
Foure of the klokke it was tho, as I gesse,  
For ellevene foot, or litel moore or lesse,  
My shadwe was at thilke tyme, as there  
Of swiche feet as my lengthe parted were  
In sixe feet equal of proporcioun.  
Therwith the moones exaltacioun –  
I meene Libra – alwey gan ascende  
As we were entryng at a thropes ende.<sup>80</sup>

Chaucer here gives the time of four o'clock by numbered time ('foure of the klokke'), and sun time, calculated both by reference to the sun's altitude in degrees, and by the length of his shadow in feet.<sup>81</sup> The effect of the multiple calculations of time,

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<sup>80</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, X. 1-12.

<sup>81</sup> Helen Cooper cites further instances of time in Chaucer, including: *Canterbury Tales* II. 14 (numbered clock time); *Canterbury Tales* I. 3655 (liturgical time); and *Canterbury Tales* VII. 206 (natural or sun time).

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here as in *The Anthemata*, is to reinforce the accuracy of the time thus being described and to draw attention to it. The temporal calculations become formalistic set-pieces, self-referential but elevating the significance of time itself, and dignifying the event occurring at that time. Jones borrows from Chaucer the sense of anticipation that the time narrative creates, but in *The Anthemata* that expectation is fulfilled by the actual event, the Passion. Of course, the emphasis on the exact time of the Crucifixion also reinforces its historical truth; by repeating the time that it occurred, the certainty of the fact is stressed. The focus is on the event happening in a particular time and place.

As suggested in chapter two, and reinforced by the analysis above, *The Anthemata* can be seen to follow a traditional Christian historiographical scheme, despite Elizabeth Ward's suggestion that

Jones had developed... an essentially mythological understanding of history: subjective, absolute, apocalyptic, patterned according to fixed analogies and dependent upon a belief in the supremacy of non-rational perception. From this point of view, Western Christianity fits into the schema in a merely exemplary or illustrative way...<sup>82</sup>

On the contrary, Jones's understanding of history is heavily influenced by medieval theology, and as a result Western Christianity is not 'merely exemplary or illustrative' but in fact underpins the schema.

It can be argued that Jones was able to depart from the strict chronological view of history because it is a view that is widely understood and accepted, and because it is not ignored in *The Anthemata* but underpins the text. It is possible to dislocate the chronological order of western history, as Jones has done, because it is assumed that it is part of the reader's knowledge, that the historical timeline is embedded in the common consciousness in such a way that the narrative can return to and depart from the established chronology in any order. *The Anthemata* depends on the chronological structure present in medieval literature in order to

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<sup>82</sup> Ward, p. 126.

depart from that structure - 'what goes before conditions what comes after' (*Ana.*, p. 33). Historical events referred to without their chronological context are provided with the context, and thus their significance, from memory, again demonstrating the important of memory to narrative in Jones's work.

However, the chronological scheme does not depart as far from conventional chronology as Ward implies. There are in fact two temporal schemes in use. The first is a linear chronology, measured in actual historical years. This linear timescale is disrupted and displaced, described by Dilworth as 'impressionistic time-shifting, [by which] the poem's meditative consciousness zigzags back and forth through western history'.<sup>83</sup> The second timescale is a cyclical chronology, based on the Christian liturgical calendar, which remains consistent throughout and which is measured in hours, days and month. The use of the first scheme relies upon a shared cultural understanding of history and historical events for the reader to understand the temporal movement between the narremes; the second temporal scheme is implicit in the movement of the narrative.

### **Linear Historical Chronology**

The linear chronology which forms the basis of the first temporal scheme is essentially historical, having as its fulcrum the Crucifixion of Christ, and depending on the historical fact of incarnation:

At this unabiding Omphalos  
this other laughless rock  
at the stone of division  
above the middle water-deeps  
at the turn of time  
not at any time, but  
at this acceptable time.  
From the year of  
the lord-out-of-Ur  
about two millennia.  
Two thousand lents again  
since the first barley mow.  
Twenty millennia (and what millennia more?)

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<sup>83</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 181.



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Since he became  
man master-of-plastic.

'This acceptable time' is thus defined as the time of the Incarnation, following the explanation in Jones's footnotes that Abraham left 'Ur of the Chaldees' in about 2,000BC, and the first cultivation of grain had begun around 4,000BC. The suggestion that the season is still that of the Crucifixion rather than that of the Nativity is implied by the use of the term 'two thousand lents'. In order to locate the historical time, Jones counts the years backwards from the Incarnation, but does so in a way that ensures the reader is conscious of that fact, rather than by giving a calendar date which may obscure the association with the Incarnation.

In describing the universality of early Christian historiography,<sup>84</sup> Collingwood cites the unification of temporal schemes:

We may take Eusebius of Caesarea, in the third and early fourth century, as an example. In his *Chronicle* he set himself to compose a universal history where all events were brought within a single chronological framework instead of having events in Greece dated by Olympiads, events in Rome dated by consuls, and so on [...]

The symbol of this universalism is the adoption of a single chronological framework for all historical events. The single universal chronology, invented by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century and popularised by the Venerable Bede in the eighth, dating everything forward and backward from the birth of Christ, still shows where the idea came from.<sup>85</sup>

Jones, on the other hand, freely uses Olympiads and consul dates, as well as the Roman days of *calends*, *nones* and *ides*, as measurements of time – but again, he incorporates them into the Christian temporal scheme by redating them to the events of the Incarnation, thus effectively homogenising them in consistency with Christian principles of unity. For example, in the following quotation, the year referred to is in fact the year of the Passion:

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<sup>84</sup> See chapter two for full explanation.

<sup>85</sup> Collingwood, pp. 49-51.

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In the seven hundred and eighty-third year of the Urbs, the Mother, fourteen years since the recovery of the Eagles, forty-two come the 7<sup>th</sup> before the Ides of July since they decreed

Peace in Our Time

the whole world expectant of war.

(*Ana.*, p. 186)

Jones inverts the dating principles of the earlier historians who refer to historical events by Christian dates, and instead, he refers to specifically Christian events using contemporary dating systems. In so doing, Jones emphasises the historical nature of the Incarnation, actualising it and re-presenting it in experiential terms.

Jones uses a second method of dating historical/linear time, referring to the years of a reign, as an alternative to the dating system based on the year of Christ's birth. This he does exclusively in relation to the duration of the Roman Empire, which he introduces in Part II, 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea': 'Five hundred and thirty-nine years since the first consular year and the beginnings of the less uncertain sequences and the more defined contours', 'One hundred and sixty-seven years since Tiberius Gracchus wept for the waste-land' (*Ana.*, p.89). However, this method of dating appears to be an inversion of the Incarnational system, as a calculation of the dates reveals the historical time to relate to an event in the life of Christ. The 'five hundred and thirty-nine years' lead to a date of AD 30 whilst the one hundred and sixty-seven years give a date of AD 33. The first date indicates the beginning of Christ's teaching, whilst the second is the year of the Crucifixion, according to the *Anno Domini* tradition.<sup>86</sup>

This dating scheme is not superficial, though, but closely reflects and appears to be derived from that of the medieval chronicles. According to Goetz,

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<sup>86</sup> Although Jones is usually careful with his calculations, there are occasional mathematical slips, resulting in given dates of AD 33, AD 37, or even AD 41 for the Crucifixion, for example. Jones usually uses a date of 3 or 4 BC for the birth of Christ and a date of AD 30 or 33 for the Crucifixion. However, his sources use dates ranging from 6BC to AD 0 for the Nativity, and 26 AD (the first year of the reign of Pontius Pilate) to 37 AD (when Pilate was removed from office). Errors seem to occur when Jones tries to combine two or more sources with different dating foundations.

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Two chronological systems dominated the yearly report entries in the chronicles of the high Middle Ages: the incarnation era and the registering of reigns and pontificates. It was the intention of numerous chroniclers to establish a factual as well as a narrative unity of these elements, and they not infrequently attempted to 'translate' this into a visual system.<sup>87</sup>

Whilst *The Anathemata* is neither an annal nor a chronicle, and Jones is not concerned with recording the year's events, several of the narremes that impede or digress from the progress of the narrative nevertheless give the impression of being 'yearly report entries'. Jones adapts the chronicle form and superimposes elements of chronicle onto the basic framework of his poem, although these elements are not positioned in a chronological order but in an associative order.

Both the incarnational era and regnal years are used by medieval poets, although obviously to a lesser extent than in the chronicles, but there are also references to longer periods of time. The time scheme may be biblical, as in Chaucer's references to the Creation,<sup>88</sup> or taken from classical mythology, such as the Fall of Troy.<sup>89</sup> Interestingly, *The Anathemata* also refers to these events, albeit sometimes obliquely. The lines 'But already he's at it/ the form-making proto-maker/ busy at the fecund image of her' (*Ana.*, p. 59) refer directly to the creator of the Willendorf Venus, but imply also the making of the 'fecund image' of Eve by the original Creator, whilst in Part II time is dated to the Trojan Wars:

Twelve hundred years  
close on  
since of the Seven grouped Shiners  
one doused her light.  
Since Troy fired  
since they dragged him  
widdershins  
without the wall. (Ana., p. 84)

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<sup>87</sup> Goetz, p. 148.

<sup>88</sup> E.g. 'whan God first maked Man' (*Canterbury Tales*, VII. 3188).

<sup>89</sup> See the opening and closing lines of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

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Both the Creation and the Fall of Troy are perceived as historical events, however; biblical time and classical time are not mutually exclusive but co-exist within the linear chronology of human history.

#### Liturgical Cycle

Despite the references to events calculated according to a linear chronology, the narrative of *The Anthemata* is not itself either chronological in the historical sense, or linear, but is disrupted. It relies on the reader's understanding of a linear historical chronology in order to date particular events and to make sense of sections of the narrative, but the narrative movement is in fact circular, and the chronology that underpins it is not that of the history of man, or 'human time', which is essentially linear, but that of eternal time, or 'God's time', which has neither beginning nor end.

Cubitt's claim that the monastic communities that produced the *vitae* and chronicles

developed their own sense of time – dominated by the liturgical year – and their own sense of history, conveyed by the lives of their members

finds a correlation in Jones's work.<sup>90</sup> The medieval resonance of *The Anthemata* derives in part from the way in which references to time are made. It is perhaps because the system that Jones uses is so unfamiliar to readers in the twentieth century that certain critics have accused the text of lacking in temporal continuity, but I would argue that the temporal ordering would have been apparent to medieval readers. Rather than using a chronological system, Jones's writing is dominated by liturgical time, echoing that of the monastic texts. Hours and days are denoted by the bells and the prescribed liturgy, whilst years are dated according to reigns, with occasional references to the Christian dating system. These thought patterns seem

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<sup>90</sup> Cubitt, p. 33.

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to be embedded in Jones's consciousness; his way of thinking is structured in accordance with the rites of the Church. In private correspondence, Jones is as likely to date his letters using feast-days or mass services as he is to use the more conventional method of day, month and year. Examples include letters dated 'Holy Saturday' (26<sup>th</sup> March) 1932, 'May Day 1933', 'St David's Day 1936', 'All Souls' Day 1941'.<sup>91</sup> The dates thus observed are not all obvious feast days such as Easter or May Day, of which even a layman would be aware. Jones notes also 'Gaudete Sunday' in 1956 and '4<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Easter 1966'.<sup>92</sup> His correspondence with Desmond Chute shows even more clearly how the liturgical scheme governed his concept of time; the feast days are integrated into the text of his letters and become part of Jones's perception of the world, literally in the case of his letter of 31<sup>st</sup> March 1953, dated 'Tuesday in Holy Week' and containing an inscription to commemorate the day.<sup>93</sup> On 7<sup>th</sup> February 1953 he wrote to Chute, 'yr p.c. written on Candlemass just came'.<sup>94</sup> Elsewhere it is apparent that Jones marked the passing of the seasons according to the liturgical calendar: 'this is only because it was the Fs. of St. David yesterday' and on 'Thursday, Corpus Xti 1953', Jones remarked 'A very chilly & un-June Corpus Xti Day', whilst in 1953, he wrote 'Thursday after Ash Wednesday. The Year Proceeds', an observation which underlies *The Anathemata*.<sup>95</sup>

Using the liturgical calendar, it is possible to establish a temporal scheme for *The Anathemata*. Part I, 'Rite and Fore-time' opens with the sacrament of the Eucharist, performed by an archetypal priest. This Mass, though, is a Mass without date or time; it has its counterpart at the end of Part VIII, 'Sherthursdaye and Venus Day'. Both of these celebrations of the Mass are deliberately generalised; the priest is anonymous, the spatial and temporal location unknown, indicating the eternal and immanent nature of God. Within the moment of the Mass, however, all history is

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<sup>91</sup> *Dai Greatcoat*, pp. 50, 53, 81, 113, 219.

<sup>92</sup> *Letters to W.H.*, plate opp. p. 58, and *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 219.

<sup>93</sup> *I.N.*, p. 73.

<sup>94</sup> *I.N.*, p. 43.

<sup>95</sup> *I.N.*, pp. 60, 83 and 53.

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contained. The voyage thus begins with the first temporal reference, which is a celebration of Passover.

In a low voice  
as one who speaks  
where a few are, gathered in high-room  
and one, gone out.

There's conspiracy here:  
Here is birthday and anniversary, if there's continuity  
here, there's a new beginning.  
By intercalation of weeks  
(since the pigeons were unfledged  
and the lambs still young)  
they've adjusted the term  
till this appointed night  
(Sherthursdaye bright)  
the night that falls  
when she's first at the full  
after the vernal turn  
when in the Ram he runs.

(*Ana.*, pp. 51-2)

Jones's footnote clarifies the liturgical season ('The conditions determining the exact time of the Passover...'), although another footnote acknowledges that he has made use of Caxton's corrupted variant 'Sherthursday' and the resultant confusion between the annual celebration of Passover and Easter Thursday in order to conflate the two dates for the purposes of the text. This conflation emphasises the fact that the Passover to which the passage refers is the eve of a particular Passover, the night of the Last Supper:

In the high cave they prepare  
for guest to be the *hostia*.  
They set the thwart-boards  
and along:  
Two for the Gospel-makers  
one for the other Son of Thunder  
One for the swordsman, at the right-board, after;  
to make him feel afloat. One for the man from Keriioth, seven for the rest in order.

(*Ana.*, p. 52-3)

This places the scene in a definite year, therefore, the year of the Crucifixion, as well as on a specific date, the 'fourteenth day of the first month, Nisan' in the Jewish calendar. It is to this fact, the birth of the new year, that Jones refers in the lines

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'Here is birthday and anniversary, if there's continuity/ here, there's a new beginning'; however, there is also an allusion here to the timing of the Annunciation, representing a new beginning, which pre-empts Jones's later reference to 'germinal March/ and terminal day' (*Ana.*, p. 188).<sup>96</sup> By dating the season to both Easter and the Annunciation, Jones simultaneously acknowledges and ignores historical time and instead asserts the dominance of the liturgical calendar and seasonal cycle. The conflation of Easter and the Annunciation dates back to Tertullian, who held that the Crucifixion took place on the eighth day before the Calends of April, that is to say the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, the same date that was later calculated by the Church to have been the date of the Annunciation. Jones uses this longstanding coincidence as the basis for his historical and temporal structure of *The Anthemata*. Following a reference to 'the fecund image of her/ Cthonic? why yes/ but mother of us' (*Ana.*, p. 59), the Willendorf Venus which is 'not yet, by a long, long way, the Queen of Heaven, yet, nevertheless, with some of her attributes' (*Ana.*, p. 59, n.1), Jones reiterates again that the date is not that of the Nativity, as might have been thought from these images of maternity, but is Easter Saturday:

What ages since  
his other marvel-day  
when times turned?  
and *how* turned!  
When  
(How?  
from early knocking stick or stane?)  
the first New Fire wormed  
at the Easter of Technics.  
*What* a holy Saturn's day!  
*O vere beata nox!* (Ana., p. 61)

Words from the Liturgy are used to indicate the exact day. The timing is reinforced by the inclusion of lines from the Good Friday Liturgy, indicating the transition from

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<sup>96</sup> It is interesting to speculate that Jones's wording here develops the paradox presented in John Donne's poem 'Upon the Annunciation and Passion falling upon one day. 1608', in which the poet alludes to 'this doubtful day/ Of feast and fast', and to consider the influence that the lines 'She sees him man, so like God made in this,/ That of them both a circle emblem is,/ Whose first and last concur...' may have had on *The Anthemata*.

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the Thursday of the Last Supper and the fulfilment of the Sacrifice promised on that day, later in Part I:

Whoever he was  
Dona ei requiem  
sempiternam  
(He would not lose him  
... non peridi  
ex eis quemquam.) (Ana., p. 66)

It is significant that the date, the time of year, remains the same regardless of the passing of the years which occurs in the narrative.

The seasonal time setting for 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', the first voyage of *The Anthemata*, is still Good Friday. The exact time is six bells of the afternoon watch, corresponding to three o'clock or the ninth hour, the time of the Crucifixion:

What bells is that  
when the overcast clears on a Mars' Venus-Day  
Selene waxed, the sun in the Ram? (Ana., p. 96)

The narrative does not appear to move on from the Easter setting until Part V. Part III, the second voyage, is not dated, although it seems at one point that the temporal setting is shifted to October:

past the weathered thorps and  
the Thorpe  
that bore, that bred  
him whom Nike did bear  
her tears at flood  
and over the scatter of the forebrace bits  
down to the orlop  
at twenty five minutes after one of the clock in the afternoon, on a Monday  
twelve days before the Calends of November  
outside the Pillars  
where they closed like a forest  
...in 13 fathoms' water  
unanchored in the worsening weather (Ana., p. 114)

In fact, the date given is 21<sup>st</sup> October, and the event referred to is the Battle of Trafalgar. However, a close reading of this passage reveals that the account of the



Battle is not the subject of the narrative here, but is used in a solipsistic manner to describe the geographical location of the main subject of Part III, the voyage along the coast of England. The periphrasis disguises a simple fact, that the ship is passing Burnham Thorpe on the Norfolk coast, birthplace of Horatio Nelson, hero of Trafalgar.<sup>97</sup> There is no indication in the text to suggest that the liturgical date of the voyage is anything other than Easter.

Part IV, 'Redriff', offers an alternative to the voyage proposed in the previous part, in which the ship continued northwards to 'Cronos-meer' and the seas of Iceland and Norway, questioning instead whether the skipper turned in at the Thames, and underwent repairs at the Docks. Although an alternative route is given, and the historical setting shifts to the Victorian age, the seasonal setting does not change, as it is the same metaphorical journey. The only mention of the time is Eb Bradshaw's scornful rejection of the Italian captain's plea to 'hustle the job', as he wishes to catch 'next Thor's Day's night-tide'. Given the context, it seems more likely that 'Thor's Day' is chosen for the association between the Norse god Thor and the Baltic, the thawing of which caused the increase in business in the Docks, according to Jones's footnote.<sup>98</sup> However, since the thawing of the Baltic happens in spring, and the allusion to it includes the phrase 'a lent o' tides', the 'Thor's Day's night-tide' may be an oblique reference to the events of the night of Easter Thursday, especially given Jones's earlier statement of the significance of the day 'Thursday' to Christians<sup>99</sup>. This hypothesis is supported by the nature of the repairs that are needed, to the ship's mast, which represents the Cross. If this interpretation is accepted, the conversation between Eb and the envoy from the Italian skipper takes place shortly before Easter Thursday and concerns the preparations that need to be

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<sup>97</sup> The Battle of Trafalgar held a particular significance for Jones, who persisted in commemorating Trafalgar Day each year. Other than particular feast-days, it is the only 'day' to be used as a way of dating his correspondence.

<sup>98</sup> 'The Rotherhithe timber-trade was particularly brisk in the spring when the ice melted and freed the ships in the Baltic' (*Ana.*, p. 119, n.2).

<sup>99</sup> See Jones's footnote to the use of 'Sherthursdaye': 'the words "Thursday" and "the holy dish" are, by gospel, rite, calendar and cultus, indissolubly connected' (*Ana.*, p. 51, n.2).

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made to get the Cross ready for the voyage of Good Friday, as the reference to the 'Thor's Day cup' (*Ana.*, p. 224) illustrates.

Part V, the 'Lady of the Pool' section, takes place later in the liturgical year. The month is identified as August, 'a month and less from the septimal month', but the 'Ember Ides' (a conflation of the Ides of Autumn, the thirteenth of September, and Ember Week, which takes place in the third week of September) 'not yet by a long way come'. The Lady of the Pool gives a description of the forthcoming festivities of Crouchmass, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross celebrated on the fourteenth of September. Her recollections include the story of two meetings with her lover the stone-mason, again dated according to the liturgical calendar. The first assignation takes place in a hot night in July, but the next occasion, a month later, is more important. The lovers meet

... again, once in especial,  
at a swelt'rin' close August day's close three sultry eves  
after they sing *Gaudeamus* – on m' own name-day captain, on  
the day of the British Elen that found the Wood. (*Ana.*, p. 131)

The theme of Part V, a celebration of Mary and an anticipation of the celebration of the Cross, is again emphasised by references to two particular liturgical dates, August 15<sup>th</sup>, the feast-day of the Assumption, when *Gaudeamus* is sung as part of the service, and August 18<sup>th</sup>, the feast-day of St Helen. Even the memories of Elen Monica, the Lady of the Pool are concentrated upon what is important to this section, the role of the mother in the Christian religion:

Do all in *aula* rise  
and cede him his hypothesis:  
Mother is requisite to son?  
Or would they have none  
of his *theosis*?  
He were a one for what's due her, captain.  
Being ever a one for what's due *us*, captain.  
He knew his Austin! (*Ana.*, p. 129)

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Mary, the mother referred to in this passage, and whose fiat is essential to the Incarnation, will be commemorated again at the time of the Nativity in 'Mabinog's Liturgy' later in *The Anathemata*. The 'British Elen', or St Helen, after whom the Lady of the Pool was named was Flavia Julia Helena, wife of Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great. Not only was she credited with finding a piece of the True Cross, but she also ensured that Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire by giving birth to Constantine. The Lady of the Pool's second name is Monica, after the mother of 'Austin' (St Augustine). St Monica was the patron saint of wives and mothers and played a role in the development of the Christian faith through her prayers for the salvation of her son, and her insistence on his upbringing in the religion, which finally resulted in Augustine's espousal of Christianity and his appointment as Bishop of Hippo. It is no coincidence, then, that Monica's feast-day is also in the same month, on August 27<sup>th</sup>.

It is interesting to note that the majority of dates associated with Elen Monica's personal memories and relationships are in August, and relate to feast-days of women. In fact, it is not just the terminology relating to time that focuses on August; Jones's choice of nomenclature and vocabulary conflates time and place in this section, as the stonemason refers to the City of London as 'Augusta... Augusta Trinobantum', and to Autun in Burgundy as 'Augustodunum' (*Ana.*, p. 133), whilst the Lady of the Pool says of her stone-mason lover, 'But, captain, from that/ most august eve I saw him no more' (*Ana.*, p. 160).

However, the narreme of the voyage of the *Mary*, which is inset into the Lady of the Pool's monologue, is not part of the narrative of the Lady of the Pool's own story, but a tale told to her by the captain of the *Mary*. The temporal setting of this narreme is not August, though as the name of the ship suggests, the season is still associated with Mary and with the maternal role. The first dating reference is to the ship, 'overdue a nine month', making its way up the Thames on 'a quadragesimal quarter-day and a rent-Monday too' (*Ana.*, p. 137). This is March 25<sup>th</sup>, the Feast of

the Annunciation, and the day after St Gabriel's feast-day ('Gabriel has already said Ave!'). The imagery used in the passage is reminiscent of the Passion, concordant with the liturgical time of the voyage, but by making the date explicitly that of the Annunciation, Jones ensures that the association of the Lady of the Pool section with Mary remains predominant; the Passion is a secondary allusion.<sup>100</sup>

As in 'Angle-land', when a reference to a specific event in time (the Battle of Trafalgar) actually signified a spatial location (the birthplace of Nelson), liturgical allusions to the Passion in the Lady of the Pool's monologue do not alter the temporal setting of the narrative. Instead, when the context is considered, allusions such as 'on the ste'lyard on the Hill' (*Ana.*, p. 157), an image derived from the Good Friday processional hymn *Vexilla Regis*, can be seen to be geographical indicators, in this case referring to the Holy Land. The Lady of the Pool's periphrastic style may confuse the reader, but in fact, she is simply giving a description, given to her by a sailor, of historical sailors sailing towards Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 'out from which, as clergymen sing, He called his Son' (*Ana.*, p. 157). The description of the Passion that then follows pertains to and elaborates the term 'Son' – it is not a continuation of the linear narrative but rather a digression on that topic.

Whilst there are other liturgical references to be found in Part V, these are all specific to the celebrations of the Mass particular to the churches named by the Lady of the Pool, and should not be seen as a change of direction of liturgical time.

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<sup>100</sup> It is also worth noting the references to an important recurring image of the poem in 'The Lady of the Pool', which is the pearl, or *margaron* in Greek. The pearl is traditionally associated with sorrow, faith and purity. In Part V, the image occurs in the name of the ship, the *Margaron*, as well as in the 'washed-white margaron'd relics [...] where the pearl is'. The term 'megara', for temples is also found in this part ('In all the white chapels/ in Lud's town of megara'); elsewhere in *The Anathemata* Jones associates the *megaron* with the *margaron* ('within the laughless Megaron/ the margaron' (p. 56) and the *megaron/ Margaron* collocation is also to be found on p. 243). Throughout the text, the margaron is also associated with Helen, the 'margaron of great price' (p. 56). However, in 'The Lady of the Pool', it is interesting that Jones emphasises, either consciously or subconsciously, the 'pearl' associations. The medieval *Pearl* narrative was a particular favourite of his, and refers to the parable of the vineyard. The image of the vineyard, like the image of the pearl, recurs throughout *The Anathemata*; 'The Lady of the Pool' includes allusions to a 'wooded shore fetched up in a vineyard' and the trope of Christ labouring at the wine-press, which features frequently in medieval religious art. It is perhaps not a coincidence then that the action of the *Pearl* takes place in 'Auguste in a hygh seysoun' (*Pearl*, l.39), like 'The Lady of the Pool'.

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The reference to 'Whit Sat'day' (*Ana.*, p. 161), for example, describes a vision of King Cole said to have been seen at St Peter-the-Fisher's Church at Cornhill during the Mass of that day.

Finally, the Lady of the Pool closes her conversation with the Captain with another anticipation of the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross:

In all the white chapels  
in Lud's town of megara  
when we put up rejoicing candles bright  
when we pay latria  
to the Saving Wood.  
About the turn of the year, Captain, when he sings out loud  
and clear from his proper: *in ligne quoque vinceretur*  
[...]  
And *at* the turn, captain, pridie  
the thirteenth and all, we carry out Chloris dead as a nail.  
'T will soon be on us, cap'n  
it'll soon be here. (*Ana.*, p. 165-6)

It can thus be argued that Part V is not itself the celebration of the Cross, as Dilworth argues, but as the dating of the section to August shows, is a celebration of the maternal spirit, and especially of Mary.

The following section, 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', is obviously a 'hymn to the cross' – Part VI is in fact the celebration of the Cross, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross which was anticipated in the 'Lady of the Pool' section. Gradually, the temporal setting has shifted within the liturgical year, from March through August to September. This movement continues with Part VII, 'Mabinog's Liturgy', the central scenes of which are set on the eve of the Nativity, with the description of Gwnhyfar's attendance at Midnight Mass, and the theological discussion of the significance of Mary's role. However, the section opens with a conflation of imagery of both the Nativity and the Passion, reinforcing the fact that the Crucifixion was pre-ordained, and anticipating the events of the final part even as the birth of Christ is celebrated. The title acknowledges the nature of Part VII as both a version of the *mabinogion* ('tales of infancy') and as a feast-day in the Christian calendar with its own service or liturgy.

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The final section, Sherthursdaye and Venus Day, fulfils the promise of sacrifice made at the time of the Nativity, and completes the liturgical cycle of *The Anthemata*. The liturgical time of this part is Easter, repeating the 'Sherthursdaye' terminology of 'Rite and Fore-time' in the title, and culminating in 'Venus Day', Good Friday:

Tryst-keeper  
his twelve-month-and-a-day  
falls tomorrow.

(*Ana.*, p. 226)

The 'twelve-month-and-a-day' suggests the dual anniversary of the conception and of the Passion, echoing the 'germinal March/ and terminal day' of 'Mabinog's Liturgy' (*Ana.*, p. 188). Significantly, though, it also represents the liturgical year of *The Anthemata*, with the section's title recalling the Sherthursdaye of the Passover preparation supper described in Part I, and Venus Day the Friday of the Passion, alluding to the goddess of love. The temporal location has thus returned to March, the season of renewal and regeneration.

These two schemes, the linear historical chronology and the liturgical temporal cycle, are synchronous. Jones is able to shift the historical narrative location through the millennia because the point in liturgical time remains fixed; that is to say that in any given part of *The Anthemata*, the external temporal setting will depend upon the point reached in the liturgical cycle, which runs from Easter to Easter. In Part V, therefore, as we have seen, the temporal setting of the entire narrative is August. With that understanding, the narremes within that section can be placed anywhere along the linear historical timeline without losing the chronological coherence of the text; whether it is a hot August day in the fourteenth century or in the fourth century, the continuity is maintained by the ritual celebration of particular feast-days, which are not affected by the passing of time or a variance in geographical location. Eternal time takes precedence over human time in the chronological structure of *The Anthemata*. If Jones thus reinterpreted medieval

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techniques and made use of the linear chronology established in medieval chronicles, retaining their universal scope, and addressing 'all time and all peoples', but subverting the governing principle of the liturgical calendar to produce an innovative and contemporary form, he did so in a way which revealed his views of the past to be distinctly medieval themselves. The triumph of the poem's 'lack of narrative coherence' is that in fracturing human chronology, it reasserts the transcending power of 'God's time', in which past, present and future are one.

Jones's attempt to conflate human tenses was not innovative, but developed from medieval concepts of narrative and time. Although his adoption of liturgical cyclical time is the main structural method by which *The Anthemata* achieves the coalescence of temporal events, Jones also makes use of other medieval techniques to create a narrative coherence. Breisach suggests that the chroniclers' 'characteristic methods for harmonization of past, present and future events were allegory, prefiguration and typology'.<sup>101</sup> *The Anthemata's* use of the voyage narreme as an allegory for the Ship of the Church and its associated salvational mission has been discussed in this chapter. The contribution of prefiguration and typology to the narrative coherence of *The Anthemata* will be analysed in the next chapter.

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<sup>101</sup> Breisach, p. 79.

## Chapter Four

### Typology and the *Figura*

And other such prospectors  
and others again and before again, such as chambered their  
dead between the nebs and the nesses.

And before them  
and before again, the precursors at the steer-trees  
many of them  
in the old time before *them*.

(Ana., p. 158)

Although there are identifiable, even named, characters within *The Anathemata*, and it traces the history of mankind from the first emergence of *homo sapiens* to the present day, the poem is not 'about' people. The introduction to this thesis expounds the central themes of the poem – the celebration of the Mass, the promise of redemption that it holds, and the historical events that gave rise to that promise – and as the structure of the poem is related to and dependent on those themes, which are of a religious nature, so the content too accords with the underlying theological principles. Although several sections of *The Anathemata*,



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most notably 'The Lady of the Pool' and 'Redriff', are dominated by particular characters, in the overall structure of the poem these characters are incidental and serve a schematic purpose. Even upon first reading, it is apparent that the poem is typological in nature, and that certain figures, such as the mariner and the priest, both depicted as salvational types, the sybil, and the semi-divine and enabling mother-figure, reappear throughout the text.

This obvious typology has been accepted as *de facto* in current criticism,<sup>1</sup> but has often been ascribed to Jones's reading of Oswald Spengler; the view that a historical figure from a particular era was 'equivalent to' a historical figure in another era is of particular interest to a study of *The Anathemata*, as discussed in chapter two. However, despite the central positioning of the 'homologous and analogous phenomena' within Spengler's hypothesis, Jones does not follow Spengler's usage of these archetypes. Whilst Spengler's examples of 'equivalent figures', such as Alexander the Great and Napoleon, are drawn from secular history because they are representative of a particular phase of civilisation, Jones's sources for his archetypes are theological, mythological and literary and are linked by the medieval exegetical practice of prefiguration, appropriate to the theme of sacrifice and redemption.

Jones was familiar with the concept of the *figura* from its established use in classical and medieval literature, including Virgil, Augustine and Dante, and later interpretations of the works of these authors, as well as its use in theological exposition through scholars such as Jacques Maritain, the author of *Art et Scholastique*, whom he knew through the Ditchling Dominican community. In addition, he would have received a limited formal education on the concept from his classes at Camberwell College of Art, where he studied from the age of fourteen until his enlistment after the start of the First World War, and later at Westminster

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Dilworth, Katherine Staudt, Elizabeth Ward and Jonathan Miles are the most obvious proponents of the attribution; their individual responses are examined in the course of this chapter.

School of Art, both of which still provided a grounding in classical education as a fundamental basis of art courses at the beginning of the twentieth century. For the purposes of this thesis, however, the most concise explanation of its function is provided by Erich Auerbach, who was a contemporary of Jones. The rise of Nazism forced Auerbach into exile from his native Germany, firstly to Turkey and later in the United States, and his work was published widely in both Europe and America from the 1930s until his death in 1957. Although there is no evidence that Jones had read Auerbach prior to composing *The Anathemata*, Auerbach's essay 'Figura', first published in German in 1944, is based on the same medieval tradition from which Jones drew his material.

Auerbach states that '*figura* is something real and historical which announces something else that is also real and historical. The relation between the two events is revealed by an accord or similarity'.<sup>2</sup> Figural interpretation evolved as the earliest Christians sought to validate the New Testament by showing that the events and figures described in the Old Testament 'were prefigurations of the New Testament and its history of salvation'.<sup>3</sup> By the fourth century, the concept was fully developed in the majority of the Latin Church writers, in particular St Augustine, with whose works Jones was familiar:

On the whole [Augustine] favoured a living, figural interpretation, for his thinking was far too concrete and historical to content itself with pure abstract-allegory [...] by far the most often [the term *figura*] appears in the sense of prefiguration. Augustine explicitly adopted the figural interpretation of the Old Testament and emphatically recommended its use in sermons and missions.<sup>4</sup>

Auerbach explains that

Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfils the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life.

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<sup>2</sup> Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', trans. Ralph Manheim, in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), henceforth 'Figura', p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> 'Figura', p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> 'Figura', pp. 37-8.

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Only the understanding of the two persons or events is a spiritual act, but this spiritual act deals with concrete events whether past, present or future, and not with concepts or abstractions; these are quite secondary, since promise and fulfilment are real historical events.<sup>5</sup>

I will demonstrate that Jones's characterisation in *The Anathemata* follows the typological scheme promoted by Augustine, and that his characters or figures should be interpreted figurally, according to the theme of promise and fulfilment which is central to the poem's celebration of the Mass. However, the figural interpretation should not be restricted to Biblical characters; he also draws analogies with literary characters. Schwartz comments that Jones

depicted numerous Christ antetypes and successors from history, including such conventional ones as Abel, Isaac, Joseph, and the prophecies of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, plus some idiosyncratic selections, like Absalom, the Welsh king Llewelyn [*sic*] (d. 1282), and El[e]usian and Nemian priests. But in all of them, he argued, 'the Mystery of the Incarnation was anticipated' or puppeted.<sup>6</sup>

Although this scheme clearly represents a departure from Augustinian typology, which did not encompass the secular, it approximates closely to the medieval use of the *figura*:

At a very early date profane and pagan material was also interpreted figurally; Gregory of Tours, for example, uses the legend of the Seven Sleepers as a figure for the Resurrection; the waking of Lazarus from the dead and Jonah's rescue from the belly of the whale were also commonly interpreted in this sense. In the high Middle Ages, the Sybils, Virgil, the characters of the *Aeneid*, and even those of the Breton legend cycle (e.g., Galahad in the quest for the Holy Grail) were drawn into the figural interpretation, and moreover there were all sorts of mixtures between figural, allegoric, and symbolic forms.<sup>7</sup>

Although Jones was not certain of the terminology, it is clear that he fully understood the principles behind the figural interpretation as Auerbach expresses it:

By the time we come to the middle ages proper, the types and foreshadowings or however one cares to express it, were, at least for the great majority, drawn mainly from figures, signs, sacraments of the canonical books of the Old Testament; thus Noah's Ark provided a popular image of the Salvation. Yet we must not forget that not only did the stream of classical antiquity never dry up and that especially in the

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<sup>5</sup> 'Figura', p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> *Third Spring*, p. 357.

<sup>7</sup> 'Figura', pp. 63-4.

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monastic houses the writings of the pre-Christian authors were conserved and transcribed, but that the Christian writers, who lived before that classical order had collapsed, were regarded as part of that antiquity, so that there was a confluence of streams. Moreover there was not only a familiarity with the more eminent Christian poets and writers but with the less known authors of all sorts. (*Dying Gaul*, p. 216)

In *The Shape of Meaning*, Dilworth acknowledges Jones's use of archetypal characters as part of his symbolic narrative style.<sup>8</sup> However, Dilworth seems not to view Jones's incorporation of archetypes as representative of a historical typology, as in the Spenglerian tradition, nor as an adaptation of the established Christian tradition described by Auerbach, as I have suggested above and as Jones's own description would indicate, but as a result of psychoanalysis. Dilworth comments:

An important function of symbolism in the poem is to trace the human inscape, which is archetypal. In varying degrees of emphasis, all the genuine archetypes are present in the poem: apocalypse, cosmic marriage, cosmic conflict, the journey (here the voyage), renewal or resurrection, the male guardian or saviour, the female to be saved, the female guardian and the villain ... The archetypes of the human inscape are fundamentally sexual. The poet was able to appreciate this with special clarity after undergoing intensive psychotherapy in 1947 immediately prior to beginning work on *The Anathemata*.<sup>9</sup>

The stance adopted by Dilworth in the passage quoted above later leads him to argue that Jones's 'repression of sexual feelings' towards his mother results in the presentation of an 'Oedipal typology' in *The Anathemata*, with 'a number of couples who in varying ways combine the archetypes of cosmic marriage and cosmic battle'. He cites the characters of Ebenezer Bradshaw and Elen Monica in the 'Redriff' and 'The Lady of the Pool' sections as examples of figures informed by this Oedipal typological characterisation:

For example, in 'Redriff', Eb Bradshaw speaks as a realistically dramatized middle-class Victorian Protestant. His monologue even approaches the quasi-documentary character of *In Parenthesis* [...] But underlying the dramatized personality of the historically real shipwright is the artist type and, beneath that, the archetype of the father and male guardian. In the subsequent section Elen Monica commemorates such 'fathering figures' as buried under the earth, defending and fructifying it in a radical reworking of the metaphor of sex and death. Typologically, Elen equates with Mother Earth. If Eb and Elen were reducible to their archetypes, therefore, he would

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<sup>8</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, pp. 201-256.

<sup>9</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, pp. 202-3.

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be married to her, and because his archetype is buried in hers awaiting rebirth, he would also be her foetal son.<sup>10</sup>

Dilworth's conclusion seems to be somewhat hasty; he qualifies his comments by adding 'On the level of archetypes this makes sense, but it sounds more than a little absurd because these personae exist more as realistic characters and as immediate types than as archetypes, and what is archetypally valid is not always valid on the other psychofictional levels'.<sup>11</sup> However, it is possible that his view of *The Anathemata* as a result of the intensification of sexual desire caused by a frustration of sexual desire has caused Dilworth to misread the archetypes presented within the poem and misinterpret their relationship.<sup>12</sup> Jones himself maintained a somewhat detached interest in the psychotherapists' theories, occasionally exploiting the Oedipal theory for the purposes of his art but not believing that it had a personal application to his own situation. He wrote to his friend Harman Grisewood that 'The *theory* of all this psychotherapy is *of the greatest interest possible*' (Jones's italics).<sup>13</sup> In a note to his doctor summing up what he saw as 'the artist's position', Jones wrote that:

It is difficult to see how the peculiar qualities that characterize the art of painting can continue to co-exist with a civilization such as our own is, or is becoming. (...if things are thought of as simply utile... then a kind of conflict arises in the mind of the artist with regard to them, and he tends to go to earlier forms... when he is expressing universal concepts... This in turn creates a kind of loss of touch with the contemporary world – his world after all – and a kind of invalidity pervades his symbols – it sets up a strain. However unconscious, it produces a neurosis...).<sup>14</sup>

It can be seen from this quotation that Jones felt that the root of his problems from the 1930s onwards, his inability to work and his paralysis through the frequent bouts of depression which he suffered throughout his life, was caused by a deep-seated fear that his symbols, which he saw as the tools of his craft, whether painting or

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<sup>10</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, pp. 202-3.

<sup>11</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 203.

<sup>12</sup> See *Shape of Meaning*, p. 206 for examples of Dilworth's views.

<sup>13</sup> *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 132. Letter dated 16 July 1947.

<sup>14</sup> *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 135. Note dated 8 October 1947.

writing, no longer carried the significance that he saw in them, and that his work, composed of those signs, therefore lacked validity in the world in which he lived. This has interesting repercussions for the seemingly anachronistic setting of some scenes of *The Anathemata*, and also for the disruption to the natural chronological order of the narrative, as it may suggest a further, psychological reason behind Jones's translocation of his text to a historical epoch in which his particular system of signs would have unquestioned validity. It may also be useful in a discussion of the juxtaposition of the atemporal and the time-specific details of the poem, such as the vagueness of the Chaucerian atmosphere of the 'Lady of the Pool' section, contrasted with its many authenticating details of London 'toward the end of the middle ages' two centuries or more later: 'while it was Chaucer's London that the master of this ship visited... London is seen through Tudor eyes'<sup>15</sup>.

Jones was considerably more concerned with the question of 'validity of signs' than he was with sexual problems. However, he does discuss sexual fears in the note, which is glossed by René Hague as follows: 'David is arguing, quite rightly, to my mind, that to say that in his breakdown he was trying to escape from some sexual fear or other uncertainty was to leave the problem untouched; and I believe that he made his doctors understand this'.<sup>16</sup> Jones himself commented:

But to reject the obvious 'good' of marriage for some other 'good' is a principle which is universally admitted in civilized tradition. I have always felt this very strongly and question if it is wholly owing to the aforesaid escapist thing in me. I should also like to mention that I feel that the 'contemporary situation' has a real bearing here – it seems to me (and I have all my life been aware of it) that at the breakdown of a culture (bringing great abnormality at all levels and very great divergence of standards of every sort, and economic pressure – all detrimental to mating and normal marriage even for tough and resilient persons) many people who otherwise in a normal world would get married, quite logically avoid doing so if they feel they have some vital work to do, because the conditions of their time make it virtually impossible for them to marry and bring up a family without at the same time prostituting (or something like it) the work they do... this *may* be a 'rationalisation' of my inhibitions and fears of sex, but discounting those, the attitude seems to me to be completely defensible and reasonable.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Commentary*, p. 155.

<sup>16</sup> *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 136.

<sup>17</sup> *Dai Greatcoat*, pp. 136-7. It should be remembered here that Jones had fought in the First World War and was writing in the immediate aftermath of the Second; long separations, bereavement, fear, financial loss and rationing were all factors of daily existence.

The overriding implications appear to be that Jones did not dismiss out of hand the suggestions of his doctors, based as they were on popular contemporary theory, but that he strongly felt that the creation of art, including both visual art and literature, required an adherence to principles, and that his principles involved the use of signs and symbols that still carried meaning. For him, 'meaning' must involve resonances throughout history, which for Jones as a Catholic was essentially Christian history (or pre-Christian correspondences to events in Christian history), and which were not limited to one time or place. It seems that the effect of the therapy on Jones was to confront the fears and obstacles which prevented him from drawing, rather than to influence the content or form of his writing. Indeed, Jones turned to writing partly because he felt unable to draw; he wrote to his doctor that

I feel I have perhaps been more successful in benefiting from the treatment in the realm of drawing – of concepts – than in ordinary affairs – though there, too, I see an improvement and a vast difference, of course, from when I came to Bowden House.<sup>18</sup>

A close study of Jones's correspondence in conjunction with his published writing suggests that the Freudian typological system helped him to a greater understanding of his own personality and to come to terms with his nervous depression, as he implies in a reported conversation with Colin Hughes:

No one could really know what it was like unless they had been through it. The main symptom was being frightened. The Bible often mentions men's knees knocking together; it was really like that; it was worse when I was at home; Freud really had it right, this father/mother relationship.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 140.

<sup>19</sup> Conversation with Colin Hughes which took place twenty years after the publication of *The Anathemata*, reported in *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 131. Hague cautions: 'Hughes's memory of their 1973 conversation is not necessarily verbatim'. Jones did, however, enjoy a good relationship with his father, visiting him in his South London home frequently even after his mother's death; Jones's reading of Freud seems to have theoretical rather than practical applications.

However, whilst 'Jones the man' may have recognised privately a truth in elements of Freudian theory, as a writer, Jones did not write as a form of therapy or catharsis, and instead aimed for objectivity and detachment, believing that a personalisation of the work would make it less valid:

the workman must be dead to himself while engaged upon the work, otherwise we have that sort of 'self-expression' which is as undesirable in the painter or writer as in the carpenter, the cantor, the half-back, or the cook. (Ana., p. 12)

It is for this reason that the figures of *The Anathemata* should be viewed primarily as 'universal' archetypes, common to the Christian tradition, which are in themselves signs, and not merely as Freudian types, which may offer a limited explanation of human behaviour but have little signification beyond their own meaning. As Freud propounds it, the Jocasta/Oedipus/Laius relationship trope provides a pattern of human behaviour, and explains human psychological impulses. However, it does not attempt to explain the role of God, or divine patterns, and has no application to the Mass; it is thus limited in its use to Jones.<sup>20</sup> As Hague wrote,

the more closely *The Anathemata* is read, the more apparent become the Biblical inspiration, and the following of a pattern and the use of imagery found in the prophetic books: so that here we open with a doom-laden prophecy, and the whole poem is to start with the promise of, and end with the realisation of, redemption.<sup>21</sup>

Thus a patristic typology provides Jones with a more flexible, more appropriate system of images and significations than any other system of typology, as well as a long-established cast of figures on which to draw.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This is not to say that Jones does not use Freudian material opportunistically; for example, in the conflation of Mary-as-Church, and Church-as-Bride, implied in the lines 'he that was her son/ is now her lover' (Ana., p. 224), evoke the Oedipal narrative. However, any continuation of this analogy breaks down, or tends to blasphemy, at the suggestion of an Oedipal Christ who would usurp God the Father.

<sup>21</sup> *Commentary*, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Freud first used the term 'Oedipus complex' in 1910. Oedipal typology is thus not used as an organising principle in the sources used by Jones; patristic typology is, however.



Corcoran describes *The Anthemata* as 'an immense chorus of human voices, shouting, singing, cajoling, crying, praying'.<sup>23</sup> He has identified more than 200 proper names in the poem, though several of these names are simply extratextual references.<sup>24</sup> The majority of the names that appear in the poem are not characters, but are representative of other figures, mythological and literary as well as biblical.<sup>25</sup> These figures are prophetic; they are the 'prospectors' and 'precursors' of the opening quotation to this chapter. In a poem that is 'about' the Mass and redemption, it is appropriate that the figures described in it should be symbolic, either foreshadowing that which is to come, or echoing that which has happened. In this, Jones is continuing a long-established Christian tradition of figural interpretation; the story of Abraham and Isaac, for example, was viewed as a prefiguration of the Sacrifice of Christ by early theologians:

Abraham's sacrifice [...] very quickly became one of the most popular. It is mentioned in the works of the great Fathers, both Latin and Greek, Ambrose, Augustine, Origen, Tertullian and many others, who not only expound it in their exegesis of the Book of Genesis, but also use it in their defence of the religious value of the Old Testament against the Manichaeans and in their arguments designed for the confutation of the Jews. It was almost equally common in early Christian art [...] In the Middle Ages it would have been even more difficult for the story of Abraham's sacrifice to escape the eyes and ears of anybody, however uninterested he might be in it. The comments of the Fathers were quoted in every kind of religious work from the Biblical commentaries to manuals of popular instruction and devotion, whilst the tradition of visual representation also continued and multiplied itself in stained glass, carving, wall painting, manuscript illumination,

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<sup>23</sup> Corcoran, p. 87.

<sup>24</sup> Corcoran, p. 93, n. 30.

<sup>25</sup> In my analysis of the typological scheme of *The Anthemata* I have used certain terms repeatedly, which, despite being in common use, have particular nuances to which I wish to draw attention. I use the terms 'typology' and 'prefiguration' in their theological senses of 'a system of interpretation applied by early Christian theologians to the Hebrew scriptures, by which certain events, images, and personages of pre-Christian legend could be understood as prophetic "types" or "figures" foreshadowing the life of Christ' (Chris Baldick, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 2nd edn, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001)) and the 'representation beforehand by a figure or type' (*S.O.E.D.*).

I use the terms 'figure', 'type', 'character' and '*figura*' in separate, differentiated contexts: the term 'figure' is applied to any personage depicted within the poem; 'type' describes a figure which symbolises or represents a specific group of figures, such as the type of the priest, or the type of the mariner; 'character' is used to demarcate those figures which display individual and distinguishing traits, and which are usually named, such as Elen Monica (the 'Lady of the Pool') and Eb Bradshaw; '*figura*' is used in the literary and theological sense established by Auerbach and discussed on pp. 157-159.

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and in the great compendiums of typology, such as the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*.<sup>26</sup>

As the medieval writers used the *figura* to draw parallels and to prefigure and emphasise later events, in particular the sacrifice of Christ, so Jones also uses the concept in order to maintain the validity of his 'signs'. However, he extends the scope of his *figurae* to include later sources, adopting a looser interpretative attitude towards his material that is more akin to the allegorical typology of Dante than the strictly biblical material of the dramatists.<sup>27</sup> To ignore the later Western literary canon, which formed part of Jones's experience, would have been to lose touch with the contemporary world. Thus Jones's *figurae* are multi-dimensional, literary and mythological as well as being drawn from the Christian patristic tradition.

It is noticeable that as a *figura* is developed as a character and has a greater number of allegorical meanings assigned to it, the time and location (or, to use one of Jones's favourite words, 'epoch') in which it appears becomes more specific. This is reflected by the increased restrictiveness of the textual setting; the more developed characters such as Eb Bradshaw in 'Redriff' and Elen Monica in 'The Lady of the Pool' are confined textually, compared to the types of the mariner and the priest, who recur throughout the poem. Eb and Elen, who are both given lengthy monologues, do not appear elsewhere in the poem; they are very much the *numinae*<sup>28</sup> of their own particular epochs, the mast pond in Victorian Rotherhithe and the Pool of London in the later Middle Ages. Marged, Mal Fay and Mabli, the three witches of 'Mabinog's Liturgy', are more shadowy figures; although they speak, the subject-matter is more universal, less specific than that of either Elen or

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<sup>26</sup> Rosemary Woolf, 'The Effect of Typology on the English Medieval Plays', in *Art and Doctrine: Essays on Medieval Literature*, ed. by Heather O'Donoghue (London and Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1986), 49-76, pp. 50-1.

<sup>27</sup> Dante's use of Virgil is particularly relevant; Jones used much of the material of *The Aeneid* and the 'Fourth Eclogue' in an allegorical way, with the figure of Virgil appearing as a type of magician, prefiguring Merlin, and a type of prophet, as well as the obvious type of poet, prefiguring Jones himself. This will be analysed in greater detail in the section concerning 'Mabinog's Liturgy'.

<sup>28</sup> I use the preferred spelling of Jones and his correspondents.

Eb, and they are not placed within the context of a particular epoch. Whilst the witches do not appear by name elsewhere in *The Anathemata*, they are alluded to by type; their typological counterparts, such as the Sybil, have a pervasive influence throughout the poem, as I shall demonstrate.

In addition to the speaking *figurae* described above, Jones depicts symbolic figures without a voice, some of whom are named but some of whom remain anonymous. The most significant of these *figurae* are the cult-man/priest figure who is shown celebrating the Mass at the beginning and end of *The Anathemata* (*Ana.*, p. 49, pp. 242-3), an image that recurs within the poem as well (for example, *Ana.*, p. 219), and the sea-captain or mariner, who are both portrayed as salvational types and thus should be interpreted as prefiguring Christ. Although Jones was insistent that, for example, the captain was not the same captain throughout – that the voyages were separate in time, although they follow on geographically – when viewed typologically, the figure remains the same. The type is more significant than historical characteristics, hence the figure is unnamed, and referred to according to type: ‘captain’, ‘master’, ‘vine-juice skipper’, ‘old ichthys’, ‘triton’, ‘helmsman’, ‘macaroni admiral’ and ‘Jason’ are some of the terms used regarding this figure.<sup>29</sup>

The female goddess/muse is another influential type in the poem, but each goddess is referred to by name and according to her own mythological role. Although the various deities, occasionally including male gods, such as Clio (*Ana.*, p. 86) or Poseidon (*Ana.*, p. 110), are part of Jones’s symbolic language, they are not generally to be considered as *figurae* as they do not represent or prefigure anything other than their own attributes according to Greek or Roman mythology. The exception to this is when Jones uses mythological sources to prefigure the nativity or the Passion. However, his treatment of such sources is different to his treatment of the *figura* elsewhere; it is clearly the event that is being used as an analogy, rather than the characters of the gods or mythological figures; so the fact of

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<sup>29</sup> See *Ana.*, pp. 129, 96, 182, 96, 96, 107, 168, 121.

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the birth of the Roman people to Ilia is used as an event in *The Anathemata* to prefigure Christ's Nativity, but Ilia is not a type of Mary, Romulus and Remus are not types of Christ, and most importantly, the circumstances of the birth do not correspond to but contrast with the circumstances of the Nativity. Ilia's pregnancy was forced upon her; Mary consented and her *fiat* was essential to the Incarnation.

A similar analogy can be seen in Jones's treatment of Guinevere, who appears as a cameo in 'Mabinog's Liturgy'. She is typologically linked to the Virgin Mary, through her physical description and in her role as consort to the saviour-king (a common concept, from medieval theology onwards, is that Mary is an embodiment of the Church, which is also metaphorically described as the 'Bride of Christ'). However, Jones is wary of blasphemy, and thus takes pains to ensure that the reader is aware that he is drawing a comparison between the two figures, not conflating them. Guinevere is thus only a type of Mary to the extent that, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter, the drunken ship's captain is a type of Christ. The description of Guinevere at Midnight Mass is designed to evoke Mary, whose *fiat* enables the Nativity which is the subject of the particular Mass being celebrated, but Guinevere remains a dim reflection when contrasted with the light of Mary. Her renowned beauty is insignificant compared with that of Mary; she is not compared to any other figures within the poem. Guinevere's wilful adultery causes the fall of Arthur's kingdom; again, Mary's acceptance of the divine will results in the Nativity, which makes salvation possible. However, according to Christian typology, Mary herself is prefigured by Eve, and is named the 'Second Eve'. Guinevere's adultery may be interpreted as a succumbing to temptation, in the same way in which Eve succumbed to temptation in the Garden of Eden. As Eve's actions ultimately resulted in the Fall, exile from the Garden, so Guinevere's actions result in the fall of Arthur's kingdom and the dispersal of the knights. Guinevere is thus typologically linked with Eve, and with Mary through Eve.



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Mary herself is referred to frequently throughout *The Anthemata*, occasionally specifically but often as the unnamed 'she'. Again, though, she is not a type but is herself, in her own role as mother of Christ. There may be comparisons and allusions, such as the appeals of the mariners to their own mother-goddesses, including Aphrodite ('Paphia remember us that are indentured to your mother' – *Ana.*, p. 104), but she is, in Jones's view, an actual historical and biblical figure, the enabler of the promised redemption. This rigidity of perspective gives *The Anthemata* stability.

The Lady of the Pool represents, perhaps, the greatest composite *figura*. Her honorific title was given to her by her mother:

Though my ma was used to call me  
My fine Lady of the Pool (Ana. p. 159),

which is clarified by Jones in a footnote:

i.e. the Pool of London, and cf. Malory, IV, I. '...than hit befelle that Merlyon fell in a dotage on the damesell ... she was one of the damesels of the Lady of the Laake ... And ever she made Merlion good chere tulle sche had lerned of hym all maner of thynges that sche desired and he was assoted upon hir, that he might nat be from hir. (Ana., p. 159)

She gives her name as 'Elen Monica', entailing a plurality of significances. 'Elen' is a Welsh variant of 'Helen'. It is also a variant of 'Elayne', a name much used by Malory. Although the figure of the Lady of the Pool does not share obvious characteristics with Malory's Elaynes, Jones would have been well aware that dropping the 'H' would have suggested a connection between Elen Monica and Malory's characters, evoking the atmosphere of the *Morte D'Arthur*. However, this is not the main significance but a fortunate additional echo; Jones's inspiration for the name is 'the British Elen that found the Wood', whom he describes in the footnote as

Flavia Julia Helena, wife of Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great, associated in the Christian calendar with the tradition of the finding of the Wood of the Cross... there has gathered round her a separate secular body of legend of much beauty but of exceptional contradiction and tangle deriving from

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Welsh sources. In these tales she is variously the daughter of King Cole, of Eudaf of Arfon, of Eudav of Cornwall, the Roman roads in Wales bear her name, she is wife of Constantius, she is wife of Macsen Wledig (Maximus), she is Helen of the Hosts, she is builder of the Wall of London... In these stories she takes on something of her classical namesake... she is indeed almost Britannia herself. Not so often has one historic person gathered to herself such a diversity of significances. (*Ana.*, p. 131)

Jones is particularly interested in the association between St Helen and the Cross; her namesake, the lavender-seller, starts her monologue with a description of the various London churches at which 'Crouchmass' (the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross) will be celebrated shortly: 'the list reveals implicitly the symbolic connection between the speaker and the Virgin Mary, and between both of them and the "chthonic *matres* under the croft".<sup>30</sup> Her name is a reinforcement of the imagery contained within her speech, and is a reminder that she is a symbolic figure as well as a dramatic character.

The secondary role of St Helen was that of mother to Constantine, and the Lady of the Pool demonstrates maternal characteristics. Although Hague refers to her frequently as 'the girl', the impression given is that of an older woman. Dilworth describes her as 'late middle-aged and corpulent'.<sup>31</sup> Staudt describes her as:

a woman of middle age, a more mature and matronly figure than she was during her amorous adventures, but one who speaks from the wisdom of experience about human nature and human affairs. She is also a prophet of sorts, foretelling the abuse of the feminine principle that will accompany the rise of the Tudor empire, with its ensign Britannia, at the next stage of British history.<sup>32</sup>

Her many lovers indicate a certain level of experience and maturity, and comments such as 'Let's to terrestrial flesh, or/ bid goodnight, I thought' (*Ana.*, p.134) contradict Hague's projection of her as a young girl. The Lady of the Pool is a *figura* in the patristic typological sense, and serves a religious purpose, but her attributes are drawn mainly from the secular tradition. She is a composite of other female literary characters; although she is given certain unique characteristics, such as a specific dialectic, her primary function is typological, as the female guardian spirit of the city

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<sup>30</sup> *Turn of a Civilization*, p. 148.

<sup>31</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 215.

<sup>32</sup> *Turn of a Civilization*, p. 148.

and, by extension, the nation and also representative of the mother-type. Jones does not create, or attempt to create, a reality for her outside of the 'Lady of the Pool' section, because she is essentially symbolic. It is futile, therefore, to wonder whether she is herself a mother; what is certain is that she represents the potential to be a mother-figure, to have other maternal characters superimposed upon her own. Her second name, Monica, has just one reference – it is the name of the mother of St Augustine. Jones suggests that she is also referred to as 'Angela', 'because by a pious sentiment Anglia was named the "Dower of Mary"':

... and 'twere he that did name me when and as he would favour me, after the name of her dower; and in the secret garth and inmost bailey of him, where such unlike conjoinings are, he did meddle me with his Bountiful Mother and with that other, that nourished him bodily: these too were England, if with differences. (*Ana.*, p. 144)

Hague's commentary explains that through the clerk's confusion of the Lady of the Pool with 'his Alma Mater, his college: with his own mother: and with his mother country', Jones 'is enabled to elevate the lavender-seller into the figure of Britannia'.<sup>33</sup> In so doing, Jones recalls the patriotic song 'Rule Britannia', in which Britannia 'rules the waves', further strengthening the Lady of the Pool's links with mariners. As she enacts her transformation into the mermaid figure of Britannia, she tells the Captain that the 'aegis' she fashions of halliard-hemp is 'to garnish paps/that nourish such as must strike soundings in the gannet's bath' (*Ana.*, p. 146), a continuation of her maternal role. Her 'aurioled clerk' is not the only lover to have seen her as a mother-figure.<sup>34</sup> The stone-mason called her his 'Flora Dea' and 'Bona Dea', the 'female guardian deity of Rome, essentially oracular and representing the whole female principle, the mother-sister-wife of Faunus' (*Ana.*, p. 132). The lavender-seller represents the spirit of London; she is the *numina* of the

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<sup>33</sup> *Commentary*, p. 176.

<sup>34</sup> This is one of the examples that gives rise to Dilworth's interpretation of the figural scheme of *The Anathemata* as Freudian; however, this is to miss the underlying theological principles of 'The Lady of the Pool', which suggest that rather than looking towards Jocasta/Oedipus, the reader should instead turn to the Church as Mother and as 'Bride of Christ' trope (see Figure 4). There is, certainly, a blurring of the edges, but the basic distinction stands.



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place, the guardian of the City, a fact recognised by the mason when identifying her with the Roman deity. By calling her the Lady of the Pool, Jones also identifies her with the Thames, which is known as the Isis before and through Oxford, and thus reminiscent of the 'maudlin inceptor' (*Ana.*, p. 128), the Lady's first lover, who sits 'in oriel'd halls' (*Ana.*, p. 129), Magdalen and Oriel both being Oxford colleges.

The above associations are derived from name and place. In this, but also in temperament and spirit, Jones's Lady of the Pool reminds the reader of Joyce's Anna Livia Plurabelle and Molly Bloom, but above all, she most resembles Chaucer's Wife of Bath. Corcoran hints at the allusions to these two characters, though does not develop the suggestion:

This speech, and indeed Monica's 'character', are drawn partly from Chaucer's Wife of Bath, partly from Joyce's washerwoman in the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' section of *Finnegans Wake*. By making his lady a lavender-seller, Jones may well have been subliminally suggesting the relationship with Anna Livia in the etymological connection between 'lavender' and 'launder'; but in any case Ellen Monica enters into a kind of dialogue with Anna Livia when she 'answers' Anna's 'tell me the sound of the Findhorn's name' with '*this* is the sound of the Findhorn stone'. (*Ana*, 145) Certainly Elen Monica's is, like Anna Livia's, an immensely rich, elaborately layered and textured tongue which perhaps does for cockney in our literature something of what Joyce does, in 'Anna Livia Plurabelle', for Dublinese.<sup>35</sup>

Jones frequently acknowledged his debt to *Finnegans Wake*, and indeed, references the text in one of his footnotes to the 'Lady of the Pool' section. Kathleen Henderson Staudt summarises the Joycean influences as follows:

Joyce's Molly Bloom is perhaps the most vivid counterexample of a woman who speaks for herself in modernist literature, but she does so primarily as a realistic character. Her typic dimension is considerably less important in her famous monologue than is her realistic experience. Anna Livia Plurabelle, who partly inspired the character of Jones's Elen Monica, is developed in greater typological depth and breadth. She is a woman with love affairs, jealousies and desires, and at the same time, she embodies a cosmic feminine principle of renewal and reconciliation. But even Anna Livia does not speak for herself in the famous Joyce fragment, though we do hear her elsewhere in the *Wake*. She is spoken of by the washerwomen at the river's edge.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Corcoran, p. 59.

<sup>36</sup> *Turn of a Civilization*, pp. 143-4.

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As Anna Livia Plurabelle represents the River Liffey running through Dublin, so Elen Monica represents the River Thames at the heart of London. Through the Thames/Isis nomenclature, she is also connected to the goddess Isis, the mother goddess referred to elsewhere in *The Anathemata*, with whom Anna Livia Plurabelle is also associated. Elen is thus shown figurally both as a *numina*, or guardian spirit of London, and again as an embodiment of the maternal instinct.

Chaucer's Wife of Bath, as depicted in the General Prologue and in her own Prologue, bears many similarities to Elen. Both draw upon a large range of sources, though both deny having any formal learning: the Wife claims that she has learnt of the scholars whom she cites through her fifth husband, Janekyn the clerk.<sup>37</sup> Elen also claims to have acquired her knowledge from her lovers:

I said, I'm unversed, I said,  
nor a clerk of nigromantics, though for a short while put to  
school in a sisterhood,

[...]

Learned much of the dear God's created  
orbis from such as navigate and circumnavigate  
from tarpaulins and salts, clerks of nautics  
that thither from the known to the knowable  
and hither again to haven  
whose first premises, main-stay and Last Gospel is: That the  
Lode be constant  
yet dealing much  
in the peregrinations of Venus.  
Much have I learned of them. (Ana. p. 135)

She, like the Wife, places more value on knowledge gained through experience than knowledge acquired through formal learning (the Wife comments 'Experience, though noon auctoritee/ Were in this world, is right ynogh for me...'),<sup>38</sup> and yet both prove familiar with, and happy to paraphrase, classical sources in order to support their arguments.<sup>39</sup> The depiction of Elen is humorous but in an inclusive way,

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<sup>37</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, III.670-710.

<sup>38</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, III.1-2.

<sup>39</sup> It must be questioned whether Jones was also mocking himself a little in this section, for he often claimed that he had no learning at all, that he was no scholar, and so on, and yet, as his footnotes show, he often paraphrased or alluded to scholarly texts for the purposes of

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celebrating her vitality and commonsense. Like the Wife, she has a lust for life, and a lust for men, but unlike the Wife, she displays no coarseness. This may be due to the sophisticated language with which Jones endows her; 'let's to terrestrial flesh' expresses her practical nature but is also witty and ironic. Elsewhere, when describing the intimacy with the mason, Elen paraphrases the *Song of Songs* (*Ana.*, p. 133). Whilst she may have a sexual appetite like that of the Wife of Bath, she portrays a spirituality that is lacking in Chaucer's character; Elen Monica too is a *figura* of Eve.<sup>40</sup>

Although they may represent very different internal attributes, Elen's external attributes are more obviously modelled on those of the Wife of Bath and help to create the humour and sympathy at the heart of *The Anathemata*. In this manner, Elen Monica can be seen to be a literary type as well as a symbol of the maternal guardian spirit. The complexity of the depiction illustrates Jones's multiple requirements for validation; he has need of the literary type in order to make the figure of the Lady of the Pool as maternal spirit and *numina* of London valid in the twentieth century. Whilst the concept of *numinae* may have been lost over the centuries, Jones could be sure that the Wife of Bath still had resonance in the contemporary world and by reproducing identifiable traits of the literary prototype, the author creates a prefiguring correspondence for his character, rooting her amongst recognised figures from the Western literary canon. Helen Cooper has remarked that 'the surface impression given by the [Wife of Bath's] Prologue is of an

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his poetry. Jones does not, however, satirise the Lady of the Pool for her scraps of knowledge; unlike the Wife, she is given no self-interested purpose to serve – her monologue is in praise of Mary and Christ, and thus the acquired learning that she demonstrates becomes part of her language of worship. There is no deviousness or cunning in her manner, but a sense of wonder. Although Elen gently derides both the clerk and the mason for their displays of learning, it is not for the knowledge itself that she mocks them, but for their insularity and detachment from everyday life, exemplified by the mason invoking the patron deity of Rome in Latin whilst embracing the Lady of the Pool in a back alley.

<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, despite her many lovers and her obviously maternal characteristics, there is no suggestion in the text that Elen Monica is in fact a mother. Again, parallels may be drawn with the Wife of Bath, whose five husbands appear not to have fathered children by her.

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accurate imitation of rambling garrulity, jumping from one idea to another and occasionally losing itself',<sup>41</sup> and quotes from the 'Wife of Bath's Prologue':

But now, sire, lat me se, what I shal seyn.  
A ha! by God, I have my tale ageyn (l.585-6)

Elen Monica adopts this trait, frequently digressing and then returning to her original topic:

But to my tale  
that I regaled my mason with – where were we?  
Why yes; (Ana., p. 147)

Again, Cooper says of 'The Wife of Bath's Tale',

Chaucer has caught perfectly the inveterate talker's trick of starting on the next subject before completing the previous one, so that interruption becomes almost impossible... Behind her apparent free association of ideas, however, Chaucer provides a distinct structure for her speech that moves from the general to the increasingly particular.<sup>42</sup>

In the same way, David Jones encourages the reader's sympathy for the Captain, caught by the Lady of the Pool, although there are perhaps more resonances with the detained wedding-guest of Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner' than with Chaucer's pilgrims. Although neither the Ancient Mariner nor the Wife of Bath will allow interruption, their purposes are very different – the Mariner is compelled to tell his story in order to achieve redemption and ultimately salvation. In this sense, the Lady's monologue, centred as it is upon the redemptive power of the Cross and the salvational voyage of the vessel, has greater affinities with the Mariner's subject. Both the Mariner and the Lady of the Pool are concerned that their chosen audience, the wedding-guest and the Captain, are listening to the story. The Lady of the Pool continually refers to the Captain in the second person and asks his opinions: 'Captain, storm or hurricane, cap-tin/ *you* should know!' However,

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<sup>41</sup> Helen Cooper, *Oxford Guides to Chaucer: The Canterbury Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 147.

<sup>42</sup> Cooper, p. 147.

she frequently does not wait for his response – his voice is heard just once in the section, in reply to the question quoted above. Elsewhere, it is implied that he has spoken, or at least made an expression of response, but the Lady's narrative flow is not interrupted, although she acknowledges his reaction:

O, they was real  
bodily quicksand mammals alright, captain, though granted  
of a Faëry genus....  
May be, cap-tin, may be, but – and speaking under y'r pro-  
fessional correction – mirages dont commonly talk... (Ana., p. 143)

In accordance with Jones's working methods, the Chaucerian influences are not limited to a depiction of characteristics of the Lady of the Pool. Throughout his work, it can be seen that an influence on a particular part will be all-pervasive, affecting language, style and content. Thus in order to recreate the atmosphere of Chaucerian London, Jones draws upon one of Chaucer's best known pilgrims, the Wife of Bath. However, in a more subtle manner, he manipulates Chaucerian language and quotations, often removing far from their original context, in order to recall aspects of Chaucer's work and invoke associations that might not otherwise be made.

On the front pages of his copy of *The Canterbury Tales*, Jones has made a series of references, usually consisting of a page number and keyword, as indicated earlier in this thesis.<sup>43</sup> It is notable that the majority of these references seem to be invoked by *In Parenthesis* or *The Anathemata* – sometimes in both poems and in very different contexts. Interestingly, the majority of annotated quotations in the Skeat edition have correspondences within the Lady of the Pool section of *The*

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<sup>43</sup> W.W. Skeat (Ed.), *The Student's Chaucer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897) (NLW shelfmark: DJ Collection 484).

The David Jones Collection at the National Library of Wales includes the 1897 Skeat edition detailed above. This book contains annotations by Jones in various colours, suggesting that he returned to it as a source on several different occasions. It would seem that Jones used his books as a 'word-hoard' to which he returned again and again, and that certain phrases or words became so deeply entrenched in his mind that they became stock-phrases in his work. A study of Jones's annotations reveals some interesting sources, in some cases contradicting established explanation of his use of quotations.

*Anathemata*, although not exclusively so.<sup>44</sup> Of the quotations annotated in Jones's copy of Chaucer, and subsequently used in the writing of *The Anathemata*, some are anomalous enough to be easily identified within the poem, whilst others are so deeply integrated into the narrative that they are not instantly recognisable as quotations from Chaucer.<sup>45</sup>

Elsewhere, however, Chaucerian imagery has become so much a part of Jones's vocabulary that he neither references it nor 'sets it' in the text but incorporates it into his own narrative in an instinctive manner, such as in the 'wind, wind' passage adapted from *Troilus and Criseyde* and discussed in chapter three. Sometimes it is the actions of a character within *The Anathemata* which recall descriptions from *The Canterbury Tales*, as the Lady of the Pool shares some of the traits of the Wife of Bath, described previously; Elen's stone-mason lover, who so frustrates her with his use of Latin phrases such as '*Flora Dea*', '*Bona Dea*', '*Roma aurea Roma*' and '*REDITOR LVCIS ÆTERNÆ*', so that she asks 'What rogue's cant is this?', brings to mind the Summoner in the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*. Jones annotated the passage with a large pencil cross, suggesting that he may have had the description in mind whilst writing *The Anathemata*:

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<sup>44</sup> Jones had used the book some years earlier, when writing *In Parenthesis*, although he made greatest use of 'The Knight's Tale' and its descriptive imagery, in order to depict the battlefield of the Somme. Quotations such as 'With knotty knarry bareyn trees olde/ Of stubbes sharp and hidous to biholde' (Skeat, p. 443, l.1978) bring to mind the damage inflicted by the heavy artillery bombardments on the ancient woods, and have an immediate resonance, whereas the line 'y-clenched overthwart and endelong', also annotated in the Skeat edition, would not appear to be so obviously connected. However, Jones inverts the phrase in Part VII, describing the attack on Mametz Wood – an example of a direct quotation used out of context, adding an extra dimension to the narrative and connecting it to an existing body of literature: 'and Jesus Christ – they're coming through the floor, endthwart and overlong:/ Jerry's through on the flank...' (*I.P.*, p. 180).

<sup>45</sup> An example of the former is the reference to Absolon in 'The Lady of the Pool'. Chaucer's wording is from *The Legend of Good Women: Balade*, 'Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere... Hyde ye your beautes Isoude and Elayne' (Skeat p. 356), from which Jones produces 'clear gilt-tressed enough to hang a dozen Absolons' (*Ana.*, p. 143). He quotes the Chaucer reference in a footnote, suggesting that its inclusion within the text was a conscious decision and recognising its anomalous appearance in a list of characteristics of mermaids.

Than wolde he speke no word but Latyn.  
A fewe termes hadde he, two or three,  
That he had lerned out of som decree;  
No wonder is, he herde it al the day<sup>46</sup>

By quoting Chaucer's words out of context, Jones strips them of association with their original subject-matter but retains their potential to evoke a particular epoch;<sup>47</sup> in the new context, they inspire a sense of familiarity and reassurance. There is an appropriateness about Jones's recourse to Chaucer for the 'Lady of the Pool' section, and in his borrowings from Chaucer to create the Lady of the Pool's character through her own monologue, as Chaucer himself is noted for his ability to create the sense of character through language, in particular in the 'Wife of Bath's Prologue' and 'Tale'. Helen Cooper comments:

Chaucer's ear for the colloquial is here shown at its best; the speech rhythms, idioms, interjections, choice of words, all convey the sense of a distinct character.<sup>48</sup>

The same could be said of Jones and the 'Lady of the Pool'; she is the most distinct character to emerge from *The Anathemata*, and although this is in part due to the length of that particular section, it is also largely a result of Jones's creation of a particular speech idiom and rhythm as well as his use of dialect and colloquialisms.

Another of Jones's characters, Eb Bradshaw in 'Redriff', is also depicted in a specific idiom and with a particular speech rhythm; Eb is the only figure other than Elen Monica to be given a monologue. Like the 'Lady of the Pool', which it precedes, 'Redriff' is focused upon one figure, Eb; again, it is structured as a one-sided

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<sup>46</sup> Skeat, p. 427, l.638-640. Indeed, Jones's own experiences of stone-masonry, working with Laurie Cribb and others at Capel-y-Ffin, and his many inscriptions demonstrate that Chaucer's wording could as well apply to him, for his Latin was learnt largely from copying prayers and hymns. The knowledge adds a realistic aspect to the depiction of a medieval artisan who is fond of quoting Latin to an uncomprehending audience; there is as well the suggestion of a little self-mockery, for Jones quotes from the Prologue to the 'Prioress's Tale' in his preface to *The Anathemata*: 'I can no more expound in this matere; I lerne song, I can but smal grammere' to describe himself.

<sup>47</sup> See discussion in chapter three; the use of the Chaucerian imagery of *Troilus and Criseyde* is not intended to recall that specific work, but to evoke the fourteenth century through the use of medieval language.

<sup>48</sup> Cooper, p. 154.

conversation, although this time with the representative of a ship's captain, rather than with the captain himself. The 'real' model for the Eb Bradshaw of *The Anathemata* was Jones's paternal grandfather, Ebenezer Bradshaw, who, like his literary namesake, was a mast- and block-maker from Rotherhithe, which was also called Redriff by local people (for the purposes of this thesis, the character depicted in *The Anathemata* will be referred to as 'Eb Bradshaw' whilst 'Ebenezer Bradshaw' shall be used to refer to Jones's grandfather, the person). Jones could not recollect Ebenezer personally, but his mother told him many facts and stories concerning her father which were then used by Jones in creating his fictional character.<sup>49</sup> He is therefore a literal forefather as well as a literary one, an intensification of his symbolic value in the poem.

In his roles as paternal type and as carpenter, Eb Bradshaw is associated with Joseph, Mary's husband, and also with Noah. His specific line of work carries with it its own symbolic significance, exploited by Jones, who makes the allegorical identification of a ship's mast with the Cross specific in 'Redriff'. Eb, commissioned to make a new mast, concludes his monologue by referring to the creation of the Cross, the 'Rootless Tree' (*Ana.*, p. 121), prefiguring the section 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' in which the identification of ship and church is further developed. In its introduction of the imagery of the Cross, it also conditions the reader for the content of the following section, and Elen Monica's exposition of the celebration of Crouchmass in the City. More significantly, however, it shows the progression from the universal to the specific, and with the foreshadowing of the Crucifixion implicit in the mention of the Cross, 'Redriff' also recalls the Nativity, which will be announced in 'Mabinog's Liturgy'. As Jones emphasises in 'The Lady of the Pool', the acquiescence of Mary was necessary for Christ's human manifestation; 'The Lady of the Pool' thus celebrates Mary's willingness, as a precursor to celebrating the events of the Nativity in 'Mabinog's Liturgy' in which Joseph is described as a

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<sup>49</sup> *Commentary*, p. 152.



'jobbing carpenter' (*Ana.*, p. 207). His role is commemorated and prefigured in 'Redriff', through Eb Bradshaw, father and carpenter.

However, it is another father and carpenter, Noah, who is more immediately recalled in 'Redriff'. A prefiguration of Christ, ensuring the salvation of the human race through the building of the Ark, Noah is also referred to elsewhere in *The Anathemata* in this context,<sup>50</sup> as well as in the excerpt from *The Dying Gaul* quoted at the beginning of this chapter. In his use of language, though, Jones does not allude to the Genesis version of the story; the narrative of this section suggests the influence of the medieval mystery plays. The depiction of Eb Bradshaw as carpenter, and the extent to which the mystery cycles inspired Jones will be discussed in the next chapter, but it seems certain that Eb Bradshaw's monologue in 'Redriff' draws upon the imagery and ideas presented in at least two of the plays featuring Noah and the Ark, as well as a play depicting the making of the Cross.<sup>51</sup>

In comparison with Elen Monica's monologue, Eb's speech is brief, though impassioned. He too is defined through dialect; whilst he speaks with a Docklands accent, his idioms, such as 'stood caps in hand' and 'fix him dandy' are those of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth- centuries, thus placing him in both locality and time. Whilst Elen Monica's names are chosen for their cultural significance, Eb's name is an actual name, the name of Jones's grandfather. The choice of name thus has personal significance for the author, and is an act of commemoration, as discussed in chapter two; however, this association with remembering is further strengthened by the meaning of the name 'Ebenezer' which does in fact have a cultural significance too, of which Jones would not have been oblivious. 'Ebenezer'

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<sup>50</sup> C.f. 'the Saving Barque that Noë was master of' (*Ana.*, p. 150).

<sup>51</sup> Dilworth's article, 'David Jones's *The Deluge*: Engraving the Structure of the Modern Long Poem', in *Journal of Modern Literature*, XX (1994), 5-30, is of value in assessing Jones's understanding and depiction of Christian typology, and particularly the portrayal of Noah as a prefiguration of Christ, in his illustrations for the Chester Play of the *Deluge*, and confirms the opinion expressed in this chapter and others that Jones fully understood medieval typology. The article, however, does not relate this discussion to *The Anathemata*, except to remark that the mirroring symmetry of the illustrations reflects the symmetry of the poem (p. 26). I interpret this observation as further evidence for the structural theory I propose in chapter six.

is the “stone of help”, name of the memorial stone set up by Samuel after the victory of Mizpeh.<sup>52</sup> In commemorating his grandfather on the personal level, Jones honours forebears on a community level, and simultaneously acknowledges the act of remembering God; this third aspect is, however, a lucky coincidence, rather than a primary motive of Part IV.

Despite the familial relationship, it could be argued that Eb Bradshaw is as much a mythological figure as Elen, as Jones did not know him as a person. The Eb of ‘Redriff’ is therefore a composite character based on the stories Jones heard from his mother and other relatives, a hero of oral narratives. Jones’s knowledge of his grandfather was gained in a manner not dissimilar to that embodied in the medieval *vitae*, which placed the central character in the familiar setting of the community, as discussed in chapter two. The phrase ‘boozed Murphy’s bill’ (p.119), used by the original Ebenezer Bradshaw, was known to Jones through such means, as René Hague describes in his *Commentary*. The tales, told and re-told, take on some of the qualities of myth, particularly given Jones’s propensity to confuse and conflate memories of facts with memories of fiction.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, myth is interwoven with the London speech rhythms of Eb Bradshaw’s monologue – whilst phrases such as ‘oil your elbow’ and ‘pile a mint in sterling’ may well have originated from Ebenezer Bradshaw, other metaphors are taken from mythological sources, such as ‘when Proserpine unbinds the Baltic’, and are unlikely to have been used by Ebenezer. Whereas the colloquialisms are suggestive of a particular epoch, the mythological references departicularise the character. In this way, Eb is depicted as much more than a representative of a nineteenth-century skilled craftsman; the mythological imagery contributes to a figural presentation of him. In his transformation of wood into ship components, Eb is linked with the cult-man of *The Anathemata*, ‘making

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<sup>52</sup> *S.O.E.D.*. See 1 Samuel 7: 12.

<sup>53</sup> This can be seen particularly in his retelling of an incident from his own childhood, when he witnessed the City Imperial Volunteers on a recruiting parade, in which he draws parallels with the Arthurian legend of Peredur.

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this thing other', as well as with the captain figure, through his identification with Noah, as will be discussed later. However, he is also a prototype of David Jones the person and David Jones the poet, obviously through the use of Jones's grandfather's name and more subtly through the Welsh definition, cited by Jones, of poets as 'carpenters of song' (*E&A*, p. 29).

The three witches, or wyrd sisters, of 'Mabinog's Liturgy' are the only named figures in *The Anathemata* other than Elen Monica and Eb Bradshaw. Like Elen and Eb, they are portrayed through dialogue rather than description. The names of the sisters are Marged, Mal Fay, and Mabli. The name 'Mal Fay' carries obvious connotations of Malory's Morgan Le Fay in the *Morte D'Arthur*, though no further direct link is made between Jones's character and the enchantress. The medieval associations of the three names suggest an Arthurian setting, which is further supported by the description of Arthur's court at the celebration of Mass which immediately precedes the introduction of the three sisters. 'Mabli', the Welsh variant of 'Mabel', meaning 'blessed or beautiful', reinforces the Welsh element of *The Anathemata*, whilst 'Marged' is a Middle English variant of 'Margaret'. As well as meaning 'sorrow', the name 'Margaret' is associated with the pearl – an image that recurs throughout *The Anathemata*, in the form of the margaron, and discussed in chapter two.

The three figures are types of the sybil or prophetess; the alliteration of the names reinforces their unity, with the Virgin Mary as well as with each other, whilst their prophetic function unifies the tenses of past, present and future, as suggested previously. Notwithstanding this, each figure is distinguished from her sisters by certain characteristics. Mabli, the most junior of the witches, has no voice, and seemingly little knowledge or experience. Her presence is indicated by the orders given by the older witches, such as 'run and fetch the codex, Mabli'. Mal Fay expresses resentment of the attention paid to the Virgin Mary ('Yet they style her/ Marchioness of the Three Lands and Mundi Domina. This/ seems much for a

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creature?' – *Ana.*, p. 209), as well as of Marged's knowledge, for which she mocks her: 'you in y'r stockings of blue!' (*Ana.*, p. 213). Marged is the most intellectual and rational of the three, arguing in favour of Mary's pre-eminence. Time is distorted in this passage; Mal Fay accuses Marged of acquiring her blue stockings 'in Maridunum market' although it is also suggested that she read the Greats 'in the meadows of Tÿ Crist, or where are parked the fallow hinds by Pontrhydfodlen, or within the oriel'd light under the hung dark sword of the lord Edwart o Segeint' (*Ana.*, p. 211), that is to say in the meadows of Christ Church, the deer parks of Magdalen or the hall of Oriel College, Oxford, suggesting a medieval setting far removed from the time of the Passion.

Unlike Eb Bradshaw and the Lady of the Pool, the three witches do not dominate 'their' section, but interrupt it, separating a description of Guinevere at Christmas Mass and Jones's own reminiscences of a Christmas on the battlefield during the First World War. The juxtaposition of the witches' squabbling conversation with the silent tableau of the fictional events at a mythical court and the realism of the historical reportage lends humour to the figures, but also contributes a sense of ethereality. Again unlike Eb and Elen, the witches are not grounded in a particular epoch but are outside time. 'Mabinog's Liturgy' centres on the events of the Nativity, but also of the Crucifixion. Although the title 'Mabinog's Liturgy' derives from the Welsh *Mabinogion*, or 'tales of infancy', the section opens in

the seven hundred and eighty-third year of the Urbs, the  
Mother, fourteen years since the recovery of the Eagles,  
forty-two come the 7<sup>th</sup> before the Ides of July since they  
decreed  
Peace in Our Time  
the whole world expectant of war.

(*Ana.* p. 185-6)

Jones states that he 'supposed the Incarnation to have been in 5BC or 4BC that is AUC 749 or 750, and to have followed the tradition that our Lord was in his thirty-third or thirty-fourth year at the time of his Passion' (*Ana.*, p.184), thus the opening of 'Mabinog's Liturgy' is set in the year of the Crucifixion, not the year of the

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Nativity. The temporal setting is made more specific – it is April, the ‘early month/ with late frost... But eighteen days to the Maying’; that is to say, the fourteenth of April, the eve of Good Friday.<sup>54</sup> However, by recalling the Annunciation within this temporal location of Easter (*Ana.* pp. 188-9), these lines set the tone of the section – the Passion cannot be contemplated without a recollection of Christ’s birth, and Mary’s acquiescence to the will of God, and likewise, mention of the Nativity must necessarily involve the sacrifice of the Crucifixion. One event must recall the other in a type of anamnesis, a convention repeated four pages later:

In the first month  
in the week of metamorphosis  
the fifth day past  
at about the sixth hour after  
the dusk of it  
toward the ebb-time  
in the median silences  
for a second time  
again in middle night-course  
he girds himself.  
Within doors, attended  
with lamps lighted.  
No hill-*pastores* lauding  
for Burning Babe  
for Shepherd-Bearer.  
Nor now *far-duces* star-night  
nor swaddlings now: (Ana. p. 193)

The two midnight scenes are those of the Nativity at Bethlehem and the Betrayal in the Garden of Gethsemane, here conflated to demonstrate their co-dependence. The ‘week of metamorphosis’ is the week of the Passover, whilst the time is ‘near midnight of the night Thursday-Friday’;<sup>55</sup> however, by stating that there are no shepherds or magi present (‘*far-duces*’ allowing Jones to use a favourite word, ‘*dux*’, though obviously referring to the story of the Nativity), Jones transposes the narrative to Bethlehem and the time of the Nativity through the use of the negative. From this point forwards in ‘Mabinog’s Liturgy’, the time is Christmas-time, although not necessarily the year of the birth of Christ. Elsewhere in the section, Jones asks

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<sup>54</sup> *Commentary*, pp. 209-214.

<sup>55</sup> *Commentary*, p. 214.

of Manawydan, 'Will he Latin that too/ to get some Passion into his Infancy?/ By the Mabon!! he will/ when he runes the Croglith' (pp. 200-1). Hague provides the following explanation:

Will he express *mabinogion* (tale of infancy, and so tale of Christ's nativity) in Latin, and so, by learning first of the Nativity proceed to the Passion? This he will do when he reads ('runes', learns the mystery of) the 'Lesson of the Cross' (the Passion) as it is sung in all the Christian churches.<sup>56</sup>

It is significant that in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', the narrative links the Passion to the Nativity by way of the Annunciation, which, like the Passion, took place in spring, but which presaged the Nativity. The Annunciation is thus given a greater emphasis than Jones's use of liturgical sources would warrant; although the Catholic Church of course stresses the importance of Mary, the use of the Annunciation to link the Passion and Nativity is Jones's own. Not only does this demonstrate Jones's thought patterns, and the way in which one idea or image leads to another, but it also highlights a recurring theme in *The Anathemata* – the concept of motherhood and more particularly, of pregnancy and expectation, and the subsequent fulfilment of that expectation, whether literally or metaphorically. This is closely linked with the concept of prophecy and fulfilment, through the Annunciation, which took the form of a prophecy of the conception and birth of Christ. It is no coincidence, therefore, that in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', the section of *The Anathemata* which features the Nativity as its central event, the figures used to express Jones's thoughts are female and prophetic. The future, expressed through prophecy, is connected to the ability of women to bear children; Jones associates the female sybilline figure with childbirth earlier in *The Anathemata*. In 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', the muse Clio is mid-wife to Ilia, or Rhea Silvia, as she gives birth to Romulus and Remus:

How long, since  
on the couch of time  
departed myth  
left ravished fact

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<sup>56</sup> *Commentary*, p. 218.

till Clio, the ageing mid-wife, found her  
nine calends gone  
huge in labour with the Roman people? (Ana., p. 86)

thus establishing the typological precedent for the three witches of 'Mabinog's Liturgy', who deliver the narrative of the Nativity, 'assisting' the birth.

Jones claims a classical authority for this sybilline association; although the influence of Virgil can be detected in several places in the poem, the allusions are explicit both in the section quoted above and in 'Mabinog's Liturgy'. The line 'huge in labour with the Roman people' is a translation of a line from *The Aeneid*, '*tantae molis erat Romanum condere gentum*'.<sup>57</sup> However, Virgil's 'Fourth ("Messianic") Eclogue' provides the analogy for 'Mabinog's Liturgy', with its supposed prophecy of the birth of Christ by the Cumaean Sybil.<sup>58</sup> Mabli, the youngest of the witches, is sent by the others to 'fetch the codex' and returns with Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* ('No, no, not Ofydd, not the *Ars* – how your mind runs – and we've metamorphoses enough')<sup>59</sup> instead of the requested 'chemist's book... the First Book with the ten shepherd-songs, *cerdd* number four, should be'.<sup>60</sup> The witch's monologue then proceeds to paraphrase the 'Fourth Eclogue':

Yes, yes, here it is, more or less:  
Time is already big by sacred commerce with the Time-  
less courses. Fore-chose and lode-bright, here is the  
maiden, Equity! The chthonic old Sower restores the  
Wastelands. The First-Begotten, of the caer of heaven  
(which is a long way off!), would bring his new orient down for our alignment.  
(Ana., p. 213)

Jones's choice of words in his translation from the Latin is noticeable for its echo of his earlier translation from the *Aeneid*: 'Time is already big by sacred

<sup>57</sup> Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Book I, 11, cited in the *Commentary*, p. 95.

<sup>58</sup> I have used the Latin text and English commentary provided in *Virgil's Prophecy on the Saviour's Birth: The Fourth Eclogue*, ed. and trans. Paul Carns (Chicago, London: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1918) throughout this chapter, but have translated the Latin words literally and individually where relevant.

<sup>59</sup> Ana. p. 213. The reference to metamorphoses recalls the temporal setting at the beginning of the section – the 'week of metamorphosis' – as well as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

<sup>60</sup> Ana., p. 213. Jones's footnote to p. 201 explains that the modern Welsh word for 'chemist' is 'fferyllydd' or 'an agent of Virgil'.

commerce with the timeless courses' recalls Ilia 'huge in labour with the Roman people'.<sup>61</sup> There is an explicit reference to pregnancy and expectation in Jones's translation which was merely implicit in the 'born of' of the original Latin wording, *magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo*. The 'Fourth Eclogue' was often interpreted as prophesying the birth of the Saviour; Jones uses it here not as prophecy, but as corroboration of prophecy. The issue being debated by the witches is not the birth of the child, but the significance of the mother. Mal Fay's resentment at the pre-eminence of Mary is the cause of the argument, and appropriately, Marged justifies it through recourse to Virgil, the 'magician poet', paraphrasing him to declare that 'Fore-chose and lode-bright, here is the maiden' (*Ana.*, p.213). This interpretation is further supported by the quotation of the sixth line of the Eclogue, 'iam redit virgo' ('now the virgin returns') on p. 219, in a passage incorporating Augustine, Virgil and the Christmas Mass.<sup>62</sup> In her justification of Mary's exalted position, Marged again paraphrases Virgil. Her declaration that

... *Someone* must be chosen and fore-  
chosen – it stands to reason! After all there should be  
solidarity in woman. No great thing but what there's a  
woman behind it, sisters. Begetters of all huge endeavour  
we are.

(*Ana.*, pp. 213-4)

contains echoes of *dux femina facti*.<sup>63</sup>

However, the aptness of the citation of Virgil is not just due to his reputation as a magician and alchemist,<sup>64</sup> or even to his own status as the son of another

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<sup>61</sup> Hague notes only that the 'Time is already big' declaration is 'an ingenious amalgam of the fourth ('Messianic') eclogue with Scripture, *Commentary*, p. 228.

<sup>62</sup> This passage also includes the quotation '*Iam redit Apollo*'. It was in Apollo's name that the Oracle at Delphi issued prophecies, and this connection 'allows' the mention of Apollo in an otherwise female-centric section of *The Anathemata*.

<sup>63</sup> *Aeneid*, I.364.

<sup>64</sup> Earlier in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', Jones prefigures this association of Virgil with Merlin and the magical arts ('Did he and his back-room team/ contrive this gleaming spoil from fungus by Virgil's arts in/ Merlin's Maridunum? Or, did he barter 'em, ready-made-/ up, in Bristol? He might have done either, the old conjurer!' – *Ana.*, p. 201).



Mary,<sup>65</sup> but to his use of the Cumaean Sybil: 'the sixth book of the *Aeneid* became the model for descriptions of oracular consultations and served to establish the Cumaean Sybil as a familiar figure in Roman literature'.<sup>66</sup> Virgil cites his authority for the fourth Eclogue as an earlier prophecy by the Sybil: *Ultima Cumæi/ venit iam carminis ætas* ('Now comes the last age of the Cumaean songs'). The three witches are thus linked to the content of the text as well as to the author; since they are sybilline types themselves, the prophecy of the original Sybil carries greater authority than theological sources. Jones ensures that his literary sources comply with the demands of his typologically-chosen characters; whereas the textual references in 'The Lady of the Pool' included Chaucerian and Augustinian works, reflecting the influence of the Wife of Bath and Augustine's mother in informing the 'type' of Elen Monica, in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', the allusions are to sibylline texts, emphasising the figural basis of the witches.

Jones had a particular regard for the Cumaean Sybil. His views of the Sybil were informed by his reading of Jackson Knight's *Cumæan Gates* and his other works on Virgil, as well as his subsequent correspondence and conversations with the author on the topic.<sup>67</sup> Jackson Knight averred that the 'Cumæan Sybil is then Vergil's, and in all probability, Homer's, Calypso, the guardian of the Cave',<sup>68</sup> an association exploited by Jones, who could thus incorporate the Sybil/Calypso duality into his typological scheme. Despite this academic influence, the real reason for his instinctive fondness for the Sybil above all other mythical figures lies in the first

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<sup>65</sup> One of the witches says of Virgil: 'our pious father, Maro, Pentref Andes, son of Maia, queen of Mantua, in Gallia Transpadana. There's always a Mari in it, I warrant you!' (*Ana.*, p. 213).

<sup>66</sup> H.W. Parke, *Sybil and Sybilline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, ed. B.C. McGing (London, New York: Routledge, 1988).

<sup>67</sup> W. F. Jackson Knight, *Cumæan Gates* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936). A footnote to p.191 of *The Anathemata* demonstrates the extent to which Jackson Knight's discussions corresponded with Jones's own interests: 'In his book *Cumæan Gates* Mr Jackson Knight, on page 30, writes, "Calypso is very much like a sibyl" and on page 32 he develops this idea. In his *Vergil's Troy*, page 93, the same author refers to the possible connection between Calypso ("she that covers") and the name Helen and the association of that name with moon-goddess and tree-goddess.'

<sup>68</sup> W. F. Jackson Knight, *Vergil, Epic and Anthropology* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1967), p. 167.

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verse of the hymn *Dies Irae*, a quotation from which is used as the subtitle on the first page of the poem: 'THE ANATHEMATA: TESTE DAVID CUM SIBYLLA' ('as David with the Sybil witnessed' – *Ana.*, p. 49). At the time of writing of *The Anathemata*, the *Dies Irae* was still included as part of the rubric of the Mass of All Souls' Day, as well as of the Funeral Mass (it was dropped in 1969); however, it originated as a personal meditation on the Gospel for the first Sunday of Advent, and had first been included in the Liturgy as an Advent hymn (the current Latin Breviary also suggests its use in the context of Advent). Given Jones's preoccupation with the simultaneous presentation of the Nativity and the Crucifixion through the Mass in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', discussed earlier in this chapter, the *Dies Irae*'s dual function as hymn of both Advent and death is particularly well-suited to Jones's purposes in this chapter. The presence of the Sibyl is made implicit in 'Mabinog's Liturgy' through the explicit references to the text; the line 'teste David cum Sibylla' underlies every allusion to the hymn in *The Anathemata*, because the statements made in the hymn are justified by the evidence of David and the Sibyl. Jones uses both indirect and direct quotations in his integration of the hymn into the poem. The 'judgmatic smokes of autumn' (*Ana.*, p.197) refer to the ashes created by the Day of Judgment<sup>69</sup> (*Dies Irae, dies illa/ solvet sæclum in favilla*)<sup>70</sup> whilst 'Ne me perdas illa die'<sup>71</sup> (*Ana.*, p. 208) is a direct transcription.

Having thus established the influence of the Sibyl on the text of 'Mabinog's Liturgy', the typological influence can be more closely examined. It is evident that as the Cumaean Sybil was a divine agent, responsible for prophesying the Nativity (through Virgil's fourth Eclogue) and the Day of Judgement (through the *Dies Irae*), so her typological descendants, the three witches, are also agents and are the means by which Jones explores theological arguments – and in particular, the argument concerning the agency of Mary. As Marged concludes, human salvation is

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<sup>69</sup> *Commentary*, p. 216.

<sup>70</sup> *Dies Irae*, l.1-2.

<sup>71</sup> *Dies Irae*, l. 27.

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offered through the sacrifice of Christ, but the Incarnation is made possible in the first instance by the acquiescence of Mary given on behalf of mankind: 'It all hangs on the fiat. If her fiat was the Great Fiat, nevertheless, seeing the solidarity, we participate in the fiat – or can indeed, by our fiats – it stands to reason.' (*Ana.*, p. 215).

The three witches, whilst being types of the Sybil, are not the same type. This is made possible by the divergence of the original Sybil into various sybils, each with her own peculiar characteristics – the differentiation of the witches is not innovative but an imitation of classical belief.<sup>72</sup> However, in *The Anathemata*, the Cumaean Sybil is the only classical Sybil to be referred to by that name; the witches take on the properties of the other sybilline muses and nymphs to whom Jones constantly alludes. Marged, who is 'learned... in the historias' and 'conversant with the annals', has affinities with Clio, the muse of history and a significant presence within *The Anathemata*. Mal Fay's capriciousness and resentment suggests another nymph, Calypso, who 'shuffled the marked pack, veiling with early the late' in 'Rite and Fore-time' (*Ana.*, p.74) and who will 'only be moping/over an old tale' (*Ana.*, p.191).<sup>73</sup> Calypso is described as 'sybilline enough' (*Ana.*, p.191), along with Persephone. Mabli's youthful naivety and love of romance, demonstrated by her erroneous presentation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* instead of the requested Virgil's *Eclogues*, recalls Persephone, along with the other girlish sybilline figures who are presented without dialogue elsewhere in the poem such as Flora and Telphousa – the goddess who gave her name to Delphi, the home of the Oracle. The apparent anachronism of the witches as *figurae* of the Sybil lies in the fact that although their prophecy concerns the redemptive promise of the birth of Christ and the importance of Mary's acquiescence, the witches themselves speak in the past tense of the

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<sup>72</sup> Parke, *passim*.

<sup>73</sup> Calypso is most notable for her refusal to allow Ulysses to leave her island, until eventually overruled by Zeus. Mal Fay's refusal to accept Mary's pre-eminence is similarly defiant, and eventually overcome.

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Nativity and Incarnation ('after all, sisters, he was her *baban*' – *Ana.*, p.214). This, however, is entirely consistent with the behaviour of the Sybil, whose prophecies were frequently made retrospectively.

The three witches provide a gloss on the events of the Nativity, confirming and emphasising the importance of Mary to the Redemption. In this respect, they undertake the role of the Chorus in classical tragedy; this function, combined with the obvious allusions to the witches of *Macbeth*, ensures that 'Mabinog's Liturgy' retains a tragic undertone even whilst celebrating the birth of Christ, foreshadowing the inevitable conclusion of the Crucifixion. Shakespearian references are found throughout *The Anthemata*, but are almost exclusively from three plays: two tragedies (*Macbeth* and *King Lear*) and *The Tempest*. The role of the witches in *Macbeth* is one of agency, not causation, a role which is repeated in *The Anthemata*, and which is a significant factor in the suitability of the figural type as an advocate of Mary's exalted status. The witches of *Macbeth* prophesy Macbeth's future, but they do not cause it; the prophecy is fulfilled through his actions. In *The Anthemata*, the witches are not involved in Christ's redemption of mankind, which is why it is essential that they are depicted as being outside human time and without human constraints; they are semi-mythical figures who can explain and acknowledge the importance of the *fiat* but who don't participate in it (as the 'or can indeed' qualifier earlier quoted demonstrates).

The timelessness associated with the depiction of sybils and witches suggests immortality, or at least, a lack of spirituality associated with pre-Christianity that obviates the desire for, and capability of, Christian salvation, condemning them to a state of limbo.<sup>74</sup> Although the allusions to *Macbeth* are most concentrated in

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<sup>74</sup> In this, Jones seems to demonstrate the influence of Dante, despite his insistence that he 'somehow couldn't get on with it' (letter to W.H. Auden, 24 February 1954, in *Dai Greatcoat*, p.163; a later letter to Harman Grisewood (*Dai Greatcoat*, pp. 239-41) further elaborates on the reasons for his continued dislike of Dante and his persistence in attempting to like the *Divine Comedy*). However, Jones shows a dependence on Virgil, at least in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', as a guiding figure, and the lack of fixed temporal setting for the section, as well as

'Mabinog's Liturgy', there are several in the 'Lady of the Pool' section. As René Hague explains, 'Or him from Aleppo come/ Master o' the *Mary*. Wot a tiger!' paraphrases the witches' scene in *Macbeth*: 'Her master's to Aleppo gone, master of the Tiger'.<sup>75</sup> Further references to the same scene prefigure the depiction of the three witches in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', reinforcing their association with prophecy and universality.

It is apparent that with increasing anonymity, the characters or figures used in *The Anathemata* also increase in universal figural application. The Lady of the Pool, Elen Monica, was shown to be a type, but her type is limited to 'The Lady of the Pool' section, as Elen Monica is limited in time and place to the lower Thames towards the end of the Middle Ages. Similarly, whilst Eb Bradshaw can be seen to be a type of *pater familias*, as well as a type of carpenter, both those figural types are confined to 'Redriff' and do not recur in the poem, while Eb Bradshaw the character is confined to nineteenth-century Rotherhithe. However, the three witches, whose characters are sketched rather than detailed, who are given names but no context, represent a recurring type – that of tragic chorus, of prophetic Sybil. Finally, then, there are the two unnamed, universal archetypes of the priest and the skipper, whose influence pervades the poem, and who, with no particular context, have an application in every context. Both are salvational figures. The priest dominates the opening and closing sections of the poem, 'Rite and Fore-time' and 'Sherthursdaye and Venus Day', enacting the sacrament of the Mass:

We already and first of all discern him making this thing  
other. His groping syntax, if we attend, already shapes:  
ADSCRIPTAM, RATAM, RATIONABILEM... and by pre-  
application and for them, under modes and patterns altogether  
theirs, the holy and venerable hands lift up an efficacious  
sign

(Ana., p. 49)

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the depiction of the witches as being outwith the salvational scheme of *The Anathemata*, though simultaneously essential to its structure, is reminiscent of the depiction of limbo and the status of Virgil within the *Divine Comedy*.

<sup>75</sup> *Commentary*, p. 171; *Macbeth*, I.iii.

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The action of the raising of the host is repeated in the action of the raising of the chalice:

Here, in this high place  
into both hands  
he takes the stemmed dish  
as in many places  
by this poured and that held up  
wherever their directing glosses read:  
Here he takes the victim.

(*Ana.*, p. 242)

The priest, also prefigured in the pre-Christian culture of 'Rite and Fore-time' as a 'cult-man', is anonymous, described only as 'he'. His voice is the voice of the liturgy; Jones gives him no character but presents him as a puppet figure, thus emphasising his figural role within *The Anathemata* and his essential nature as agent of the Word of God. The concept of divine agency is embedded within the subject-matter of *The Anathemata* and the role of agents is celebrated; without the *fiat* of Mary, there would be no salvation, as the witches expound in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', whilst without the agency of the priest, the celebrants of the Mass would be unable to participate in that salvation. However, Jones ensures that agency remains representative through his narrative technique. Mary is celebrated by the Lady of the Pool and, after discussion, by the three witches; she is prefigured by Ilia, giving birth to Romulus and Remus, and thus to the Roman people (*Ana.*, p.86); she is represented too by Peredur's mother in the Grail legend (*Ana.*, p.225). Mary herself, though, is not depicted; she is portrayed only through those representations which, as 'Mabinog's Liturgy' demonstrates, may involve an addition or subtraction of meanings and obfuscation. The cult-man or priest-figure in the passages quoted above is a symbolic representation of Christ; whilst the priest obviously prefigures and represents Christ, he carries no additional significance, unlike the other figures in *The Anathemata*. He is a pure type, conveying the purity and divinity of Christ.

However, although the poem begins and ends with the celebration of the Mass, using the universal type, in a universal place and time, glimpses of this figure

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are also seen elsewhere in the poem integrated into another context; for example, at the conclusion of 'Mabinog's Liturgy', where the Mass is a continuation of the celebration of the Nativity at the Arthurian court already described earlier in the section:

But first, careful that his right thumb is touching the letters  
of the writing, he must make the sign, down and across,  
beginning where the imposed, pre-clear-bright uncial reads,  
Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto. (Ana., p. 219)

The same action reappears within the prayers of the ship's crew approaching the treacherous coast of Cornwall in 'Middle-sea and Lear-sea':

You that shall spread your hands over the things offered  
make *memento* of us  
and where the gloss reads *jungit manus* count us among his  
argonauts whose argosy you plead, under the sign of the  
things you offer. (Ana., p. 106)

Although the *figura* of the priest is clearly defined using words and actions from the rubric of the Mass, which are specific to his role as representative of Christ, there is also evidence of an affinity with the type of the sea-captain. At no point in the poem are these two types conflated; whilst the captain demonstrates aspects of the profane as well as the sacred, the priest has only a sacred role. Unlike other *figurae*, including the captain, the priest is so unconstrained by temporal factors that he is one-dimensional – there is one priest and one Mass. That this unity is accepted is essential to the narrative unity of the poem. In Jones's mind, there is historical time, which provides the setting for the separate actions of the poem, and there is 'the time of the Mass'. The two are linked, insofar as the historical events and contexts are prompted by the language and symbolism of the Mass, and thus take place within the time of the Mass, which is all-encompassing. The priest, therefore, in his typic role as Mass celebrant, is outwith historical time but within the time of the Mass; this is the explanation for his unique one-dimensional figural function, the incarnation of the single, historical Incarnation. The captain, however,

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is the complementary opposite of the priest, a figural type but presented through multiple historical incarnations within the text. Hague comments:

That voyage [narrated in 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea'] ended in Mount's Bay, Cornwall, and we may regard it as being continued in *Angle-land*. Some nine hundred years have elapsed, however, even though the skipper of this vessel may be regarded as 'typical', and so sharing the identity of his two predecessors in *Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea*, the man who rounded Cape Sunium and took his ship into Phaleron, and the man who sailed to the 'Tin Islands'. ('Very good', notes D. in the margin, 'thanks for mentioning the lapse of time for unless that is realised the reader thinks of it as a single voyage, with unfortunate results.')

<sup>76</sup>

Jones frequently stresses the redemptive significance of the ship and voyage imagery, as discussed in chapter three. The master of the vessel, therefore, carries salvational significance through this association alone. This potential is further developed through allusions to the actions of the priest figure and to the events of Christ's life. The three main voyages featured in the poem occur in 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', twelve hundred years after the Fall of Troy, implying the time of Christ's birth, in 'Angle-land', in the ninth or tenth century AD, which is the same voyage that ends in the London Docks, culminating in 'Redriff' and 'The Lady of the Pool', and in 'Keel, Ram, Stauros'. A further voyage, that of Manawydan, is imagined in 'Mabinog's Liturgy'. The first, pre-Christian voyage asks the question 'Did he berth her? And to schedule?' (*Ana.*, p. 108), following the 'oreogenesis' of the world and the birth of Rome, at the time that Mary was expecting the birth of Christ. 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' confirms the success of the redemptive voyage, prefiguring the Nativity of the following section, 'Mabinog's Liturgy', with the words 'He would berth us/ to schedule' (*Ana.*, p. 182).

Jones alludes to figures from classical mythology to convey aspects of the captain-figure; the various terms used to refer to this figure, quoted at the beginning of the chapter, frequently have classical etymologies. In 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', the skipper is the 'caulked old triton of us/ the master of us' (*Ana.*, p. 96), a 'pickled old pelagios' (*Ana.*, p. 96), metaphors that recur in 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' with the

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<sup>76</sup> *Commentary*, p. 127.



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phrase 'Bacchic Pelasgian disciplinarian' (*Ana.*, p. 173). Eb Bradshaw says 'tell the old Jason' (*Ana.*, p.121), a reference to Jason and the Argonauts which is developed from his earlier comment 'Not... for all the gold on his fleece' (*Ana.*, p.119). Dilworth states:

Archetypally, the ship's captain is 'the eternal skipper', but his symbolic associations are various... the image of its captain involves constant imaginative metamorphosis and ambiguity. But whether as hardened seaman, St Peter, Celtic sea god, or Christ, one of his dominant characteristics is sexual. While coitus awaits crewmen at their voyage's end, for the captain, sailing itself is a continuing intercourse, so that the lusty captain suggests an immanent eschatology to complement the future eschatology implied by the longing of the crew. If not a Christ-figure, he is nevertheless a Christ-type.<sup>77</sup>

Although the sexual nature of the captain is debatable, possibly blasphemous if applied to all recurrences of the figure, and Dilworth's correlation of sailing with intercourse somewhat spurious, the captain-figure is capable of representing many different aspects of human and mythical nature. The captain represents the spirit of the sea, as Elen Monica is the *numina* of the Thames; he is closely identified with the sea through his affinity with the fish that inhabit it (the 'ichthyoid eye' (*Ana.*, p. 172) of the 'cod's-eye man' (*Ana.*, p. 173)) and the ships that sail upon it. The captain of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' 'looks a bit of a clencher-build' (*Ana.*, p. 171) himself, further strengthening the association between man and boat. Jones carefully researched nautical terms and shipbuilding techniques; in this instance, he has used the term 'clencher-build' to imply that the man is ancient, and from the Mediterranean, where this technique was common. The same metaphor is used earlier in the poem, though extended:

Certain he's part of the olden timbers: watch out for  
the run o' the grain on him – look how his ancient knars are  
salted and the wounds of the bitter sea on him. (*Ana.*, p. 97)

However, in addition to the mythological aspects, Jones exploits the Christian associations. In a letter to William Hayward, he writes:

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<sup>77</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 240.

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You ask about the identity of the skipper. Well, it's a bit complex, but you've clearly got the general idea. First (as the medieval theologians would prefer it!)<sup>78</sup> there is the literal meaning of the text: the skipper is a Mediterranean *padrone* and he is described in the section *Keel, Ram, Stauros*, page 182, as pious, eld, bright-eyed, 'of the sea' (*marinus*). *Pius* in the sense of Aeneas; indeed Aeneas is much in mind owing to his wanderings, & of his foundational nature in our Western deposits. But, he's a 'caulked old Triton', a 'hard case'. The 'vine-juice skipper' is, of course, in part drawn from the seashanty 'A Yankee mate and a limejuice skipper', but recalls the Dionysiac thing also, the 'ancient staggerer', the 'Iacchos in his duffle-jacket'. Ischyros with his sea-boots on, 'Agiros Ischyros' is one of the greek epithets used of Our Lord still, in the Latin rite, during the Reproaches, on Good Friday. O, Holy Strong One!

He is 'Diocesan of us', p. 182) and (107) '*gladiatorial vicar of seas*' – so he's Peter the Fisherman, with the keys and who drew the *sword*, also Manannan mac Lir of course... (*Letters to W.H.*, pp. 39-40)

Thus the 'old Pelasgian' of 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea' may be 'Manannan himself' (*Ana.*, p. 107), the sea-god, but he may equally well be St Peter, who is referred to in the depiction of the Last Supper in 'Rite and Fore-time' as 'the swordsman', whose place is set 'at the right-board, after; to make him feel afloat' (*Ana.*, p. 53). This dichotomous classical/Christian nature allows for the simultaneous identification of the captain with both Dionysius and the chalice-bearing priest figure, as Dilworth notes:

Iacchos-Dionysus is also the wine god whose drinking devotees become intoxicated with divine life. The Greek captain does his utmost to assimilate the god in this way... The association of the captain as drunkard with Jesus is less tenuous than it may seem, for the Pharisees were scandalized by Jesus the 'winebibber' who came 'eating and drinking' (Matthew 11:19).<sup>79</sup>

The 'ancient staggerer' and 'vine-juice skipper' (*Ana.*, p. 182) of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' has 'drained it again and again they brim it./ It's a wonder the owners stand for it...' (*Ana.*, p. 172), a direct repetition of 'He's drained it again./ and again they brim it' in 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea' (*Ana.*, p. 97). Hague glosses this action as 'a self-consumed libation, generally... at the start of a voyage, but here... in

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<sup>78</sup> The reference to the medieval theologians in this context further demonstrates that their way of thinking was ingrained in his own attitude to his material; that he was acquainted with their writings; that he understood the four levels of meaning to be found in a text; and that he used this knowledge in a conscious manner.

<sup>79</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, pp. 240-1.

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thanksgiving for a safe voyage',<sup>80</sup> but there are also obvious undertones of the sacrament of the Mass and of the 'stemmed dish/ as in many places/ by this poured and that held up' (*Ana.*, p. 242) of both the Mass and the Last Supper which it echoes, an association prefigured in 'Rite and Fore-time' in the preparations for the Last Supper:

They make all shipshape  
for she must be trim  
dressed and gaudeous  
all Bristol-fashion here  
for:  
Who d'you think is Master of her? (Ana., p. 53)

Jones plays on the word 'drink', which thus carries sacred and profane, as well as vernacular connotations. It is used to refer to the Communion wine, to the sailors' 'grog' but also to the sea itself in 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', ('in the deeps of the drink/his precious dregs' – *Ana.*, p.182), where the alliteration recalls the Anglo-Saxon poem 'The Seafarer'. Such allusions increase the Christian symbolism of the sailor-figure, already made evident through the voyage metaphor analysed in chapter three.

Just as the drink itself has multiple connotations, the drunken skipper has several layers of meaning. On the surface, he is the drunken sailor of the popular sea-shanty. The rough personality of the captain, given to liquor and ill-treatment of his crew ('Spare him the rope's end, captain' – *Ana.*, p. 167) confirms this stereotype, but recalls also a literary sailor, Chaucer's Shipman. Jones associates this figure with one of the souls saved by the Ship of the Church:

But in his 'Shipman', Chaucer describes a Master Mariner, who, like Coleridge, came from Devon, from Dartmouth, whose expertise in all that belongs to the art of navigation, theoretical and practical, none could beat, from Hull to Carthage. By 'many a tempest hadde his berd ben schake', who knew every navigable creek along the coasts of Brittany or Spain and whose cargo-ship was named the *Maudelayne*.

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<sup>80</sup> *Commentary*, p. 114.

.c.

CHRIST IS MOCKED AND CROWNED WITH THORNS



Figure [x]: 'Plate\*c\* - Christ is mocked and crowned with thorns' in *The Bible of the Poor (Biblia Pauperum)*: A Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 d.2.

In the left panel of the central triptych, the drunkenness of Noah is depicted as a typological prefiguration of the Suffering of Christ, as illustrated by the central panel. See Appendix 6 for Commentary.

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Here, quite fortuitously, no doubt, something of our theme comes through. the Mariner who knew his job, who had voyaged far, the perfect choice of his cog's name – again, I suppose, fortuitous, but with Chaucer you can never quite be sure: he had a wonderful trick of evocation by the casual use of a word or a word or two [sic], often at the termination of a passage, as for example at the mention of his Cook's ulcered limb, slipped in between the description of how well that Cook could make thick soup, pies and blancmange.

His skipper was 'a good felawe', a bacchic old tough son of Poseidon, 'Of nyce conscience took he no keep'. But Christ's Barque is not without such, redeemed, of whom the name Magdalen is not untypic.

So that when, after twenty lines descriptive of this able, convivial, but ruthless and unscrupulous ancient mariner, Chaucer's terminal line casually informs us that 'His barge y-cleped was the Maudelayne' we naturally cock our ears. (DG, pp. 218-9)

However, I suggest Jones also had another figure in mind, that of Noah. I have already demonstrated the links between Eb Bradshaw the shipbuilder and Noah the Ark-builder in the 'Redriff' section; Noah was also the 'captain' of the vessel which made the first redemptive voyage. Genesis tells the story of how, after the Ark had safely ended its journey and the animals had disembarked, Noah and his family cultivated the land, and of how Noah was found drunk in his vineyard, a narrative that was usually interpreted as prefiguring the Suffering of Christ, as the illustration from the *Biblia Pauperum* shows (Figure 5).<sup>81</sup>

The figure of Noah, the 'vine-juice skipper' and 'old padrone' of the earlier quotations, thus pulls together the disparate images of the drunken captain, the father/carpenter figure discussed previously, and the salvational type. As a prefiguration of Christ, it is appropriate that Noah should 'drain the cup'. Jones associated Noah with the Cross, the stauros of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', through the salvational power of the wood of the Ark and the Cross, the wood which is central to both 'Redriff' and 'Keel, Ram, Stauros'. Of his illustrations for the *Chester Play of the Deluge*, the final one is of significance to *The Anathemata*. Titled 'The Oblation of Noah', the engraving shows Noah's family and the pairs of animals kneeling in worship, flanking the central figure of Noah who, standing with arms outstretched,

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<sup>81</sup> Dilworth also implicitly makes the connection between Jones's mariner and Noah, although he does not develop it. He states that 'Captain Christ is foretypified by Noah, a skipper who 'drank... wine' and 'was... drunken' (Genesis 9:21). St Augustine saw Noah's intoxication as foreshadowing the Passion (*De Civitate Dei* 16.2). It is also typologically eucharistic' (*Shape of Meaning*, p. 241).

the flames of the sacrifice appearing behind and above his head, is shown in the traditional crucifixion pose of Christ (Figure 6). A similar pictorial representation of Noah as a *figura* of Christ is also found in medieval illustrations.<sup>82</sup>



Figure 6: 'The Oblation of Noah'. Wood-engraving by David Jones for *The Chester Play of the Deluge*.

<sup>82</sup> Interestingly, there is also an obvious compositional resemblance to Blake's 'Noah and the Rainbow'.

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Jones first depicted Noah as a type of Christ some twenty-five years before the publication of *The Anathemata*, demonstrating that his typological ways of thinking were deeply ingrained. He used characters for their figural, rather than dramatic, significance. Within the context of Auerbach's definition of a *figura* being 'something real and historical which announces something else that is also real and historical', with the 'relation between the two events [being] revealed by an accord or similarity', it can be seen that Jones exploited the concept of the *figura* to draw correspondences between the material or signification of that material, which he felt was still 'valid', and the signification that, by the time of writing of *The Anathemata*, had started to lose its validity. For Jones, then, the *figura* is an essential element of the process of anamnesis, the main function of *The Anathemata*.

This process is not an exclusive one, but is as inclusive as Jones is able to make it; by drawing upon secular material as well as religious, upon personal experience as well as literary, Jones is able to make connections between the subject at the heart of the poem, the Mass, and other, seemingly unrelated, aspects of Western culture. His use of the *figura* is in accordance with the Christian typological tradition of exegesis, despite the influence of Spengler and his theory of 'contemporaneity'. Jones does not use the distinctive traits of Chaucer's Wife of Bath, or the name of St Augustine's mother, to inform the character of the Lady of the Pool in order to suggest that the Wife of Bath, Monica and Elen Monica are contemporaries in different cultures; he does so because his conflation of these figures creates a recognisable type which 'evokes and recalls, is a kind of *anamnesis* of, i.e. is an effective recalling of, something loved' (Preface, *Ana.*, p. 21).

This is the fundamental truth behind Jones's use of the *figura*; its function is to announce something else, a deeper signification than it can itself present. The *figura* is a theological and literary device of agency, communicating the divine meaning behind the narrative in which it features. As the medieval writers



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interpreted the Old Testament figurally, seeing in the figures of Abraham and Noah the promise of a greater Sacrifice and Salvation, so Jones uses the *figura* as an agent for the illumination of the actual meaning to man of the promises made within the rubric of the Mass. In *The Anathemata*, figures look both backwards to their predecessors and forwards to their successors; the past, present and future temporal aspects are combined in the *figura*. Jones's poem is thus given a retrospective narrative coherence through the concept of prefiguration.



## Chapter Five

### Anamnesis: The Liturgical Drama of *The Anathemata*

He does what is done in many places  
what he does other  
    he does after the mode  
of what has always been done.  
What did he do other  
    recumbent at the garnished supper?  
What did he do yet other  
    riding the Axile Tree?

(*Ana.*, p. 243)

As shown in the previous chapter, Jones uses the concept of the *figura* to telescope linear historical time, unifying the content of past and present through typology. This is characteristic of much medieval writing, but especially of the drama of the Middle Ages, as I suggested in the previous chapter. However, the *figura* is not the only evidence of Jones's reading of the mystery plays; *The Anathemata* shares many other affinities with the cycles. In an article exploring the modernist nature of Jones's fragmentary work, Patrick Deane suggested that:

Musing vainly, I suspect that a play is what he might have written, or, better still, a series of related plays, perhaps Brechtian in their scope, centred on the Middle East at the time of the Crucifixion... But so long as the paradigm for Jones's great 'writing'

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remained lyric or narrative (or, as in *The Anthemata*, a combination of the two), his dramatic fragments would resist containment. It would become increasingly difficult to imbue discrete monologues with a *convincing* degree of integration.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, Deane was not 'musing vainly'; a 'series of related plays' is more or less what Jones did write, in the form of *The Anthemata*. His inspiration came from another 'series of related plays... centred on the Middle East' and also taking as their focus the Crucifixion. Although, as Deane commented, Jones did find it difficult to integrate his dramatic fragments, I suggest that he took the framework of the mystery cycles as his model for the unification of the content of his poem, and that his 'discrete monologues' are linked by the proven methods of the external temporal structure imposed by the liturgy, as well as the internal system of typology.

Several critics have commented on the dramatic qualities inherent in the narratives of the named characters of *The Anthemata* – Neil Corcoran has described the poem as a 'succession of dramatic monologues',<sup>2</sup> whilst Deane commented on 'the fondness for dramatic monologues that we see everywhere in his work'<sup>3</sup> – and paradoxically, it is in these monologues which are so frequently characterised as a typically modernist feature of Jones's work that the influence of the medieval plays can be most clearly seen. However, the dramatic qualities of these monologues are perceived to be derived from the presentation of a figure with its own 'voice': the plausible dialect, idiomatic speech and idiosyncratic traits presented by the named figures, together with the sense of engagement with the reader and the suggestion of role-playing explored in the discussion of Jones's use of archetypes, combine to create an impression of immediacy associated with

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<sup>1</sup> Patrick Deane, 'David Jones, T.S. Eliot, and the Modernist Unfinished', in *Renascence*, 47: 2 (1995), 75-88, henceforth 'Modernist Unfinished', p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Corcoran, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> 'Modernist Unfinished', p. 75.

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drama. Deane, however, further suggests that the sense of the dramatic may be derived from more than simply the characterisation implicit in the monologues:

*The Anathemata* is a dramatic poem in the same way *The Waste Land* might be said to be dramatic: it is a play of voices, sometimes drawn from existing literary sources, sometimes remembered or imagined, but almost always accorded the 'reality' of specific circumstances, a dramatic context.<sup>4</sup>

Whilst the 'play of voices' is the most obviously dramatic feature of the poem, it also has a 'dramatic context', which, Deane implies, comprises the 'specific circumstances', the detail of time and place contained within the text.

Jones himself is aware of the theatrical nature of much of *The Anathemata* and indeed encourages this interpretation by using vocabulary borrowed from the theatre in order to introduce the central monologues. The earlier parts of *The Anathemata* comprise the building of the set; Jones's use of theatrical metaphors makes the dramatic context literal. Corcoran comments on 'the strain of theatrical imagery in which human life is seen as a brief drama enacted on the stage of cosmic history'<sup>5</sup> alluding to the lines from 'Rite and Fore-Time', 'There's where the world's a stage/ for transformed scenes/ with metamorphosed properties/ for each shifted set' (*Ana.*, p. 62).<sup>6</sup> Corcoran also cites two examples of theatrical imagery in *The Anathemata*: 'The mimes deploy... from what floriate green-room?' (*Ana.*, p. 63) and 'Just before they rigged the half-lit stage for dim-eyed Clio...' (*Ana.*, p. 68). However, Jones's poem incorporates considerably more theatrical vocabulary and imagery than that noted by Corcoran, and in a way that suggests that Jones uses the theatre motif as a way of alluding to the theme of anamnesis, the theatre being a place dedicated to continuous re-enactment. His Shakespearean reference to the conceit of the world as stage, quoted above, complements the Christian sacrament

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<sup>4</sup> 'Modernist Unfinished', p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Corcoran, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> Corcoran comments that Jones's use of the 'world as stage' conceit was probably influenced by the title of the opening chapter of *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, by R.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936). This may have reinforced his decision, but as I show, it is neither a recent, nor an obscure, metaphor.

of the Eucharist as a re-enactment of Christ's death, with its universal application.

However, the metaphor itself predates Shakespeare:

The idea of a theatre was also deeply embedded in traditional metaphors. The idea that 'All the world's a stage' is of very ancient origin, and [...] it reached the Middle Ages from both pagan and Christian antiquity. According to Curtius, the phrase *mimus vitae* was proverbial in classical times: Cicero, Horace, Seneca, Suetonius and Boethius all used variations upon it. In the Middle Ages this metaphor received its most subtle elaboration in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, but it is also found as a casual image in a poem to the Virgin in one of the *Cambridge Songs*. Whilst in origin the image implied man's dependence upon the gods, it acquired also more reverberant connotations of the impermanence and insubstantiality of life. In the work of early Christian authors, however, the image was given a much more precise and polemical reference. In their use of the image the point of the comparison is that the life of Christian virtue and the eschatological culminations will provide a more important and awe-inspiring spectacle than that provided by the stage.<sup>7</sup>

Woolf suggests that the earliest Christian references to the world as theatrical backdrop are to be found in St Paul's descriptions of the martyrdom of the apostles, and Tertullian's expansion of the theme to encompass the *spectacula Christianorum*, and 'the greatest of all spectacles, that of the Day of Judgment, in which the damned will serve as tragic actors: "Quae tunc spectaculi latitudo!"<sup>8</sup>. The usual context in which Jones uses the imagery of the theatre is a revelation of oreogenesis and the growth of human culture. In this, then, he follows the principle, if not the detail, of the early Christian authors by suggesting that the creation of the world, scientifically evolved but divinely inspired, is a 'more important and awe-inspiring spectacle' than that featured on the human stage.

The narrative of *The Anathemata* contains the recurring motif of the storyteller, and a tale that needs to be told, 'a wanderer's tall tale to tell', as 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea' proposes (*Ana.*, p. 85), echoing the epigraph to the work:

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<sup>7</sup> Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 30-31.

<sup>8</sup> Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 31. Jones was familiar with the writings of both St Paul and Tertullian, the former from his reading of the Bible (at his death, Jones owned nineteen editions of the Old and New Testaments or complete Bibles, and two separate editions of St Paul's *Epistles*), and the latter from various historical works. One example is C.N. Cochrane's *Christianity and Classical Culture*, previously cited; Jones's own copy is heavily annotated with marginal comments such as 'Tertullian and the immediate future' (p. 155).

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IT WAS A DARK AND STORMY NIGHT, WE SAT BY THE CALCINED WALL; IT WAS SAID TO THE TALE-TELLER, TELL US A TALE, AND THE TALE RAN THUS: IT WAS A DARK AND STORMY NIGHT... (Ana., p. 45),

and pre-empting the gulls of Part V 'that tell to Lear's river/ a long winter's tale' (Ana., p. 125). The constant referencing of Shakespeare's dramatic works reinforces the reader's sense of *The Anathemata* as a drama, particularly in Part VII, 'Mabinog's Liturgy', in which the three witches are reminiscent of the opening scene of *Macbeth*.<sup>9</sup> Whilst the 'Lady of the Pool' may contain the most memorable monologue, 'Mabinog's Liturgy' is possibly the most dramatic of the sections, contrasting the formal silent tableau of Guinevere with the gossiping, vocal dialogue of the witches. When Jones heard Douglas Cleverdon's broadcast of *The Anathemata* on the BBC's radio series 'The Third Programme',<sup>10</sup> he was particularly pleased with the performance of Part VII. Although this may be an authorial preference for a particular section, or a liking for the voices of the actors, it may also be because of the greater dramatic possibilities inherent in the section, due to the tension caused by the contrasting material and the demands made of the visual and aural senses.

The Lady of the Pool, whose monologue is at the centre of *The Anathemata*, continues the theme of performance both in her narrative and by her actions. She says of her lover, the stonemason, 'best let him rehearse his tale awhile... they all be apt at their rehearsals, captain' (Ana., p. 134), although she includes herself in this statement by later assuring her audience that her makeshift attire and self-presentation as Britannia is a mere dress rehearsal, 'but a try-out, for we live before her time' (Ana., p. 146). There is, however, an element of wistfulness in the Lady of the Pool's acting, or possibly prescience, as she declares 'if we furnish to the part/ maybe we'll play it' (Ana., p.146). Jones wrote to Desmond Chute that Elen Monica

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<sup>9</sup> Plays referenced in *The Anathemata* include *King Lear* and *The Winter's Tale*, as in the above quotation, and also *The Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Henry V* and *Hamlet*, amongst others.

<sup>10</sup> First transmitted 5 May 1953.

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'had to represent to some extent the British sea-thing', implying that she was acting out a particular role.<sup>11</sup>

Acting and storytelling are thus integral to the content of the poem, but the text, whilst alluding to other enactments and re-enactments, is itself a performance. As Jones's introduction makes clear, *The Anathemata* was a poem to be performed, not read silently:

I intend what I have written to be said. While marks of punctuation, breaks of line, lengths of line, grouping of words or sentences and variations of spacing are visual contrivances they have here an aural and oral intention. You can't get the intended meaning unless you hear the sound and you can't get the sound unless you observe the score; and pause-marks on a score are of particular importance. Lastly, it is meant to be said with deliberation – slowly as opposed to quickly – but 'with deliberation' is the best rubric for each page, each sentence, each word.

(*Ana.*, p. 35)

According to Jones, the meaning is as dependent on the sound, the method of transmission, as the content itself. The emphasis on delivery, on observing the 'score', are principles taken from the fields of drama and music, implying that Jones was aware of the additional layer of meaning that could be added through performance. Jones highlights the 'aural and oral intention' of his work; the poem is written for an audience, not a readership. In addition to the vocabulary borrowed from the theatre set, *The Anathemata* also contains textual references to performance, such as the 'Vorzeit-masque', or the priest who 'sings high and...sings low', whilst in the Upper Room, 'they prepared the boards', in an allusion to the board of the table, the boards of a ship and not least, the boards of the world-stage that the cult-man and Christ-figure then treads.

The opening of the poem plays on the sense of performance:

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<sup>11</sup> *Commentary*, p. 155.

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We already and first of all discern him making this thing other. His groping syntax, if we attend, already shapes: ADSCRIPTAM, RATAM, RATIONABILEM... and by pre-application and for *them*, under modes and patterns altogether theirs, the holy and venerable hands lift up an efficacious sign.

(*Ana.*, p. 49)

Although accurately descriptive of the Mass, this passage nevertheless suggests a performance. The use of the third person pronoun 'he' for the priest-figure sets the figure and his actions apart from his audience, denoted by the first person pronoun 'we', recalling Jones's explanation of the title noun, 'anathemata', as 'things in some sense made separate ... things that are the signs of something other' (*Ana.*, p. 29). The impersonality of 'he' increases the sense of anonymity.

The poem begins with the word 'we', immediately inclusive, and yet also divisive. 'We' discern him, 'we' attend. Jones sets up the model of audience and performer in this first passage, a template that he returns to throughout the poem; often when the subject-matter is at its most remote from the present-day reader's experience, the use of 'we' or 'us' sharply intrudes into the narrative to force the inclusion and participation of the reader. This use of pronouns is also a feature of the medieval drama, as Meg Twycross remarks:

Once hooked, the audience have to be continually played, lest their attention should stray. This may be one reason for the storytelling mode: it insists on the presence of the listener as well as the storyteller... the audience are constantly reminded that they are to listen actively ... The use of *ye/you* and *thou/thee* ... is frequent; so is the way in which the characters will associate themselves with the audience by using *we/us*. This mode of direct address is again not exclusive to the drama: it is an essential feature of the movement of popular piety that sought to bring the 'individual' into a personal relationship with Christ.<sup>12</sup>

In both *The Anathemata* and the cycle plays, therefore, direct address is a device used to encourage participation. In using the first person pronoun for the narrative voice, incorporating monologues and directly addressing an audience, the poem

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<sup>12</sup> Meg Twycross, 'The theatricality of medieval English plays' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. R. Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 55.

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combines characteristics of the drama with the aspects of oral narrative outlined in chapter three. Jones's purposes resemble those of the dramatists, in that the poem is about the relationship between the individual and God through the medium of the Mass.

It thus becomes evident that the theatrical aspects of Jones's work, evinced through the stage imagery and the paradigm of acting, are superficial compared to the concept of mimesis, or re-presentation, that informs his poetry, and to which *The Anathemata* owes its essentially dramatic quality. This is the idea of anamnesis discussed in chapter two, to which Jones repeatedly returned. The dramatic nature of Jones's work recognised by so many is thus derived from the mimetic conditions imposed by the liturgy. As Corcoran comments, 'if human life itself is seen as drama, then the liturgy is, for David Jones, a great religious drama in which life is uttered and transformed, metamorphosed into the intense articulation of ritual'.<sup>13</sup>

The connection between acting, celebration and the liturgy seems to have been instinctive for Jones; it is of some significance to this discussion that one of the recorded events of his childhood was of his (Anglican) father returning from the Easter Sunday service to find Jones parading around the garden carrying a cross he had constructed from fencing planks.<sup>14</sup> Although Jones enjoyed retelling the story as a means of indicating his early leanings towards Catholicism and his abiding preoccupation with the events of the Passion, as well as his father's dismay and discouragement of these tendencies, the anecdote can also be seen to illustrate Jones's love of the visual, of physical enactment and of processions and pageantry – a fascination borne out by another childhood anecdote concerning the recruiting marches of the City Imperial Volunteers.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Corcoran, p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> This story was retold several times by Jones to various correspondents in later life; a summary can be found in *The Maker Unmade*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>15</sup> Yet another story of his childhood refers to a 'concert' performed by Jones and his sister Alice, in which he played the part of Cadwal, an 'Ancient Briton' and his sister the role of Britannia. Perhaps it was this that inspired Elen Monica's words, 'tis but a try-out'!



## Everyman and the Quotidian

In the previous chapter I suggested that the medieval dramatists' use of typology influenced Jones's figural portrayal of his grandfather, the mast- and block-maker, according to the Noah archetype. However, the influence of the plays on the content of *The Anthemata* is not limited to the use of *figurae*, but extends to Jones's linguistic traits, and his interest in the quotidian. The introduction to the edition of mystery plays owned by Jones concludes that 'throughout the plays the folk-life of their day, their customs and customary speech, are for ever emerging from the biblical scene',<sup>16</sup> an observation which recalls the colloquial speech and characterisation of *The Anthemata*. Like the plays, the poem conflates different epochs through the use of contemporary language; the terminology appropriate to the speaker's trade or craft is the binding factor. Another critic says of the medieval dramatists:

The dialogue [...] is frequently concrete, pithy and colloquial, with no concessions made to a fallacious concept of decorum. These were plays for the public forum; they had to declare both openly and tacitly their affinities with the life of the marketplace, the backstreet.<sup>17</sup>

Jones uses the contemporary colloquial tone employed by the medieval dramatists to obscure temporal anomalies between the historical events of the Nativity, Incarnation and Crucifixion, which form the core subject-matter of *The Anthemata*, and the epochal *figurae*, such as Elen Monica, the Pelasgian sailors or the late medieval witches, who discuss these events. However, he also employs it, like the playwrights, to evoke the life of a specific location such as the London dockyards. Through these colloquialisms he is able to invoke character; for example, Eb Bradshaw's use of phrases such as 'oil an elbow', 'not so over nice', 'pile a mint' and 'rig out Ann my wife' (*Ana.*, p. 118-9) demonstrate his lower middle-class London

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<sup>16</sup> 'Everyman' with other Interludes, including Eight Miracle Plays, ed. Ernest Rhys (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1917), p. x.

<sup>17</sup> William Tydeman, 'An introduction to medieval English theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Drama*, ed. R. Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 26.

roots, whilst his exclamation of 'Not for a boozed Murphy's bull!'<sup>18</sup> immediately identifies him as staunchly Anglican with anti-Irish, anti-Catholic prejudices common in the Victorian era.<sup>19</sup> Just as Eb is the archetypal ship's carpenter, using the same vocabulary as his classical and medieval counterparts, but within a quintessentially Victorian idiom, so Jones's Roman soldiers, witnesses and agents of the Crucifixion, speak of their duties in the idiom of the First World War squaddie – as the soldiers in the medieval plays torture their victim using fifteenth-century expressions.

Jones's preoccupation with the life of the private soldier, first evinced by *In Parenthesis*, coalesced with his interest in the Roman Empire in the first century AD, and specifically at the time of Christ's crucifixion, to produce the recurring type of the Roman infantryman in Jones's later work. One of the best examples of this occurs in 'The Fatigue', published in *The Sleeping Lord* collection.<sup>20</sup> The central section of 'The Fatigue'

is a soliloquy or reflection made in the context of Xtian [sic] tradition and theology upon an event which, for the soldiers involved, was but one more guard, fatigue or escort duty. Part of this soliloquy includes also the imagined reflections of one of the personnel. (S.L., p. 26)

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<sup>18</sup> Hague gives a detailed explanation of the origins of this phrase; it is Jones's rendering of his grandfather's more usual response, 'No, I will not ... *not for the Pope o' Rome*' (*Commentary*, p. 153).

<sup>19</sup> According to local parish records, Ebenezer Bradshaw was christened on 31 May 1829, the year of the Catholic Emancipation Act of Parliament. Irish immigration during the 1840s was a source of anxiety for Londoners, especially to devout Protestants such as the Bradshaw family. Ebenezer's father Thomas was a parish clerk and scripture reader, according to the 1851 Census. It was a comfortable, educated family, and Ebenezer himself, as a master block-maker, would have been considered middle-class rather than working-class.

<sup>20</sup> According to Jones, "'The Fatigue'" is one of some interrelated fragments ... The interrelatedness consists of each of these fragments being concerned with the Roman troops garrisoned in Syria Palestine at the time of the Passion' (*The Sleeping Lord*, p. 24). These 'fragments', to a certain extent but further revised, are some of the 'large portions excluded' from *The Anathemata*, about which Jones wrote in the Preface to that text, 'Should it prove possible I hope to make, from this excluded material, a continuation, or Part II of *The Anathemata*' (*Ana.*, p. 15). The remainder of the 'excluded material' was published posthumously as *The Roman Quarry*. It can be seen that Jones exploited the same themes and images throughout his life, returning again and again to particular ideas which first came into his mind during the writing of *The Anathemata*; the material of the troops stationed in Palestine at the time of the Passion, although not fully developed in the published *Anathemata*, was certainly in existence during this period.

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Although considerably more lyrical than the medieval plays, the soliloquy nevertheless demonstrates a number of similarities with the Crucifixion plays. Jones knew the Towneley version from his edition of *Everyman*; there are suggestions in his work that he was also familiar with the Crucifixion plays in the other cycles. Both the plays and Jones's poem focus on the role of the ordinary soldiers, who are simply obeying orders from above. The part of Christ in the plays is limited; the soldiers dominate the stage, with Christ the passive, and mostly silent, victim. In 'The Fatigue', Christ is entirely absent, though evidently the subject of the reflections and the prisoner to be escorted; in *The Anathemata*, it is noticeable that Christ is not mentioned by name, and is not directly portrayed in the text but only alluded to as 'he' – sometimes capitalised, but often in lower-case, a technique which further marginalises the figure of Christ whilst retaining the focus on the sacrifice of Christ. As in the medieval drama, Jones's soldiers seem oblivious to the humanity of Christ, being solely concerned with completing the job. The soldier in 'The Fatigue', like the soldiers of the plays, thinks not of Christ but of the tools he will need for the duty:

Perhaps they'll serve you the heavier pick, the pounding  
tamper, the spoil-shovels, the heavy maul  
the securing tackle  
of purchase, of lift, of haul  
of stay  
against a Fall.  
It is weighty impedimenta  
that belongs to Laverna's crux-gear  
it's no light fatigue  
you're in for.  
But perhaps, if you hang back behind Lanky, or make yourself scarce at the hand-  
out, you may get away with the lighter  
essentials:  
the Four Hooks  
of Danubian iron  
along with a few spares  
in a wattled basket...

(SL, p. 33)

Preparation for the task is of the utmost importance; the handing out of equipment is one of the rituals of military life, as Jones demonstrated in *In Parenthesis*:

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Corporal Quilter calls the leading man. He indicates with a jerk of the head the job of work.

One and one, from one pair of hands to another equally reluctant, they pass the shovels the length of the file.

Corporal Quilter stands watching.

There wanted one shovel to the number of the party. Private Saunders devised that he should be the unprovided man by the expedient of busying himself with his left puttee, conveniently come down. (*IP*, p. 91)

This may be compared with the Chester play of the Crucifixion, performed by the Ironmongers, in which the first Judeus produces a rope 'for to drawe at the mast', the second a hammer, and the third nails, or the Torturers of the Towneley play, who check their equipment before starting their task. However, the most striking similarity of Jones's speaker is to the dialogue of the York cycle's version of the play, which is perhaps unsurprising given that the appellation given to the figures is not the 'Judeus' or 'Torturer' of the Chester and Towneley cycles, but 'Militus'. The York play's soldiers, like Jones's generic soldiers, also complain about the arduous nature of the work, and hope to pass on the work-load to other colleagues:

IV MIL: I wene it wolle nevere come thore.

We foure rayse it noght right, to yere.

I MIL: Say man, whi carpis thou soo?

Thy lftying was but light/

II MIL: He menes ther muste be moo

To leve hym uppe on hight.<sup>21</sup>

The soldiers later grumble about their aches and pains caused by attempting to lift the Cross, as Jones's soldier grumbles about the duty that he has been given, knowing it to be a hard one. Jones's reference to another soldier, 'Lanky', appears to suggest a nickname for Longinus,<sup>22</sup> the soldier who speared Christ's side. The nicknaming echoes the bickering comradeship between the soldiers of the medieval play. It is notable, however, that whilst the earlier dramatists exploited the cruelty of

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<sup>21</sup> 'The Crucifixion', l. 163-8, in *English Mystery Plays*, ed. Peter Happé (London: Penguin Classics, 1975).

<sup>22</sup> Jones was fond of puns and of nicknames; *In Parenthesis* demonstrates this predilection through the introduction of characters such as 'Walter Map', a figure with Jones's own name and function in addition to the historical reference, and allusions to more common nicknames such as 'Taffy', 'Old Sweat' Mulligan, and 'Nobby' Clark.

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the soldiers and 'torturers' for both dramatic and moral effect, Jones's soldier expresses no such emotion; he is simply carrying out orders, not relishing it but showing grim acceptance. Whilst the character of the Roman soldier was developed in Jones's later work, the prototype is manifested in *The Anathemata* as the syndicate's agent in a passage which carries connotations of enforced labour and unpleasant tasks:

One hundred and sixty-seven years  
since Tiberius Gracchus  
wept for the waste-land  
and the end of the beginnings  
... and where I had a vineyard  
on a very fruitful hill fenced and watered  
the syndicate's agent  
pays-off the ranch operatives  
(his bit from the Urbs  
waits in the car).

(*Ana.*, p. 89)

Tiberius Gracchus and his supporters were killed in 133BC, the year after his attempted re-distribution of public lands (his 'weeping for the waste-land', discussed below) thus dating the scene to AD 33.<sup>23</sup> As Jones usually dates the birth of Christ to AD 3 or 4 and assumes Christ to have been crucified at the age of thirty,<sup>24</sup> the implication is that this narreme is set at the time of the Crucifixion.<sup>25</sup> Tiberius championed the dispossessed legionaries returning from overseas service; the 'waste-land' refers to the smallholdings and farms originally owned by the legionaries, which fell into ruin and bankruptcy and were then absorbed into the *latifundia* of the wealthy estate-owners. However, the term 'waste-land' has connotations of King Pellam's land, and the Grail myths, as Hague remarks, but also the more recent, and to Jones pertinent, agricultural lands of France laid waste

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<sup>23</sup> See Hague's explanation in *Commentary*, p. 89.

<sup>24</sup> See Jones's introduction to 'The Fatigue': 'It would appear that our A.D. 1 post-dates the Incarnation by a few years and, as when writing 'The Anathemata', I have supposed the Passion to have occurred about the middle year of Pilate's ten years procuratorship of Judaea and Samaria, shortly before the fall of Sejanus from power in Rome.' (*S.L.*, p. 24).

<sup>25</sup> These dates for the Nativity and Crucifixion are not used consistently, as per the discussion in chapter three; elsewhere in the same section, Jones uses AD 0 and AD 30 as the birth- and death-dates. There does not appear to be a particular reason for this inconsistency, and it seems to be a combination of convenience and the particular textbook consulted by Jones at the time.

during the First World War,<sup>26</sup> and the tracts of suburban London bombed during the Second World War.<sup>27</sup> Jones thus unites the returning legionaries of the Roman Empire with the returning infantrymen of Kitchener's Army, drawing parallels between the contemporary situation and that of two millennia previously. Hague notes that the phrase 'where I had a vineyard' is an allusion to Isaiah,<sup>28</sup> but in addition, the references to the 'fruitful hill' carry connotations of the Hill of Calvary, 'watered' by the blood of Christ; the combination of 'vineyard', 'hill' and 'water' recalls the wine and water of the Eucharist. The 'syndicate's agent' who 'pays off the ranch operatives' refers back to Tiberius's time, and alludes to the estate managers and hired hands who worked on the *latifundia*, in the place of the farmers and smallholders. However, there is a further aspect to the metaphor: as the image of the 'fruitful hill' suggests, the mercenary overtones of 'syndicate's agent' and 'operatives' also evoke Pontius Pilate's submission to the pressure of the Pharisees and orders to the army to crucify Christ, the 'fruitful' death because it enables the Redemption, and Pilate's subsequent dismissal of the affair. The implication is that Pilate, acting on behalf of the Jewish syndicate,<sup>29</sup> was an agent whilst Judas, who accepted payment for his betrayal of Christ, and the paid soldiers who crucified Christ were merely 'operatives', like Jones's later infantryman in 'The Fatigue' or the soldiers of the mystery plays. The modern terminology recalls the military

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<sup>26</sup> C.f. *I.P.*, p. 24: 'Behind 'E' Battery, fifty yards down the road, a great many mangolds, uprooted, pulped, congealed with chemical earth, spattered and made slippery the rigid boards leading to the emplacement. The sap of vegetables slobbered the spotless breech-block of No. 3 gun.'

<sup>27</sup> It should be remembered that the area of South-East London in which Jones was born was still, at this time, part of Kent, and was the source of much of the produce sold in the markets of the city. It was heavily bombed during the Second World War; Jones's father, living in Brockley, refused to move even after his own house had been badly damaged.

<sup>28</sup> 'The "vineyard on a very fruitful hill" is from Isaiah 5, which is peculiarly appropriate to the waste-land and Roman syndicate theme – the eating up of small farms by the great ranchers' (Commentary, p. 101).

The relevant passage in Isaiah 5 is: 'My wellbeloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine... And I will lay it waste... For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant: and he looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry'.

<sup>29</sup> The choice of term may also suggest 'synagogue', with its connotations of Jewish authority.

circumlocutions, with their vocabulary largely derived from colonial rule, much enjoyed by Jones;<sup>30</sup> in military parlance, soldiers assigned specific tasks are frequently referred to as 'operatives'.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, Jones uses colloquialisms such as 'his bit' to make the passage contemporary; the apparent anachronism of the car draws attention to the affinities between the capitalist empires of Rome and early twentieth-century Britain, whilst at the same time playing on the ambiguity of its archaic definition of 'chariot (of war or of triumph)'.<sup>32</sup> This passage, then, whilst brief, draws together three historical situations – Tiberius Gracchus's attempts to relieve the oppressed Roman soldiers, Christ's arrest by Pilate's army, and the status of the infantrymen or private soldiers in the British Army during the first half of the twentieth century. Jones's underlying suggestion is that throughout history the private soldier has been charged with unquestioningly carrying out orders, which are frequently of an unpleasant nature, with very little knowledge of their purpose and often in oppressive circumstances for very little reward, a view which is borne out by the medieval dramatist's depiction of the soldiers in the York play.

### **Craftsmanship**

At the end of chapter three, I referred to Jones's anachronistic use of modern events and terminology in connection with the tendency of the medieval chroniclers to conflate epochs, and draw comparisons between earlier eras, particularly that of the Roman Empire, and their own. The technique is also used by medieval dramatists, although in this instance to make the events depicted appear to be

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<sup>30</sup> c.f. *I.P.* p. 126: 'the platoon wallahs'.

<sup>31</sup> The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'operative', in its noun form, as 'a worker, esp. a skilled one' and 'an agent employed by a detective agency or secret service', amongst other meanings. However, widespread contemporary use of the term in a military context suggests that it originates from a description of a soldier serving on an 'operation', such as Operation Telic in the current action in Iraq. The *S.O.E.D.* defines 'operation' in its military sense as 'a strategic movement of troops, ships, etc., for military action'.

<sup>32</sup> *S.O.E.D.*

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contemporary, and therefore more real to the audience. Rhys's introduction to the Jones's edition of the plays states that:

[The plays] are all typical, and show us how the scenes and characters of the east were mingled with the real life of the English craftsmen and townfolk who acted them, and for whose pleasure they were written.<sup>33</sup>

It appears that the playwright wrote some of the plays specifically for the guilds that would be presenting them, as several plays are recorded as having been staged by an appropriate company, and the vocabulary deployed is frequently appropriate to the craft, and obviously derived from the terminology of the players' occupation rather than from the biblical source. The Rhys edition, for example, features the 'Chester Pageant of the Water-Leaders and Drawers of the Dee Concerning Noah's Deluge'. The careful allocation of the pageant to the guild or company most appropriate to the theme of the play is the kind of detail that would have pleased Jones.

Further, each play provides evidence of the dramatist's attention to the colloquialisms and terminology of the actors who would assume those parts:

But to surprise the English mediaeval smith or carpenter, cobbler or bowyer, when he turns playgoer at Whitsuntide, assisting at a play which expressed himself as well as its scriptural folk, we must go on to later episodes. The Deluge in the Chester pageant, that opens the present volume, has among its many Noah's Ark sensations, some of them difficult enough to mimic on the pageant-wagon, a typical recall of the shipwright and ark-builder. God says to Noah: -

A ship soon thou shalt make thee of trees, dry and light.  
Little chambers therein thou make,  
And binding pitch also thou take,  
Within and out, thou ne slake  
To anoint it thro' all thy might.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Rhys, p. vii.

<sup>34</sup> Rhys, pp. viii-ix.





Figure 7: David Jones, 'Trystan ac Esyllt', repr. in Merlin James, *Map of the Artist's Mind*.

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Later in this introduction, which would have influenced Jones's perceptions of the mystery cycles as a genre, Rhys discusses the use of such authenticating detail in a play that is not included in the volume, the York play of the Building of the Ark. Though Jones would have had to have read the full script elsewhere, Rhys's comments and the extracts from the play that he includes in the introduction are likely to have been of particular interest to Jones, with his interest in shipbuilding and craftsmanship and own concern for the accuracy of the detail (see his painting 'Trystan ac Esyllt', Figure 7).<sup>35</sup> The passage quoted by Rhys, coupled with Rhys's narrative summary, is reproduced below as it appears in the edition owned by Jones, as I wish to demonstrate similarities between the wording and intentions of the medieval playwright, and those of Jones in *The Anathemata*:

In the York Noah's Ark pageant, which seems to be the parent-play in England of all its kind, we have this craftsman's episode much enlarged. "Make it of boards," God says, "and wands between!"

Thus thriftily and not over thin,  
Look that thy seams be subtly seen  
And nailed well, that they not twin;  
Thus I devised it should have been;  
Therefore do forth, and leave thy din.

Then, after further instructions, Noah begins to work before the spectators, first rough-hewing a plank, then trying it with a line, and joining it with a gynn or gin. He says:-

More subtilely can no man sew;  
It shall be clinched each ilk and deal,  
With nails that are both noble and new,  
Thus shall I fix it to the keel:  
Take here a rivet, and there a screw,  
With there bow, there now, work I well,  
This work, I warrant both good and true.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> c.f. Jones's comments on the making of *Trystan ac Esyllt*, in a letter to Harman Grisewood, 12 March 1960, in *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 179:

'I think it is because I have had to find out so many, many things in some detail about the ship and its tackle. For *my* kind of drawing one *either* has to have the object *in front of one* – as flowers or trinkets or what not, *or* one has to find out the principle by which things work, helped out by memories of the sea and odd sketches, plus photographs, and not least, talks with dear Mick [Richey], that great navigator. (Only the bloody ropes are still worse and the picture is really only in its earliest stages in one way.)'

Jones's friendship with Richey long predated the making of *The Anathemata*, and Jones had made use of Richey's knowledge on many occasions – but this quotation demonstrates Jones's habitual desire for veracity.

<sup>36</sup> Rhys, p. ix.

The dramatist's reconstruction of Noah's Ark portrays it as a clinker-built ship. Jones was well aware of the two main boatbuilding techniques and his footnote to the Lady of the Pool's exclamation, 'you in y'r carvel-built – an' look at/ her fished spars!' (*Ana.*, p. 166) explains the difference in geographical variation: 'Carvel-built in contrast to clinker-built ships, and composite yards or other spars, in contrast to spars made from a single length of timber, characterized Mediterranean in contrast to northern shipping. To lash lengths of wood together to form a single spar is called "fishing"'. A carvel-built boat was made of planks fitted flush together, whereas a clinker-built boat would be constructed of overlapping planks fixed with clincher nails. Jones's knowledge is clearly derived from an article in *Antiquity* journal, which further details the time and geographical location in which each form was dominant.<sup>37</sup>

Whilst the Sea-Captain of the Lady of the Pool section is thus demonstrably of Mediterranean provenance, the appearance of his ship supporting the narrative, Jones would have noticed that the medieval author of the York play had ascribed to Noah a contemporary, northern-built boat with which to save mankind. This anachronism is made use of in 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', the paeon to the Cross which immediately follows the Lady of the Pool's observation of the 'ancient' captain's carvel-built ship; Jones expands the metaphor of the salvational ship, strongly associated with Noah as I discussed in the chapter on the *figura*, but significantly does not describe the vessel using the terminology expected by the reader. If Noah is the archetype of the ancient captains, the 'bacchic pelasgian', one might assume that Jones, with his emphasis on historical accuracy, would have assigned the 'old ichthys' of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' a carvel-built ship. However, the captain instead 'looks a bit of a clencher-build/ himself' (*Ana.*, p. 171), and Jones deliberately allows for ambiguity in this respect; the ship is 'clinkered with lands or flushed with seams'

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<sup>37</sup> J. Hornell, 'Origins of Plank-built Boats', in *Antiquity*, XIII:49 (1939) (in Jones's library).

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or 'roved or lashed'. Although the reason for the ambiguity is almost certainly to de-particularise the ship, presenting it instead as a universal image, it is likely that Jones was inspired at least in part by the medieval depiction of Noah as a local contemporary carpenter.

The fact that Jones is so preoccupied elsewhere in *The Anathemata* by the exact building technique and provenance of the ships that he depicts contrasts with the evident concern that the ship of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' should be both clinker-built and carvel-built, allowing for the simultaneous possibility of a historical, Middle-Eastern or Mediterranean Noah as well as a medieval, or even Victorian, English Noah – the biblical figure and the shipwright who re-enacted the scene. The shipbuilding technique which is normally used by Jones to differentiate and demarcate according to historical and geographical boundaries is thus used in this section as a unifying theme.

The action of the York play of the *Building of the Ark* is mirrored by the narrative of *The Anathemata*, as can be seen from a modern description of the drama:

In the Shipwrights' *Building of the Ark* (Play 8), the biblical shipbuilder Noah is presented as a divinely-directed contemporary shipwright in the act of constructing a clinker-built vessel, which in symbolic terms represents the Church, the sole hope of salvation for all mankind. Again, it is the closing words of the script which embellish what has been the playwright's intention throughout, to blend the daily labour of the York shipwrights with the divine scheme of redemption, for they revolve around a felicitous play on the word 'craft', which signifies both the play-Ark, the vessel which has just taken shape before the audience's eyes, and at the same time the divinely-inspired craft or 'mystery' of shipbuilding which God has taught Noah:

[NOE] He þat to me þis Crafte has kende,  
He wysshe vs with his worthy wille.<sup>38</sup>

In the place of the 'divinely-directed contemporary shipwright' of the play, Jones substitutes Eb Bradshaw, the mast and block-maker who refuses to skimp on repairs, but who instead takes pride in the quality of his work:

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<sup>38</sup> Richard Beadle, 'The York Cycle', in Richard Beadle, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 85-108, p. 87.

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if he waits his turn an' damps down his Sicily  
sulphur we'll spokeshave his deadeyes for him as smooth  
as a *peach* of a cheek

we'll fay that hounding true and proper – and of  
the best spruce, to rhyme with her mainmast, we'll square  
true and round to a nicely the double piercin's o' that cap –  
and of keel-elm.

(*Ana.*, p. 120)

Eb's monologue contains echoes of the language of the Chester Play of the *Deluge*, the play for which Jones supplied a set of wood-engravings. In the play, Noah, like Eb Bradshaw, informs the audience how the Ark is to be constructed, with the emphasis on durability and quality:

Of this tree will I have the mast,  
Tied with gables that will last  
With a sail yard for each blast,  
And each thing in its kind;  
With topmast high and bowsprit,  
With cords and ropes, I hold all fit  
To sail forth at the next weete  
This ship is at an end.<sup>39</sup>

Eb's reluctance to rush the repairs, as his messenger requests, echoes the time taken to prepare the Ark:

Lord, at your bidding I am bayne,  
Since none other grace will gain,  
It will I fulfil fain,  
For gracious I thee find.  
A hundred winters and twenty  
This ship making tarried have I,  
If, through amendment, any mercy  
Would fall unto mankind.<sup>40</sup>

Although the reasons for the delay are different, Jones suggests an affinity between the ship being brought to the docks for repair and the Ark. Eb tells the ship's messenger that his Captain has 'till the Day o' Doom/to sail the bitter seas of the world', the adjective 'bitter' suggestive of sorrow and misery.

Meanwhile, the 'clinker-built vessel, which in symbolic terms represents the Church'<sup>41</sup> of the *Building of the Ark* is pre-empted in Bradshaw's closing words that

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<sup>39</sup> Rhys, p. 31.

<sup>40</sup> Rhys, p. 32.

'had I the job of mortisin'/ the beams to which was lashed and roved the fault in all of/ us, I'd take m' time and set that aspen transom square to/ the Rootless Tree' (*Ana.*, p. 121), echoing the dramatist's intention of transposing the daily labour of the shipwrights onto the divine scheme of redemption. However, Eb's language is more reminiscent of another mystery play, the York *Crucifixion*, which was earlier cited as a possible source for the *Sleeping Lord*, than of either the York *Building of the Ark* or the Chester *Deluge*. Eb's language contains echoes of the soldiers' language as they construct the Cross, but his intention is opposed to the actuality presented in the play. His vow that if he was responsible for 'mortisin'/ the beams to which was lashed and roved the Fault in all of/ us', he would take the time to ensure that the joint was well-made contrasts strongly with the carelessness of the soldiers regarding the same mortice joint.<sup>42</sup>

3 Sold: Methinketh this cross will not abide,  
Ne stand still in this mortice yet.  
4 Sold: At the first time was it made over-wide;  
That makes it wave, thou mayst well wit.  
[...]  
3 Sold: Yes, I warrant  
I thring them sam, so mote I thrive.  
Now will this cross full stably stand;  
All if he rave, they will not rive.

Eb's use of the word 'roved' echoes the Third Soldier's 'rave' and 'rive' – a deliberate echo, I would suggest.

Whilst the concept of craftsmanship relating to both the work and the vessel is clearly evident in 'Redriff', the full impact of the metaphor is delayed until the 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' section, in which the accumulation of the ship/carpentry

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<sup>41</sup> Beadle, p. 87.

<sup>42</sup> A discussion of the recurrence of the word 'mortice' and its variants in the York Plays can be found in Joseph Grennen's article, 'The "Making of Works": David Jones and the Medieval Drama' (see chapter one for a summary). Grennen relates the vocabulary used by Eb ('If he leaves it to us...the bitter seas o' the world!', *Ana.*, p. 121) to the language of the York *Crucifixion* play (Grennen, p. 213). Grennen also refers to the York Play of Noah (p. 214), but solely in the context of Ark as body of Christ. He does not relate the figure of Noah to the figure of Eb in *The Anathemata*. He compares Eb's 'act of making' only with the Soldiers' 'act of making' the Cross (p. 221).

imagery finally culminates in the lyrical description of the shipbuilder's art. Beadle exposes the 'felicitous play on the word "craft"' at the climax of the York *Building of the Ark*; likewise, Jones's *Anathemata* turns on a similar play on words, albeit in a more subtle manner. In the poem itself, Jones does not mention the word 'craft', but the double meaning is at the centre of this section, and indeed is further enhanced by Jones's own 'wordcraft'.

The level of craftsmanship described in this play, and the attention of the dramatist to the detail of the craft, is reminiscent of Jones's care over the accuracy of his depiction of ships in his artwork, as the number of books on shipbuilding and navigation in his library testifies.<sup>43</sup> However, Jones's poetry is a conscious recalling of the shipwright's trade, for he considered the two crafts of poetry and carpentry to be the same action on a fundamental level. In the *Preface*, Jones quotes James Joyce's comment that 'practical life or "art" ... comprehends all our activities from boat-building to poetry' (*Ana.*, p. 10), activities that for Jones are thus inextricably linked. The association is embedded even deeper in Jones's consciousness, however – in his essay 'Autobiographical Talk', he writes:

As Sir Ifor Williams tells us, the bards of an earlier Wales referred to themselves as 'carpenters of song'. Carpentry suggests a fitting together and as you know the English word 'artist' means, at root, someone concerned with a fitting of some sort. Well, it would seem to me that round about 1924-6 I was at last understanding something of the nature of the particular 'carpentry' which most sorted with my inclinations and limitations. (*E&A*, pp. 29-30)

The Welsh tradition of 'carpenters of song' finds a parallel in the Scottish word 'Maker' for poets, known to Jones primarily through Dunbar's 'Lament for the Makars', and the influence of this terminology can be seen clearly in Jones's

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<sup>43</sup> Examples in Jones's library include: R. Anderson, *The sailing-ship: six thousand years of history* (London: 1926); G. Blake, *British Ships and shipbuilders* (London: 1946); F.G.G. Carr, *The yacht-master's guide and coaster's companion* (London: 1940); E.K. Chatterton, *Sailing ships and their story* (London: 1923); G.S.L. Clowes, *Sailing ships: their history and development as illustrated by the collection of ship models in the Science Museum* (London: 1932). These titles were taken from just the first sixty-eight pages of the *Catalogue*.

insistence on the 'making' of works of art, both visual and written.<sup>44</sup> He rarely uses the verbs 'to paint' or 'to write', preferring the more general verb 'to make', and using the noun to distinguish between the types of work being made; all 'makers' are thus grouped together, as the Preface to *The Anathemata* indicates: 'This applies to poets, artefacturers of *opera* of any sort...' (*Ana.*, p. 24). Jones's reconstruction of the ship in words in the 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' section of *The Anathemata* is thus a metaphorical boat-building, a re-presentation of the craftsmanship of the carpenter as he makes technical decisions and chooses methods and materials:

All wood else hangs on you:  
clinkered with lands or flushed with seams.  
Raked or bluffed.  
Planked or  
boarded and above  
or floored, from bilge to bilge.  
Carlings or athwart her  
horizontalled or an-end  
tabernacled and stepped  
or stanchioned and 'tween decks.  
Stayed or free.  
Transom or knighthead.  
Bolted, out in the channels or  
battened in, under the king-plank.  
Hawse-holed or lathed elegant for an after baluster  
cogginged, tenoned, spiked  
plugged or roved  
or lashed. (Ana., p. 174)

In the comprehensiveness of the vocabulary, Jones has made his passage as watertight as the salvational ship.

That Jones himself noticed and appreciated the medieval playwright's play on the word 'craft' is not, therefore, in any doubt in my mind. The convenient device of a mast- and block-maker in the family to introduce a modern colloquial aspect was also fully utilised, following the example of the playwright's use of local shipwrights. Grennen has argued that Jones's work shares some characteristics of

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<sup>44</sup> The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* has this entry: 'maker: (1) A person who makes something; a creator or producer. (2) A poet. Cf. MAKAR. *arch.* LME.'



the medieval drama, though he underestimates Jones's adoption of exegetical methods:

What Jones was sympathetic to in the medieval dramatic imagination, and, through that, in the exegetical world view which underpinned it, is perhaps clear enough. Certainly the concept of workmanship as a correlative to divine 'operation', most clearly visible in the York cycle, is one idea which would have impressed him strongly. That the medieval form of the English language (and, of course, Latin as well) had a powerful capacity for reflecting analogies through punning is another. It is obvious, however, that no modern poet could seriously subscribe to the world view in all its aspects implicit in the exegetical method.<sup>45</sup>

Indeed, as the phrase 'artefactors of *opera* of any sort' quoted previously and the line from *The Anthemata* referring to 'ranch operatives' indicate, Jones was clearly aware of the various layers of meaning attached to the word *opera* and its derivations. The 'concept of workmanship as a correlative to divine "operation", most clearly visible in the York cycle', is also clearly visible in *The Anthemata*, and particularly in the episodes most obviously influenced by the medieval plays of the *Building of the Ark* and of those relating to the Crucifixion.

### A Mystery

However, there is another consistent play on words apparent in *The Anthemata* and further demonstrating the influence of medieval drama upon Jones's work – a play on the term 'mystery'. Earlier in this chapter I discussed the impersonality of the opening lines of *The Anthemata*, expressed through the use of the third person-pronoun. This anonymity is appropriate for the 'darkness' of the beginning, further suggested by the 'groping syntax', but the passage itself is perhaps also an oblique reference to the word 'mystery', suggesting both the sacramental mysteries being celebrated by the hands 'lift[ing] up an efficacious sign', and the word's more modern connotations of secrecy or obscurity.<sup>46</sup> Jones's

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<sup>45</sup> Grennen, p. 221.

<sup>46</sup> The *S.O.E.D.* gives several meanings for 'mystery' from two different etymologies. The first set of definitions, 'from Latin *mysterium* from Greek *mustērion*, secret thing or ceremony', includes 'mystic presence; hidden or mystic meaning; hidden religious

long knowledge of the medieval mystery plays (his copy of the Rhys plays was signed and dated by him in 1919, predating his engraved edition of the *Chester Play of the Deluge* by eight years and the publication of *The Anthemata* by thirty-three years) is supplemented by his awareness of an archaic definition of the word 'mystery', which was used in medieval times to refer to a craft or guild of craftsmen. It was this definition that gave the name 'mystery plays' to the dramatic cycles performed by the medieval guilds of tradesmen and craftsmen.<sup>47</sup> Jones uses the term in the 'Lady of the Pool' section, set in late medieval London, in which Elen Monica declares 'or, by Janus, I weren't a freestone-mason's paramour nor him not/ 'dentured proper in his Mystery' (*Ana.*, p.130).

Jones's intentions in writing *The Anthemata* were discussed in detail in chapter two, but the objective that he gave in the Preface is particularly pertinent in this context:

My intention has not been to 'edify' (in the secondary but accepted and customary sense of that word), nor, I think, to persuade, but there is an intention to 'uncover'; which is what a 'mystery' does, for though at root 'mystery' implies a closing, all 'mysteries' are meant to disclose, to show forth something... Most of all, perhaps, I could wish of my 'mystery', *misterium* or *ministerium*, that it should give some kind of 'pleasure'... (*Ana.*, p. 33-4)<sup>48</sup>

Jones, a postulant of the Craft Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic founded at Ditchling by Eric Gill and Hilary Pepler,<sup>49</sup> was likely to have had both the craft and

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symbolism', '[a] religious belief based on divine revelation, esp. a doctrine of faith involving difficulties which human reason is incapable of solving... Also *gen.*, a hidden or secret thing; a thing beyond human knowledge or comprehension; a riddle, an enigma, a puzzle; a person or thing not understood', '[a] religious ordinance or rite, esp. a Christian sacrament; in *pl.*, the Eucharist', '[t]he condition or property of being secret or obscure...', and '[a] miracle play'. The second set of definitions of 'mystery', derived from 'Latin *misterium*, ministry', includes '[An] occupation, an office rendered', '[A] handicraft; a craft, an art; one's trade, profession or calling', '[A] trade guild or company', and "'art and mystery": a formula employed in indentures binding apprentices to a trade'.

<sup>47</sup> Although the title of the book owned by Jones refers to *Miracle Plays and Other Interludes*, the introduction freely alludes both to 'miracle' plays, featuring the saints, and 'mystery' plays, based on the Bible.

<sup>48</sup> This quotation suggests that Jones was sufficiently interested in the word 'mystery' and its etymologies to have consulted the dictionary, so would have been fully aware of all of its meanings as listed in footnote 46.

<sup>49</sup> Jones never progressed beyond this stage, and when Eric Gill resigned from the Guild and moved to Wales, Jones went with him.

the religious aspects of his own Guild in mind even as he wrote this passage.<sup>50</sup> Jones refers to his own dramatic poem as a 'mystery', implying a connection with the sacramental mysteries of the Church, but this passage also evokes the medieval plays, with their dual purposes of disclosure and entertainment. It seems likely that Jones was further inspired to use the term by another late medieval source, Langforde's fifteenth-century *Meditations in the Time of the Mass*. I first mentioned this text as a possible influence on Jones in chapter three, in my discussion of Jones's use of the *meditatio* form. Following Langforde's explanation of the various symbolic significances of the apparatus of the Mass, such as the chalice, the host and the water and wine, the priest concludes that 'All thes bene greytt mysteryes . and doith signifye grett Secrettes . of the commyng off our Sauyours .'<sup>51</sup>

Whilst the Christian Church incorporates the concept of the 'mystery' of the sacrament into its teaching, and the theological use of the term 'mystery' is not in itself arcane knowledge, Langforde's *Meditations* explicitly associates the mysteries with specific moments in the liturgy; for example, the worshipper is instructed as follows:

When the prest begynneth per omnia secula seculorum Afore the pater noster . In whiche prayer ys vij Petycyones contenyth.

Remember the vij vordes of grett Mystery . whiche our Lord dyd speik . hangyng quyke Apon the Crosse In hys grett Agonye distress and payne of deith...<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> To add a further, personal, layer of meaning to the word 'mystery', the Gill family facetiously referred to the five traumatised young men who drifted into the community in the immediate post-war years, and who slept in the barn, as the 'Sorrowful Mysteries'.

<sup>51</sup> Langforde, p. 16.

<sup>52</sup> Langforde, p. 25.

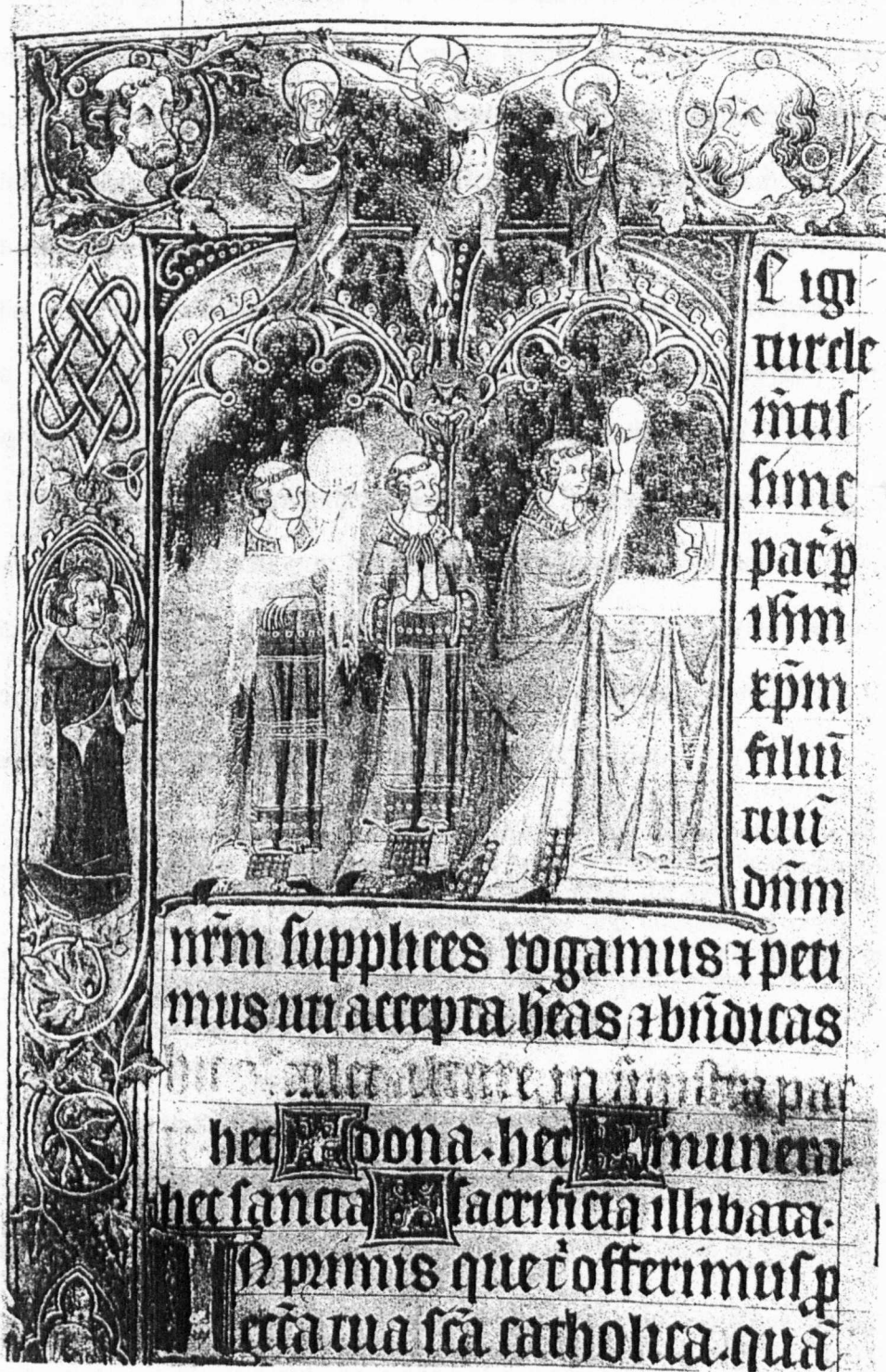


Figure 8: Plate I, *Tracts on the Mass*, ed. J. Wickham Legg.

This illustration, taken from the manuscript of the 'Sarum ordinary of the Fourteenth Century', which precedes Langforde's 'Meditations in the Time of the Mass' in the volume, depicts the raising of the host: 'the holy and venerable hands lift up an efficacious sign' (*Ana.*, p. 49).

## Chapter Five: Liturgical Drama

The liturgy is both a prompt to the memory, and a formula for disclosure. Langforde's descriptions of the actions of the Mass, and his prescribed reactions to particular gestures or words, also demonstrate the inherent dramatic qualities of the liturgical ritualistic context, an aspect of Christian worship used to advantage by both Jones and the medieval playwrights. The repetition of gestures, each with its own peculiar significance, is noted and explained by the priest in his introduction; several of the same gestures, such as the raising of the host, are repeatedly performed throughout *The Anthemata*, the iteration contributing to the sense of ritual.

However, *The Anthemata* makes use of the repetition of words, and the medieval tendency to catalogue as well as of the repetition of actions. There is a ritualistic aspect to the litany of the shipman's terms, a reassuring rhythm to the words that resembles a chant or prayer, in the passage from 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' quoted earlier. This aspect has also been noted by Grennen:

Jones is interested principally in the record of human artefacture (his word), which includes ritual and does not automatically reject the spiritual dimension implied in some forms of ritual. Nor, equally important, does he ignore the implicit ritual developed over time in even the most humble and unassuming crafts. (It is no accident, incidentally, that the craft guilds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries took so naturally to the preparations for and performance of the mystery pageants.)<sup>53</sup>

It is interesting that Grennen should comment, albeit 'incidentally', on the significance of ritual to the craft guilds who performed the mystery plays. The link between medieval drama and the Christian liturgy has long been acknowledged:<sup>54</sup>

For reasons that have nothing to do with literature, the Church has in its structure and liturgy conditions from which drama might accidentally develop. It possessed, for instance, the outward phenomena of a theatrical performance, a building, an audience, and men speaking or singing words to be listened to and performing action to be watched. Within this framework there were more precise resemblances

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<sup>53</sup> Grennen, p. 221.

<sup>54</sup> Recent criticism on the mystery cycles has suggested that the link may not be as strong as was once thought; although this may be the case, it would be inappropriate to enter that particular debate in this thesis, and I am thus limiting critical opinions to those expressed before the publication of *The Anthemata*, or, in the case of criticism published since 1952, which I use for reasons of succinctness, to the traditional view that the drama developed from the liturgy, with which Jones himself was familiar from the introduction to the Rhys edition.

## Chapter Five: Liturgical Drama

which might be heightened in a number of ways. Choirs sang the psalms and other pieces antiphonally and therefore when two adjoining verses consisted of question and answer they might momentarily seem to be engaged in dialogue... Action as well as words could have a dramatic character.<sup>55</sup>

*The Anthemata* realises the dramatic potential of the 'performing action to be watched', through the recurring motif of the raising of the chalice.

### Liturgical dialogue

The visual aspect of *the Anthemata* is often overlooked by critics, but as the language and imagery drawn from the theatre would suggest, the poem appeals to the visual imagination as much as to the aural sense. Whilst the poem can indeed be interpreted as 'a play of voices', its affinities with drama do not arise solely from its use of voices, but are inherent in its essentially liturgical foundation: the dramatic qualities of the monologues in fact have more in common with the pulpit than with the secular stage, despite recognising the influence of the latter.

The liturgy, which also provided the basis of the mystery plays, is not exclusively aural, however. Certain actions are integral to the celebration of the Mass; the service is watched, as well as heard. Indeed, in the opening lines of the text, we 'discern him making this thing other', in a typical Jonesian pun on the two most common meanings of 'discern', 'mark as separate or distinct', a recognition of the priest's action of 'making this thing other', and 'make out by looking',<sup>56</sup> describing the congregation's role of spectatorship. This visual mimetic aspect is as significant in *The Anthemata* as the aural aspect insisted upon by Jones. The discrete narremes inset into the lyrical narrative movement of the poem are notable for being either monologues, performed by the 'voices' of the text, or detailed descriptions of scenes rather than events, eyewitness accounts in which there is little or no movement or sound – a verbal painting, in effect.

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<sup>55</sup> Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 5.

<sup>56</sup> S.O.E.D.

### Verbal paintings

One of the most significant examples of Jones's 'verbal painting' technique can be found in Part VII, 'Mabinog's Liturgy', in the description of Queen Guinevere at Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve. Jones's vocabulary in this passage, which aims to demonstrate the beauty of the Virgin Mary through favourable comparison with the acknowledged beauty of Guinevere though at times it comes close to creating the opposite impression, is that of the artist; although the anonymous narrator claims that 'We are not concerned with portrait', the highly-detailed depiction suggests otherwise, and indeed, one of Jones's footnotes to the section refers the reader to 'Dürer's painting the "Virgin with Irises"'.<sup>57</sup> The lines

Had she been on Ida mountains  
to whose lap would have fallen y'r golden ball, if not to hers  
that laps the unicorn? (*Ana.*, p. 194),

are given a literal explanation by Jones's note that 'only virgins can tame unicorns and that in some allegories the unicorn means our lord', but visually, the lines evoke the famous medieval 'Lady with the Unicorn' tapestry hanging at the Cluny Museum in Paris.<sup>58</sup> Dilworth has also remarked upon the visual appeal of the scene, commenting that 'the description of her is as close as poetry can come to painting, though figure-painting only'.<sup>59</sup> In fact, much of Jones's writing either consciously references or subconsciously recalls visual works of art, drawing upon Jones's art-school training and primary vocation as artist. Using analogies drawn from visual art,

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<sup>57</sup> This sixteenth-century painting (actually entitled 'The Virgin with the Iris') was of public interest at the time of the composition of *The Anathemata*, having been acquired by the National Gallery in 1945. It was subsequently dismissed by scholars as a later pastiche, although recent investigations have suggested that it was produced in Dürer's workshop and probably under his direction. It continues Dürer's theme of the Virgin in the Garden, a topic central to Jones's own art.

<sup>58</sup> It may be worth noting that Vernon Watkins, Jones's friend and correspondent, published his collection of poetry entitled *The Lady with the Unicorn* in 1948, whilst Jones was writing *The Anathemata*.

<sup>59</sup> *Shape of Meaning*, p. 229.

the various narremes of *The Anathemata* can be classified according to three main categories: landscapes, seascapes, and portraits, either grouped or individual. It could be argued that a fourth, that of still life, is introduced in the descriptions of the chalice, or the room prepared for the last supper, but it seems to me that these Mass-related descriptions form the background against which the narremes are set; in themselves, they are not discrete units of narrative.

Although Jones's tendency to incorporate dramatic monologues into his work has been well-documented, the equally dramatic nature of the non-oral narrative has not been so frequently observed. Whilst previous readers have commented on the 'great set-pieces' of the poem,<sup>60</sup> such as the glacial oreogenesis of the world, or the description of Guinevere at Mass, there has been a general failure to acknowledge these narremes as a continuation of the dramatic tradition. However, I suggest that the visual appeal of such passages relates to Jones's understanding of the performance of the medieval mystery plays, with the focus on exposition through spectacle but always retaining an underlying theological didacticism. The Guinevere passage is a tableau; there is no speech, either direct or indirect, and until the final denouement, does not contain even the potential for movement. Nevertheless, it has inherent dramatic qualities, derived partly from the setting – candlelit Mass, with its dramatic connotations noted previously, at midnight on Christmas Eve, in a medieval chapel in the presence of King Arthur's court – but partly also from a combination of the detailed visual description that allows the reader to picture the scene so exactly, the literary and mythological allusion to the king doomed as a result of his wife's beauty and infidelity, the hyperbolic language, and, finally, the tension caused by the implicit comparison of the adulterous Guinevere with the immaculate Virgin Mary with its attendant suggestion of blasphemy. This mounting suspense is broken by the first indication of movement, although it is described in

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<sup>60</sup> Corcoran, p. 45.



such as way that the reader cannot be certain that the movement takes place within the scene depicted (*Ana.*, p. 205).

The poem's narrative is a series of discrete dramas, either monologues such as those given by Elen Monica and Eb Bradshaw, or tableaux such as that of Guinevere at Mass, connected by the repeated device of the voyage narreme, as discussed in chapter three. In this aspect of the structure of *The Anathemata*, Jones seems to have been influenced by the medieval dramatic tradition. It has previously been noted that the eight parts, as well as the individual narremes which are contained within them, are not sequential, in that each part neither follows the previous one nor leads into the next part in a direct and obvious manner. In chapter two I suggested that there is in fact a chronological order, in that the parts are arranged according to their position in the liturgical calendar, but that this is not immediately apparent; what is more obvious is that the historical chronology, drawn from the setting of each part, is disrupted. Whilst all eight parts are clearly thematically linked by the liturgy and the actions of the Mass, as could be inferred from the liturgical framework of *The Anathemata*, there is no narrative continuity.

This relationship of parts to the whole reflects the structure of the mystery cycles:

The partial detachment of short plays from liturgical time has some bearing upon the development of the cycle play, which appeared at about the same time as the combined Passion and Resurrection play. The characteristic of the cycle play is that (like a series of narrative wall-paintings) it sets forth a number of different episodes, which are doctrinally and thematically related but which do not fuse into one extensive plot as does the matter of the Passion and Resurrection play.<sup>61</sup>

Rosemary Woolf's observations on the medieval drama bear an interesting relation to my discussion of *The Anathemata*. The fragments of *The Anathemata* can be compared to the pageant wagons, each providing the stage for a section of the Biblical story. Like the cycle plays, *The Anathemata* sets forth different episodes,

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<sup>61</sup> Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 55.

but the association between them is dependent on theme and doctrine, rather than plot. Modern commentators have frequently been puzzled by the apparent absence of a plot, a narrative causal relationship between episodes, but it seems that Jones was not without literary precedent. Even more significantly, Woolf gives a visual analogy for the mystery cycles, comparing the plays to 'a series of narrative wall-paintings'. This is an important consideration for any study of Jones's work, particularly given his stated intention to 'make a shape in words', and his own visual art, including murals such as the 'Entry into Jerusalem' processional piece that he painted on the walls of the barn at Capel-y-Ffin – again showing his attraction to pageantry. The inter-disciplinary nature of Jones's attitude towards art can be seen in the narrative tendencies of his paintings and drawings, the majority of which are connected to Arthurian mythology and the Matter of Britain, and the visual tendencies of his narrative writing. The two disciplines merge in Jones's later work, his inscriptions, in which neither the written meaning nor the aesthetic appearance dominates, as can be seen in his dedicatory inscription to *The Anathemata* (Figure 9).

The inference, then, is that Jones approached the final composition of *The Anathemata*, the assembling of the fragments of text, as a visual artist rather than as a writer, and that the final arrangement owes as much to aesthetic deliberation as to textual expediency. This hypothesis is supported by his description of the fragments as 'things to which I would give a related form, just as one does in painting a picture' (*Ana.*, p. 34), and further reinforced by the evidence of the draft manuscripts, which clearly demonstrate that Jones arranged his material after composition. The eight individual parts of the final work therefore must comprise a conscious division of the text rather than a sequential organic development.

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PARENTIBVS  
MEIS·ET·PRIOR  
IBVS·EORVM  
ET·OMNIBVS  
INDIGENIS  
OMNIS·CAN  
DIDÆINSVLÆ  
BRITTONVM  
GENTIS

Figure 9: Dedicatory inscription, 'Parentibus meis' (*Ana.*, opp. p. 49).



degree, its own unity'.<sup>1</sup> It would appear, then, that the number of fragments is generally considered to be entirely arbitrary. However, *In Parenthesis* was composed in seven parts, a number with religious significance. The only other written work to be published during Jones's lifetime was *The Sleeping Lord and other fragments*, which was published in 1974, shortly before Jones's death in October of that year.<sup>2</sup> Jones described *The Sleeping Lord* as a collection of associated poems: "The Fatigue' is one of some interrelated fragments which include 'The Wall' and 'The Tribune's Visitation' among other already published pieces' (SL, p. 24). Following these poetic fragments, *The Sleeping Lord* also includes an extract from an abandoned writing, entitled *The Book of Balaam's Ass*; other surviving passages from this unfinished book are included in *The Roman Quarry*.<sup>3</sup>

Excluding the clearly dissociated afterthought of *Balaam's Ass*, the 'various bits and pieces' on the intertwined themes of Roman soldiers and the Mass that Jones compiled for inclusion in *The Sleeping Lord* comprise eight fragments. This is not to assert that Jones deliberately selected eight fragments for this particular book, in the same manner in which he inarguably divided *In Parenthesis* and *The Anathemata* into seven or eight parts, but it is, nevertheless, a coincidence worth

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<sup>1</sup> Dilworth, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> The remaining poetic works in Jones's oeuvre are *The Roman Quarry and other sequences*, ed. Harman Grisewood and René Hague (London: Agenda Editions, 1981), and *Wedding Poems*, ed. Thomas Dilworth (London: Enitharmon, 2002). As both books were published posthumously, their structure is not relevant to this discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Jones makes it clear in his preface to the *Balaam's Ass* fragment that it is taken from an entirely separate work to the preceding poems in the collection: 'The following pages are included here as a fragment of a much longer writing, or rather pieces of writings, made in the late 1930s and early 1940s... About that time I had begun on further fragments consisting of very diverse content. These I provisionally called *The Book of Balaam's Ass*. This collection I decided to abandon altogether... Anyway, for good or ill, these few pages from one section of the abandoned *Book of Balaam's Ass* were chosen as seeming to afford a link of sorts between the two widely separated books: *In Parenthesis* and *The Anathemata*' (SL, p. 97). A line in a letter to René Hague, dated December 1973, reiterates the 'separateness' of the *Balaam's Ass* fragment: '...It [his new book] will contain all those various bits and pieces of mine that were in *Agenda* and is called *The Sleeping Lord and other fragments* and also I've included some stuff that I made immediately after *In Parenthesis* was more or less finished ... I was going to call it *The Book of Balaam's Ass* but I abandoned the project as it would not come together' (DG, p. 250).

## Chapter Six: Octave and Triptych

mentioning. The engravings that he produced to illustrate the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* also number eight. Jones must have had at least a subconscious impulse repeatedly to arrange related poetic fragments or narrative parts into series of eight, suggesting that for some reason the number was important to him for aesthetic, practical or intellectual reasons. Whilst the arrangement of parts in the other works may well be attributable simply to the natural division of the narrative of *In Parenthesis*, or the request from a publisher or number of near-complete fragments at his disposal in *The Sleeping Lord*, the process by which *The Anathemata* was compiled excludes such organic reasons and suggests the imposition of a scheme. Although much of the enclosing framework and many of the narremes were written before the final making of the poem prior to publication, Jones added new sections to link up, fill out and otherwise augment the existing material:

Premature assumptions about the work's 'fragmentary' nature imply that it is a sequence, whereas structurally it is a single work. True, it is based on material the poet began to write in 1939, but he performed a radical deconstruction of that material before using parts of it in *The Anathemata*. Moreover, the poem is largely made of entirely new material written between 1946 and 1952: Jones attests that in reworking the earlier 'wedges of stuff' he made 'a quite different form ... with wholly new & long passages added, e.g., most of the "geological" theme in Section I & all the "Lady of the Pool" & "Mabinog's Liturgy," most of "Sherthursdaye & Venus Day," all of "Redriff" & large parts of "Middle Sea & Lear Sea." Yet none the less a lot of stuff was here & there drawn upon from the material written in Sheffield Terrace [during the war], but a lot more either eliminated or wholly recast & entirely rearranged'.<sup>4</sup>

In chapter three, Jones's method of creating the poem from diverse materials was compared to the medieval form of *compilatio*. I now suggest that Jones proceeded to arrange these fragments into a physical order or structure in a manner which resembles the concept of *ordinatio*. The arrangement is not haphazard; though it may not have been intended at the outset, a conscious positioning of the narremes and linking narrative sections took place, as Jones himself made clear, in response

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<sup>4</sup> Dilworth, p. 170.

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to his own suggestion that some readers might compare *The Anathemata* to an 'Irish-stew':

I think it would be an unfair description, for the bits of carrot, old bones, gobbets of meat, peelings of onions, etc. are not, as in a stew, floating about, but are placed with precision in the pot of the poem. (I.N. p. 39)

Having established that Jones's division, or agglomeration, of the text into eight parts was neither the result of a sequential development of the work, nor entirely arbitrary, the reasons for this decision, and the relevance of it to the form and structure of the work may be assessed. In the introduction to this thesis, I commented on Jones's statement in the Preface that 'What I have written has no plan, or at least is not planned. If it has a shape it is chiefly that it returns to its beginning...' (*Ana.*, p. 33), and the potential opposition that this sets up with another statement from the same Preface, that 'while Prudentia is exercised about our intentions, Ars is concerned with the shape of a finished article' (*Ana.*, p. 29). I suggested that Jones's disclaimers cannot always be taken at face value, partly due to his modest nature and reluctance to claim success for his work.

It is notable that, with the exception of the Preface, Jones's comments about the poem, and particularly the themes and form of it, are invariably in response to questions. As Jones was reluctant to discourage interested readers by denying the validity of their interpretations of his work, especially as he believed that 'the artist must be dead to himself whilst engaged upon the work' (*Ana.*, p. 12) and that the work thus produced should therefore represent itself ('when the workman is dead the only thing that will matter is the work, objectively considered', *ibid.*), he rarely confirmed or denied suppositions and interpretations, though he frequently offered definitions or sources for phrases, characters and locations.

There are therefore areas of ambiguity in any interpretation of his meaning, and more importantly, gaps in our knowledge of his intentions. As there is apparently no record of any reader asking Jones why *The Anathemata* should be

presented in eight parts, it is unsurprising that there is equally no record of Jones offering a response, or indeed, commenting on that aspect of the form at all. Although much of his correspondence remains to be edited and published, it is unlikely that any clear statement will be found. Any attempt to understand the significance of the number eight to the structure of *The Anathemata* must therefore rely upon the known context of the work itself and the sources of that material, supported to a greater or lesser extent by the vague statements made by Jones in the Preface and published correspondence. Notwithstanding these cautions, I believe that it is possible to demonstrate that the number eight, in connection with the form and content of *The Anathemata*, is significant.

Referring again to Jones's description of the fragments of *The Anathemata* as 'things to which I would give a related form', the first question to be asked is what Jones meant by 'related form'. Did he mean a form which related the things to each other, that is to say a unifying form, or did he mean a form which is in some way related to the content and import of those things? The eight-part structure in fact fulfils both of these functions, and has its roots in medieval culture, theology and literature.

### **The octave**

At the beginning of the previous chapter, the concept of *The Anathemata* as a performance was introduced, and Jones's instructions to 'observe the score' were discussed. The musical score has as its basis the octave discovered by Pythagoras and in one sense, the composition of the poem in eight parts could be interpreted as the re-presentation of the poem as a musical octave. The octave is defined as 'An interval embracing eight notes on the diatonic scale, the highest note having twice the frequency of and the same alphabetical name as the lowest; a series of notes or



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instrument keys etc. extending through this interval'.<sup>5</sup> The octave is therefore essentially the experience of two notes that are the same, but different; it is cyclical, but with a shift in pitch. It is also an all-encompassing boundary, containing all possibilities. It can also be divided, as Pythagoras demonstrated, to produce musical harmonies according to a set of ratios (octaves, fifths and fourths). Pythagoras's discovery of the octave was the foundation of classical ideas concerning harmony and proportion, and was used not only in music and mathematics but in architecture and art, amongst other disciplines. The Pythagorean concepts of the Golden Ratio and Golden Section, and the geometrical applications of the octave, constituted an essential part of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century art school curriculum; Jones would have received teaching in these aspects from the age of fourteen.

Indeed, *The Anathemata* often uses musical analogies based on the Pythagorean rules of harmony and proportion which also underlie pictorial composition. 'Rite and Foretime' depicts the Creation of the world in a combination of scientific and musical terms; the music to which Jones refers is early church music, as shown in the lines:

how long and long and long and  
very long again, before you'll maze the waltz-forms in gay  
Vindobona in the ramshackle last phases; or god-shape the  
modal rhythms for nocturns in Melk in the young-time. (Ana., p. 59)

The footnote clarifies the reference to 'nocturns': 'the reference is to the Benedictine abbey of Melk, in Austria, which I am told was one of the great centres of church music' (Ana., p. 59). As the Ice Age descends, Jones compares the onset of glaciation to the beginning of a sung Mass:

Now, Januarius brings in the millennial snow that makes the  
antlered mummings glow for many a hemera.  
The *Vorzeit*-masque is on  
that moves to the cosmic introit.

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<sup>5</sup> S.O.E.D.

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Col canto the piping for this turn.  
Unmeasured, irregular in stress and interval, of interior  
rhythm, modal.  
If tonic and fire are final  
the dominant is ice  
if fifth the fire  
the cadence ice.  
At these Nocturns the hebdomadary is apt to be vested for  
five hundred thousand weeks.  
Intunes the Dog:  
Benedicite, ignis...  
Cantor Notus and Favonius with all their south-aisled  
numina:  
con flora cálida  
mit warmer Fauna  
The Respond is with the Bear:  
Benedicite, frigus...  
Super-pellissed, stalled in crystallos, from the gospel-side,  
choir all the boreal schola  
mit kalter Flora  
con fauna fría

(*Ana.*, pp. 63-4)

The musical references are inextricably linked with the Mass, again reinforcing the concept of Mass as performance, or anamnesis. The terminology is predominantly that of church music, rather than of secular music, and shows an understanding not only of musical theory but of the history of musical theory as well. Jones refers to 'modes' of music, which have implications for the tone and structure of the poem itself; Jones's insistence on a particular 'mode' refers to *The Anathemata* as well as the events it describes and its liturgical use. In Part V, the sirens sing a 'thirteenth-fourteenth century song, *lchot a burde in boure bryht*':

Making a music to the tune of *Greensleeves* and for en-core in  
Sung-out plain-spoke south-English, this prose:  
With locks lovesome  
and long, with front and face fair to take between hands, with many  
mirths may we mingle, blow wind, blow us our sweetings  
set to fluvial fifths and fishy cadences of choirs fathoms under, but seeming of the  
Thirteenth Mode. (Ana., p. 143)

As Jones's footnote to these lines explains, 'The thirteenth, the Ionian Mode, is the mode to which the modern Major Scale corresponds. It was known in the Middle Ages as the "lascivious mode", that is, the sportive mode' (*Ana.*, p. 143, n.3). This characteristic makes it an appropriate mode not only for the sirens, but also for

the narrator, the Lady of the Pool. However, in her part as Britannia, Elen Monica exclaims 'Good – but see the mode's Dorian!' (p. 146) – the Dorian mode is thought to be 'serious and noble';<sup>6</sup> *Greensleeves* is itself composed in the Dorian mode. Significantly, the Dorian mode is one of the eight ecclesiastical modes associated with medieval plainchant, whilst the Ionian mode was considered to be for secular use only. Jones had a particular interest in plainchant ('Sung-out plain-spoke south-English'), and enjoyed listening to Gregorian chant in his room; although there is no published research on Jones's musical affinities, most critics having accepted Jones's avowed lack of musicality at face value, it seems that this interest was not merely recreational but extended to intellectual enquiry.

In fact, Jones's reference to the 'Thirteenth Mode' is indicative of the extent – and limits – of his knowledge. Most modal systems refer to either eight or twelve modes; the Ionian mode is excluded from the earlier eight-mode ecclesiastical system. The twelve-mode system was introduced by Heinrich Glarean in the *Dodechachordon*, published in 1547; this book attempted to collate musical theory, philosophy and biography, and to synthesise medieval and classical traditions. Until this date, the eight-mode system was widely accepted, and consisted of Dorian, Hypodorian, Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Lydian, Hypolydian, Mixolydian and Hypomixolydian. Glarean argued that there were in fact twelve modes, including the Aeolian and the Ionian, the latter of which he identified as the most popular mode in contemporary use. In referring to the Ionian as the 'Thirteenth Mode', Jones appears to have made a rare error; the Ionian Mode is in fact the eleventh mode of Glarean's system. The most likely explanation is that Jones knew that the Ionian mode was a later addition, but accidentally added it to Glarean's twelve modes. The fact that he demonstrates an awareness of the mode's popularity and theoretical connotations in

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<sup>6</sup> Harold S. Powers and Frans Wiering: 'Mode: Modal Theories and Polyphonic Music', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23/03/2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. The ensuing analysis of music in *The Anathemata* is based on the explanation of modes given in this article.

the Middle Ages, by associating it with the medieval song 'Ichot a burde in boure bryht', and his understanding of it as a secular mode, implies that he was equally aware of other modes, and of their ecclesiastical purposes.

Whilst Glarean's twelve-mode system rapidly established itself in musical theory, the Church persisted with the eight-mode system, which underpins Gregorian chant and other plainsong. In fact, the liturgy is closely linked to music through the use of modes. During the early medieval period, these were codified in the *oktoechos*, a systematisation of music attributed to St John of Damascus in the eighth century.<sup>7</sup> The term *oktoechos* has three separate but related connotations:

The system of the eight 'church modes' (the 'musical' *oktōēchos*) in the medieval Latin, Byzantine, Slavonic, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian repertoires of Christian liturgical chant. Also, by association, the practice of grouping chants by mode (the 'calendric' *oktōēchos*) so that they can be sung in numerical order over a period of time, usually one mode per week, proceeding to the next higher number each Sunday and beginning with the 1st mode again when the 8th is completed. And a book (the 'liturgical' *oktōēchos*) in which the chant texts are grouped by mode in numerical order to facilitate performance according to the calendric *oktōēchos*.<sup>8</sup>

This second definition of *oktoechos* as a 'practice of grouping chants by mode' resulted in an eight-week cycle of hymns, with each week being accorded a specific mode, and the hymns or chants for that week being sung in the appropriate mode; the practice originated in the Palestinian custom of singing the paschal hymns in a different mode on each of the eight days of Easter week, and thus became associated with Resurrectional hymns.

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<sup>7</sup> The term *Oktoechos* is also the name of one of the basic liturgical texts of the Orthodox Church, containing the hymns of Vespers, Matins and the Divine Liturgy.

<sup>8</sup> Jeffrey, Peter. 'Oktoechos', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23/03/2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

The image shows a page from a medieval manuscript. At the top, there is Latin text: "dixit collata s; tū sū missa + cū uenit ad uul-  
tū sū. **P**er dñm. + dicat uis. **P**er oī  
a se  
clā.s.

In the center, a circular miniature depicts a priest performing the Mass. He is shown in profile, wearing a dark robe and a mitre, with his hands raised. To his left, two other figures, possibly deacons or altar servers, stand in prayerful poses. The background of the miniature is filled with a dense, repeating geometric pattern.

To the right of the miniature, there is musical notation on a four-line staff. The text "Er" is written above the staff, and ".omni" is written below it.

Below the miniature, there is more Latin text and musical notation. The text reads: "a secula seculor. **A**men. **D**ominus  
uolū. **E**t cū spū tuo. **A**uersū cor  
ta. **N**ēmus ad dominū. **G**racias

Figure 10: Plate II, *Tracts on the Mass*

This illustration, taken from the manuscript of the 'Sarum ordinary of the Fourteenth Century' which precedes Langforde's 'Meditations in the Time of the Mass' in the volume, shows the juxtaposition of a pictorial representation of the Mass with the score and chant of the liturgy.

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It has already been observed that *The Anathemata* draws upon this musical context most often in connection with the Mass; the poem itself begins and ends with the Paschal Mass. It is therefore a possibility that the inspiration for the structural division of the poem into eight parts, as well as the narrative form, is derived from liturgical practice, although in this case the poem moves through the eight-week *oktoechos* before returning to the beginning, rather than the liturgical calendar.

The eight-mode system in early and medieval ecclesiastical music:

was also correlated with extra-musical octenary, quaternary and binary systems. Near the very outset of the medieval development Aurelian stated in his own supplement to the 'De octo tonis' that begins chapter 8 of *Musica disciplina* that the eight modes appear to imitate the motions of the zodiac and of the seven planets (the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn). Ramis de Pareia (*Musica practica*, 1482) presented an elaborate comparison of the eight modes and the celestial orbits, which reappears on the title-page of Gaffurius's *Practica musice* (1496; see Haar, 1974). In the Guidonian tradition the eight modes were likened to the Beatitudes and also the parts of speech. Johannes reported the last congruence, and added another (*De musica*, chap.10):

'It seems very fitting that as all that is said is contained in eight parts [of speech] so all that is sung may be governed [*moderetur*] by eight modes. But though they are now eight they were once only four, probably in imitation of the four seasons. For as the ages are diversified by the four seasons, so all song is diversified by the four modes.'

In chapter 14 of the 13th-century *Summa musice* attributed to Perseus of Würzburg and Petrus ... the eightfold system is correlated with the macrocosmic elements of the universe and the human microcosm of bodily fluids and temperaments.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, the use of the word 'octave' is not limited to the field of ecclesiastical music; it also has other liturgical connotations. In the liturgy, an octave is a period of eight days; the *oktoechos* has its origins in the Easter Octave. Whilst the number seven has a greater biblical symbolism, beginning with the celebration of the Sabbath, the number eight is also of importance. The eighth day was the day of circumcision, the day of solemnity after the feast of the Tabernacles, and a sacrificial day, according to the Old Testament. Eusebius records that Constantine's dedication of the Churches of Tyre and Jerusalem lasted eight days, but the octave as a regular custom was not introduced into the Christian calendar until the fourth

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<sup>9</sup> Powers and Wiering.



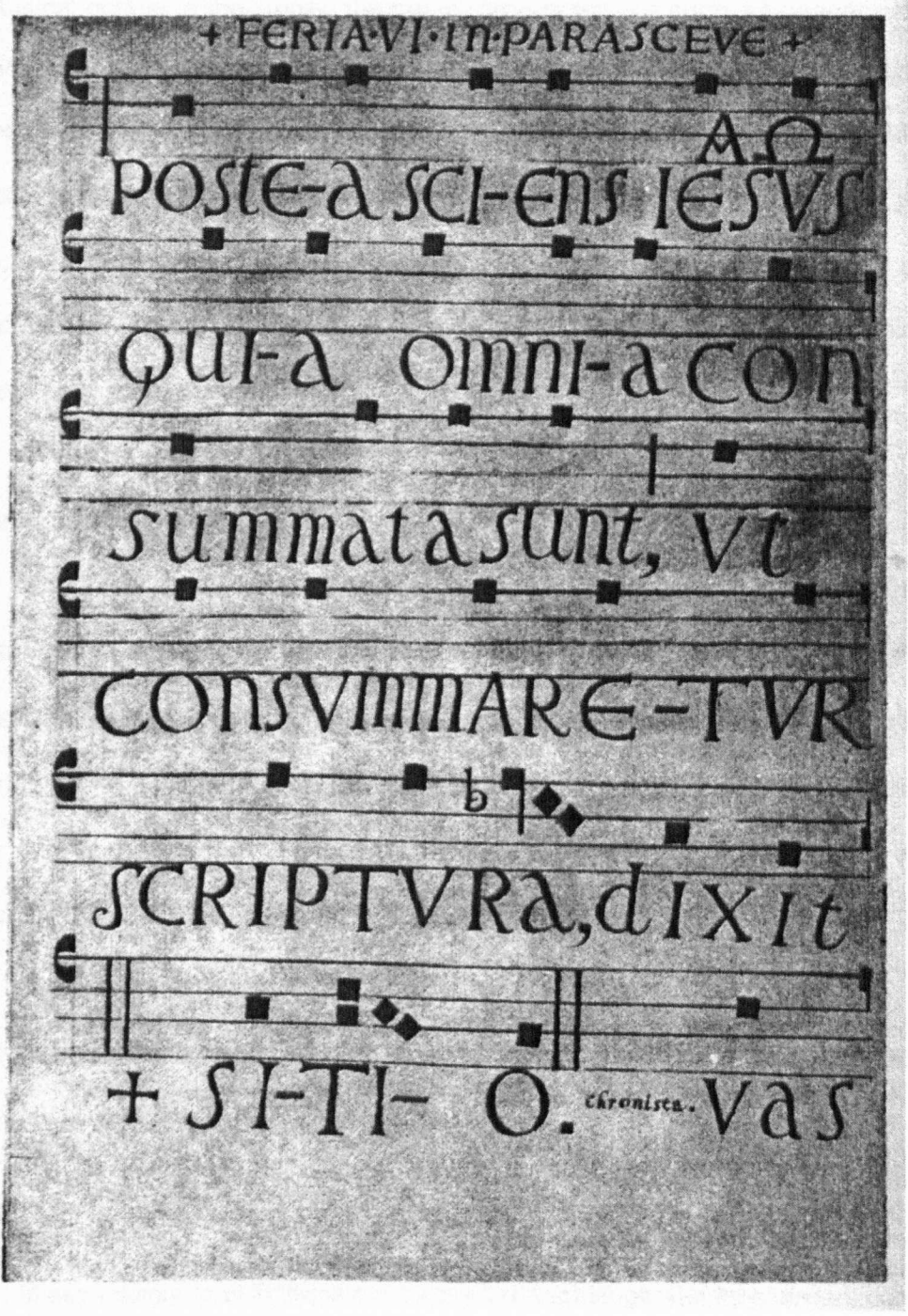


Figure 11: David Jones, 'Chant to the Passion according to St. John', 1951 (illustration to *Ana.*, opp. p. 235).



the musical octave in the liturgy; the same three notes are sung simultaneously, but in three different pitches. This is analagous to the concept of historical 'correspondence' discussed in chapter two, expounded by Spengler, and which so appealed to Jones. The idea that two or even three historical events could be the same, yet different, enacted in a different cycle, closely approximates to the use of the octave in music. The octave, the division of the whole into eight parts which yet create a unity, is thus central to an understanding of *The Anathemata*.

### **A significant number**

The tradition of assigning particular significance or properties to numbers is a longstanding one, and number symbolism is integral to Christian theology. Augustine declared in *De Civitate Dei* that 'the theory of number is not to be lightly regarded, since it is made quite clear, in many passages of the holy Scriptures, how highly it is to be valued'.<sup>10</sup> However, the use of numerology in literature was a medieval innovation, as Christopher Butler comments:

What is new in this [medieval] period is the literary emphasis given to numerology. Numbers are thought of in an entirely symbolic fashion, not as parts of an austere, truth-telling language, the language central to some of a culture's greatest intellectual advances, as mathematics was for the Greeks, but as static structure upon which scraps of knowledge of all sorts could be hung. Allegorical modes of thought led Medieval men to think of numbers as existing on different levels, as indeed they thought of things in general. They possessed or prefigured quite different types of 'reality'. This is what I would call an inherent intellectual tendency to allegorise in search of understanding. This tendency carries with it great benefits in any attempt to unify disparate spheres of knowledge. But its attendant danger is that the bonds of unification will prove to be nothing but metaphor, and one may be left with a mere structure of words.<sup>11</sup>

Numerology underpins many medieval and Renaissance literary texts and works of art, as well as several Modernist texts influenced by the earlier works; for example, Dante's *Divine Comedy* famously takes its structure from the numbers three and nine whilst Joyce, influenced by Dante, incorporated mathematical riddles

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<sup>10</sup> *De Civitate Dei*, XI:31.

<sup>11</sup> Christopher Butler, *Number Symbolism* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1970), p. 43.

into his work. Circumstantial evidence derived from a study of his library and annotations suggests that although Jones was no mathematician, and had little interest in complicated numerological riddles unlike his contemporary James Joyce, he was aware of and appreciated the symbolism of numbers. An analysis of the contents of Jones's library at his death suggests that this awareness of the significance of numbers would have been derived from three main sources, in addition to the liturgical and musical references already mentioned: contemporary poetry, medieval literature and theological thinking, with some overlap between these last two categories. I suggest then that Jones's structuring of *The Anathemata* is not arbitrary, but is influenced by the principles of medieval numerology, reinforced by modern usage.

Spengler expounded the association between numbers, symbolism and art in *The Decline of the West*:

The real secret of all things-become, which are *ipso facto* things extended (spatially and materially), is embodied in mathematical number as contrasted with chronological number. Mathematical number contains in its very essence the notion of a *mechanical demarcation*, number being in that respect akin to *word*, which, in the very fact of its comprising and denoting, fences off world-impressions. The deepest depths, it is true, are here both incomprehensible and inexpressible. But the actual number with which the mathematician works, the figure, formula, sign, diagram, in short the *number-sign which he thinks, speaks or writes exactly*, is (like the exactly used word) from the first a symbol of these depths, something imaginable, communicable, comprehensible to the inner and the outer eye, which can be accepted as representing the demarcation. The origin of numbers resembles that of the myth. Primitive man elevates definable nature-impressions [...] into deities, *numina*, at the same time capturing and impounding them by a *name* which limits them. So also numbers are something that marks off and captures nature-impressions and it is by means of names and numbers that the human understanding obtains power over the world.<sup>12</sup>

The suggestion that the number is also a sign, or symbol, is one that is entirely sympathetic to Jones's own views on symbolism. Furthermore, Spengler's vocabulary in this passage also evokes Jones's own choice of words: phrases such as 'things-become', '*numina*' and the word 'demarcation' recur frequently in Jones's

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<sup>12</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 57.

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writing. According to the theory of numbers, the number eight has particular attributes. It is the number of infinity, as the symbol for eight, '8', when turned on its side resembles the mathematical symbol for infinity, '∞'. Butler cites Hugh of St Victor's statement that 'eight after seven signifies eternity after mutability'<sup>13</sup> and Martianus Capella's assertion that eight is the number of perfection, being the first cube.<sup>14</sup> Jones himself continually stresses the infinite nature of the Mass, of 'what has always been done' and what always will be done. The poem itself is circular, twisting back on itself to meet its beginning, like the number eight.

Butler also paraphrases Macrobius's commentary, one of Chaucer's sources:

And numbers underlie creation. In this respect the number eight is especially important. That the number eight produces a solid body has been demonstrated above. But this number has a special right to be called full, for in addition to its producing solid bodies it is also without doubt related to the harmony of the spheres, since the revolving spheres are eight in number.<sup>15</sup>

Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, which, as I showed in chapter three, provided some of the imagery for voyage narremes, makes use of the significance of the number eight in relation to the planetary spheres. In the final three stanzas, Troilus ascends to the eighth sphere, that of purification or perfection. John W. Conlee describes this movement as a 'celestial voyage' in which the soul originally descends from heaven and, in passing through the seven spheres, accumulates a 'complex set of psychological and emotional attributes' by the time of its birth; after death, the soul retraces its journey, gradually shedding those characteristics, and is purified by the time it reaches its starting point, the eighth sphere.<sup>16</sup> The number eight is thus used to describe the eight levels in a cycle of debasement and purification, which Conlee relates to the medieval numerological tradition:

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<sup>13</sup> Butler, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> Butler, p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> Butler, p. 41

<sup>16</sup> John W. Conlee, 'The meaning of Troilus' Ascension to the Eighth Sphere', *The Chaucer Review*, 7 (1972), pp.30-1.

'By the later Middle Ages the symbolic meanings that had been generated for numbers had become so numerous that any individual number might reflect a wide array of symbolic possibilities. The interpretation of numbers in literary texts, therefore, becomes tenuous and highly conjectural unless a specific text gives some indication of the symbolism intended. However, the number *eight*, unlike most of the common symbolic numbers, was characterised by a remarkably small and uniform set of possible meanings. While a few different meanings did exist, they were closely interwoven and for the most part inextricable. The principal meanings for *eight* which emerged from the numerous Biblical passages containing *eight* or *eighth* were the completion of a cycle or a return to the beginning; purification; and immortality, eternity and eternal salvation. Taken collectively, the meanings of *eight* were most perfectly embodied in the concept of Christ's resurrection. Completion, the first meaning of *eight*, was indicated most frequently by Biblical passages that involved an "eighth day", such as the eighth day after the Creation being the first day of the second week, Christ's resurrection occurring on the eighth day after his entrance to Jerusalem, and Christ's first appearance before the Disciples occurring eight days after the resurrection. This idea of a return or of completion was also indicated in other ways, for example, by the fact that the eighth sentence of the Beatitudes repeats the first sentence (Matt. 5.10). The second meaning of *eight*, purification, resulted primarily from the association of *eight* with circumcision, which [...] takes place on the eighth day.

[...]

Purification was also signified by the eight-day Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. 24.34-36) and the sanctifying of the Temple after eight days (II Chron. 29.17). The third group of meanings for *eight* – immortality, eternity after mutability, and salvation – was primarily indicated by the *eights* associated with Christ's transfiguration, which occurred on the eighth day after the first announcement of Christ's sufferings, and the resurrection of Christ. Medieval commentators also believed that salvation was signified by the fact that eight people survived the flood in Noah's ark and that Noah was the eighth person to be saved (2 Peter 3:5). Similarly, *eight* came to signify the eighth age, the age of final judgment and of eternal salvation which follows the seven ages of the world or the seven ages of man's life. And, as previously mentioned, all of these meanings of *eight* were especially embodied in the concept of the resurrection – a return in a purified state to the realm of eternity for the receiving of salvation.<sup>17</sup>

Certain aspects of the symbolism of the number eight therefore obviously arise from, and are linked to, the liturgical octave, the significance of an event occurring on the eighth day after an announcement or preceding event, which was discussed earlier in this chapter. What is particularly interesting about the three meanings of cycle, purification and salvation attached to the number eight is the relevance that they have to the narrative of *The Anathemata*, beginning with the Last Supper preparations and ending with the Crucifixion and Resurrection. *Troilus and Criseyde* is not the only text using the resurrectional symbolism of the number eight to have influenced Jones; Milton's *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* is

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<sup>17</sup> Conlee, pp. 34-6.

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written in stanzas of eight lines,<sup>18</sup> whilst Dryden's *Song for St Cecilia's Day* is composed of eight stanzas.<sup>19</sup> The latter 'ends with the same rhyme as it begins with... thus Dryden stresses the Resurrection... in this eighth and last stanza'.<sup>20</sup> *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, one of Jones's favourite poems,<sup>21</sup> also incorporates numerological principles and returns to its beginning; the number five is reflected in both the symbolism of the pentangle and the structural form, whilst the first stanza describes the founding of the British nation by Brutus, '[s]ithen the sege and the assaut was sesed at Troye',<sup>22</sup> a theme to which the final stanza returns: [s]ythen Brutus, the bolde burne, bowed hider fyrst,/ After the segge and the asaute was sesed at Troye.<sup>23</sup> Another influence on Jones, the medieval poem *The Pearl*, similarly returns to its starting location, the mound on which the dreamer lost his 'pearl'.<sup>24</sup> In the first section, the dreamer retreats into the garden, to the 'huyle ther perle hit trendeled down',<sup>25</sup> in the final, twentieth section, the dreamer declares 'Over this huyl this lote I laghte,/ For pyty of my perle enclyin'.<sup>26</sup> *The Pearl's* structure also relies on an understanding of number symbolism; it comprises twenty sections, arranged in a symmetrical pattern:

Of the twenty equal [sic] sections of the poem the first four are mainly devoted to presenting the dreamer's state of mind and to description of the dream-country and of Pearl herself; argument and exposition occupy the central twelve sections, and the last four again contain description, this time of the New Jerusalem, and end with the poet's reflections. This pattern is emphasised by the echoing of the first line of

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<sup>18</sup> Referenced in *Ana.*, p. 221, n.1.

<sup>19</sup> This was known to Jones through an anthology, *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, ed. Sir A. Quiller-Couch (Jones possessed the 1915 and 1930 editions), and an edition of Dryden's poetry given to him by Walter Shewring, dated and autographed circa 1935.

<sup>20</sup> Butler, p. 144.

<sup>21</sup> The catalogue of his library records three copies of the text; interestingly, these three editions were published in 1966, 1967 and 1970, though Jones was familiar with the poem by the time of writing *In Parenthesis*. This dating therefore suggests that Jones either lost or lent earlier editions, or had never owned them, making use of friends' copies or of those found in libraries.

<sup>22</sup> A.C. Cawley, ed., *Pearl, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1962), p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Cawley, p.145-6.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the significance of the pearl in *The Anathemata*, see chapter three.

<sup>25</sup> Cawley, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Cawley, p. 47.

the poem, 'Perle plesaunte to prynces paye' in the last, 'Ande precious perlez vnto his pay'.<sup>27</sup>

The discovery in 1934 of the manuscript of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* by W.F. Oakeshott in the Fellows' Library of Winchester College received widespread publicity. The find resulted in the radical revision of an understanding of its structure, following Eugene Vinaver's declaration that Malory had intended the publication of the *Morte D'Arthur* in eight parts, not the single narrative that Caxton has published. Vinaver's eight-part edition was published in 1947, when Jones was working on *The Anthemata*. A copy of the first edition, containing Vinaver's introduction and justification of his conclusion, is in Jones's library, signed and dated by him in the year of publication. It is possible that the controversy that this discovery caused may also have given Jones further evidence of the structuring of medieval works according to numerological principles.

Returning to Spengler, *The Decline of the West* claims that numbers and their particular significances underpin Western art, a hypothesis which has implications for an interpretation of *The Anthemata*:

The relationship between the form-language of a mathematic and that of the cognate major arts, is in this way put beyond doubt. The temperament of the thinker and that of the artist differ widely indeed, but the expression-methods of the waking consciousness are inwardly the same for each. The sense of form of the sculptor, the painter, the composer, is essentially mathematical in its nature. The same inspired order of an infinite world which manifested itself in the geometrical analysis and projective geometry of the 17th Century, could vivify, energise and suffuse contemporary music with the harmony that it developed out of the art of thorough-bass, (which is the geometry of the sound-world) and contemporary painting with the principle of perspective (the felt geometry of the space world that only the West knows). And so the born mathematician takes his place by the side [...] of the great masters of the fugue, the chisel and the brush; he and they alike strive, and must strive, to actualise the grand order of all things by clothing it in symbol and so to communicate it to the plain fellow-man who hears that order within himself but cannot effectively possess it; the domain of number, like the domains of tone, line and colour, becomes an image of the world-form. To Goethe we owe the profound saying: "The mathematician is only complete insofar as he feels within himself the *beauty* of the true". Here we feel how nearly the secret of number is related to the secret of artistic creation.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Dorothy Everett, cited in Ian Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), p.32. The stanzas are not, of course, entirely equal in length – one has six lines.

<sup>28</sup> *Decline of the West*, p. 59.

Jones, as an artist, may have found in this passage an answer to his problem of giving a related form to the various contents of the text, through the physical structure of number. The arrangement of the parts of *The Anathemata* demonstrates the geometry of the narrative. Like the 'fragments' of *The Sleeping Lord and other poems*, the eight parts of *The Anathemata* have particular affinities with each other. Jones wrote that "the "companion piece" of "The Tribune's Visitation" might be said to be "The Tutelar of the Place"" (SL, p. 45), for example. In the same way, each of the eight parts of *The Anathemata* has a 'companion piece'. Part I, 'Rite and Foretime', and Part II, 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', complement each other in their descriptions of the pre-history of mankind and pre-Christian human history, as do Parts VII and VIII, 'Mabinog's Liturgy' and 'Sherthursdaye and Venus-Day', both being prophetic sections prefiguring the Day of Judgment. Part III, 'Angle-Land', begins the 'British section' of *The Anathemata*, and draws the narrative into the present epoch, the Christian history of mankind. Its constant questioning ('Did he strike soundings.. Did he lie by... Did he shelter... Did he stand on...?') (*Ana.*, p. 110)) is continued and echoed in Part VI, 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' ('Did he hear them... Did he walk... did he hear them...?') (*Ana.*, p. 170)). Parts IV and V, 'Redriff' and 'The Lady of the Pool', are at the very centre of the poem, both metaphorically, in the personae of Eb Bradshaw and Elen Monica, and literally, flanked by the other parts. Dilworth's suggestion that Eb and Elen are 'cosmic lovers' may not be applicable to the figures themselves,<sup>29</sup> but in a sense, it applies to the fragments in which they are contained and embodied. It is evident that *The Anathemata*, for all its claims to haphazardness, is surprisingly symmetrical.

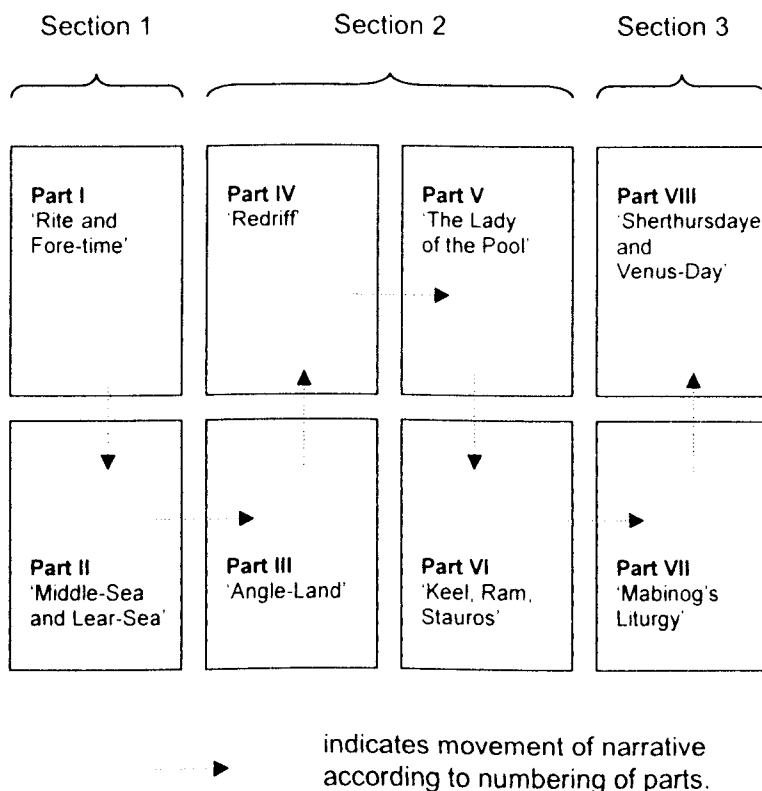
### **Tripartite arrangement**

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<sup>29</sup> This assertion was discussed in chapter four.

## Chapter Six: Octave and Triptych

A preliminary section of two companion-pieces is followed by a central section of four interrelated parts, which is succeeded by the final section of two companion-pieces,<sup>30</sup> in a pattern not dissimilar to the structure of *The Pearl*, with its four-twelve-four arrangement. Visually, this tripartite structure may be represented by Figure 12:





## Chapter Six: Octave and Triptych

material, and according to his own words, already quoted, the 'Redriff' and 'Lady of the Pool' sections largely consist of that new inserted material. Figure 12 shows in two-dimensional form what the written text itself cannot reconcile: that Part III, 'Angle-Land', can in fact be simultaneously situated between Parts II and IV, and yet also 'next to' Part VI, 'Keel, Ram, Stauros'. The insertion process suggests that as Jones became aware of similarities of theme and the emergence of a relationship between fragments, he consolidated that relationship and strengthened the affinities between particular parts, creating deliberate sections. The integrity of each of the three sections outlined above is supported by verbal and thematic evidence within the text itself. The clear breaks between sections one and two, and sections two and three, are indicated by the question framed in the final lines of 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', 'Did he berth her?/ And to schedule?/ By the hoar rock in the drowned wood?', and the response 'He would berth us/ to schedule' at the end of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros'. The word 'schedule' draws attention to the overarching time scheme of *The Anathemata*; for a poem in which the narrative accords to the annual liturgical calendar, the mechanical structure reflects the liturgical octave, the eight-day week celebrating a solemnity or feast, it is appropriate that there should be a further binding temporal element, larger still than a week or a year. The word 'berth' provides the clue as to that time scheme.

As discussed in chapter four, 'berth' in this context carries with it connotations of its homophone, 'birth'.<sup>31</sup> The time schedule governing *The Anathemata* is the Christian division of time into three Ages – the past, pre-Christian era which began with the Creation; the present Age of Man, initiated by Christ's Nativity and Incarnation; and the era still to come, which will follow the Day of Judgment. These ages, punctuated by the three advents of God into the life of Man, are reflected in the themes of the three sections of the poem, as defined above. Parts I and II represent the Creation, Parts III, IV, V and VI represent the

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<sup>31</sup> See chapter four for a full analysis.

Incarnation, and Parts VII and VIII assess the significance of these events, prefigure Judgment Day and anticipate Redemption.

### **Creation, Incarnation, Redemption**

The first part of the book, 'Rite and Foretime', is a scientific, factual description, albeit in lyrical terms, of the geological development of the earth, together with an explanation of the evolution of man as artist and maker. Jones thus chooses to open in the traditional manner with a story of the Creation, the making of the world and of man himself. However, he rewrites the story in a contemporary idiom - it is written in highly concise, technical terms, the language of the twentieth-century. By replacing the biblical story of the Creation with the scientific version of events which theoretically disproved it, Jones appears to be rejecting religion in favour of science. However, this iconoclastic approach is belied by the opening passage:

We already and first of all discern him making this thing  
other. His groping syntax, if we attend, already shapes:  
ADSCRIPTAM, RATAM, RATIONABILEM... and by pre-  
application and for *them*, under modes and patterns altogether  
theirs, the holy and venerable hands lift up an efficacious  
sign.

(*Ana.*, p. 49)

The prefacing of the scientific account with the performance of the Sacrament thus ensures that the modern explanation of the Creation does not negate the validity of the theological view, but in fact reinforces it. It is the same story, but a different variant, told with the materials available to the poet. Indeed, Jones interprets the geological account of the creation of the world as a modern myth, contemporary man's contribution to the body of ontological mythology:

The findings of the physical sciences are necessarily mutable and change with fresh evidence and fresh interpretation of the same evidence. This is an important point to remember with regard to the whole of this section of the text where I employ ideas based on more or less current interpretations of archaeological and anthropological data. Such interpretations, of whatever degree of probability, remain more or less

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hypothetical. The layman can but employ for his own purposes the pattern available during his lifetime. ('General Note to Section 1', *Ana.*, p. 82)

Jones imbues the oreological descriptions with a sense of complexity and awe, through the juxtaposition of dense technical phrases that overwhelm the reader, and mythological and historical place names which resonate with the sense of passing time. The cumbersomeness of some of the terms used makes slow reading (and it should be remembered that David Jones intended for all of his works to be read aloud, performed), imitating the slowness of the progress of Creation. Whilst the developments of science had already proven the actual impossibility of the theory of the Creation of the world in seven days, Jones uses the counter-theological argument of time to prove the validity of the Christian belief – it is as though the Creation in scientific terms is so vast, on temporal and physical scales, that it must be God-inspired:

Before the microgranites and the clay-bonded erratics  
wrenched from the diorites of Aldasa, or off the Goat Height  
in the firth-way, or from the Clota-sides or torn from either  
Dalriada, with what was harrowed-out *in via*, up, from the  
long drowned out-crops, under, coalesced and southed by  
the North Channel.

As though the sea itself were sea-borne  
and under weigh  
as if the whole Ivernian *mare*  
directed from hyperboreal control-points by strategi of the  
axis were one complex of formations in depth, moving on a  
frontage widening with each lesser degree of latitude

(*Ana.*, pp. 72-73)

This first section, comprising the creation of the world, the emergence of civilisation in the Mediterranean (the 'Middle-Sea' of Part II's title) and the nascent British peoples (the 'Lear-Sea') is thus firmly set in the pre-Christian past.

If the close of the chapter 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', which ends with the words 'Did he berth her?/ and to schedule?/ by the hoar rock in the drowned wood?' indicates the forthcoming Incarnation, with an implicit reference to the Nativity, the birth of Christ, the next three parts – 'Angle-Land', 'Redriff' and 'The Lady of the

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Pool' – contain the story of Christ among men. 'Angle-Land' describes the introduction of the Romans, and thus by implication, Christianity, to the British Isles through the trope of a ship's journey along the coast; 'Redriff' depicts the textual incarnation of Jones's grandfather, who died four years before Jones was born, and the making of the ship's mast; 'The Lady of the Pool' celebrates the sea-captain and his voyaging ship (representing Christ and his Bride, the Church) and the London churches in which the Mass of the Cross will be celebrated shortly. The fourth part of this middle section is 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', a hymn to the Cross on which Christ died, thus ending the period of Incarnation with a reflection on the Crucifixion.

Whilst the two voyages of 'Angle-Land' and 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' are described in third-person narratives, 'Redriff' is Ebenezer Bradshaw's monologue, delivered to a captain's envoy, and the 'Lady of the Pool' takes the form of a dialogue between a ship's captain and the London lavender-seller – although the captain's words are largely unreported. 'Redriff' and 'The Lady of the Pool' are the two 'conversational' chapters of *The Anthemata*, and the poem centres on these spoken words, reinforcing the concept of the Incarnation, Christ as man, and God as Word, at the heart of the poem. The symmetry of this middle section points to Elen Monica and her celebration of Crouchmass and Ebenezer Bradshaw and his mast, or cross, as the central events of the poem. From Ebenezer's vow of craftsmanship in 'Redriff', to the final voyage of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', demonstrating the mariner's dependence on the stauros, or cross, of the ship, the central parts of the book focus firmly on Man's ambivalent relationship with the Cross, as both the maker and the beneficiary. The direct speech in this section and the introduction of named figures and familiar locations creates a different temporal tone; the presence of Jones's grandfather in the middle section leaves the reader in no doubt that the timbre of the narrative is that of the present age, which began with Christ's birth.

With the close of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', the 'human chapters' of *The Anthemata* have passed, and the poem returns to the mythological and topological

descriptions and allusions of 'Rite and Fore-time' with 'Mabinog's Liturgy'. However, whereas 'Rite and Fore-time' focused on the geological and anthropological development of the early world, the prehistoric age and the emergence of 'the cult-man', 'Mabinog's Liturgy' concentrates on theological development – the civilisations and religions of classical antiquity, as well as of Celtic Britain – through reference to customs and literature. This is the section of prophesy; the witches fulfil the oracular role originally created by the Sybil. Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, with its reference to the Sybil's prophecy, is introduced to foretell Christ's birth, adding experiential authority to the Sybil of the *Dies Irae* and prophesying Judgment Day and salvation. The focal event of 'Mabinog's Liturgy' at first appears to be the Nativity; however, a close reading reveals the conflation of the Nativity and the Crucifixion, whilst the ostensibly medieval setting of the witches' discussion clearly takes place after the death of Christ. However, the sybilline nature of the witches, the references to sorcerers such as Manawyddan and Merlin, and the absence of any definite historical markers move the action of Part VII out of historical time, into timelessness. The locations of 'Mabinog's Liturgy' are imaginary, unlike the real British coast-names and London docks, streets and churches catalogued in the middle section. The witches are deliberately dislocated; they are the representatives of the witches of Scotland, Ireland, England and Wales, with only a faint indication in the text itself that they are imagined to be somewhere in the West Country. The exact location of King Arthur's Court is similarly debatable; Camelot has been claimed to have been in Wales, Scotland and Cornwall. The apparently 'human' figures in 'Mabinog's Liturgy' are mythological characters, not historical personages. Though the narrative focuses on Guinevere, her identity is of course dependent on her relationship with Arthur, the symbolic and prophetic ruler, the 'one other such quondam king/ *rexque* futurus' (*Ana.*, p. 164), who prefigures the promise of redemption made by Christ's sacrifice. The tone has changed again; this final section is concerned with the future, and the fulfilment of promises in the next age,

## Chapter Six: Octave and Triptych

which according to patristic historiography will follow Judgment Day. The palimpsest of 'Mabinog's Liturgy' thus contains a premonition of the Harrowing of Hell:

Just where, in a goodish light, you can figure-out the ghost-  
capitals of indelible eclogarii, rectilineal, dressed by the left,  
like veterani of the Second, come again to show us how,  
from far side shadowy Acheron and read  
IAM REDIT . . . VIRGO

. . . . IAM REGNAT APOLLO

(*Ana.*, p. 219)

The issuing of the Octavian decree is presented in imagery which recalls the Biblical forewarning of Judgment Day:

... our divine Ymherawdr Octavian, ever august,  
of the blood of the progenitress the Purifier, Turner of  
Hearts and of Mars Pencawr (the *old* Pantocrator) seated  
in curia, in his ivory chair, with his cushion under him, in  
the apsed hall of his *palas* on the Caelian heights that sur-  
mount the earth, sent out a decree, demanding his heriots,  
man-fees and entertainment-dues from the free-trevs and the  
bond-trevs of all the cantrevs of the whole universal orbis...

(*Ana.*, p. 219)

The terminology of this passage clearly identifies the divine Imperator, born of the 'progenitress the Purifier', with Christ; but the wording is also reminiscent of the Wakefield Pageant of the 'Harrowing of Hell', in which Christ announces

Therfor tille helle now wille I go  
To chalange that is myne,  
Adam, Eve, and othere mo,  
Thay shalle no longer dwelle in pyne.<sup>32</sup>

The association with the mystery plays is strengthened by the setting; the 'apsed hall' and 'Caelian heights' are more suggestive of church architecture and of heaven itself than of Caesar's palace, but even more vividly suggest stage scenery, whilst the detailed description of the 'ivory chair, with his cushion under him' suggests an element of theatricality that again recalls the mystery plays, with the depiction of God sitting on a throne.

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<sup>32</sup> Rhys, p. 149.

## Chapter Six: Octave and Triptych

Reinforcing the cyclical structure, and the concept of prophecy fulfilled, the final words of *The Anathemata* echo its opening words:

He does what is done in many places  
what he does other  
    he does after the mode  
of what has always been done.  
What did he do other  
    recumbent at the garnished supper?  
What did he do yet other  
    riding the Axile Tree? (Ana., p. 243)

The final chapter of *The Anathemata*, 'Sherthursdaye and Venus-Day', thus represents the closing of the circle, returning to the time and place of the opening verses/paragraphs of the book – the cult-man or priest officiating at Mass. More significantly, in 'Sherthursdaye and Venus-Day' the mass being celebrated in the lines quoted above is the Good Friday ('Venus-Day') Mass. 'Sherthursdaye and Venus-Day' is a continuation of the narrative, as well as a re-enactment, of 'Rite and Fore-time', which is set on the eve of the Crucifixion:

There's conspiracy here:  
    Here is birthday and anniversary, if there's continuity  
here, there's a new beginning.  
    By intercalation of weeks  
        (since the pigeons were unfledged  
        and the lambs still young)  
    they've adjusted the term  
    till this appointed night  
                                    (Sherthursdaye bright) (Ana. p.51)

'Sherthursdaye and Venus-Day' is a fulfilment of the promise made in 'Rite and Fore-time', the 'Fore-time' of the opening chapter's title referring not only to the time before Christ, the prehistoric creation of the world, but also to the fact that it anticipates the final chapter. The actions of the cult-man in the opening paragraph, before the Betrayal and the Crucifixion have taken place, foreshadow the rites of the Mass but do not yet have the assurance of those of the priest. There is a vagueness

about the cult-man, about his 'groping syntax', who 'implements inside time and late in time... not on any hill/ but on this hill', the hill that is the 'Crux-mound at the node/ gammadion'd castle./ Within the laughless Megaron/ the margaron' (p.56). This shadowiness, this foreshadowing, requires the events that form the structure of *The Anthemata* to take place in order to develop into the surety of the final chapter, the Redemption offered through the Mass:

But the fate of death?  
Well, that fits The Gest:  
How else be coupled of this Wanderer  
whose viatic bread shows forth a life?  
- in his well-built *megaron*. (Ana., p. 243)

The 'viatic bread' is the salvational host of the Eucharist, the symbol of redemption. However, redemption is associated with judgment; the promise of redemption will not be fulfilled until Judgment Day, when God will next show himself to Man.

The repetition of specific words from the opening chapter, such as 'megaron', and echoing of phrases ('the holy and venerable hands lift up an efficacious sign' – Ana., p. 49) in this final chapter of *The Anthemata* ('into both hands/ he takes the stemmed dish/ as in many places/ by this poured and that held up...' – Ana., p. 242) further emphasises the cyclical structure.

### **Three Ages, Three Tenses**

In fact, repetition is used both as a linking device and as a demarcating technique in *The Anthemata*. Whilst it is noticeable that the repetition of phrases binds together the performance of the Mass in Parts I and VIII, I have already shown that the question 'Did he berth her?' and its response demarcate the three sections. There is further textual evidence for the use of interrogation and response as markers for a change of movement, and more specifically, to support the claim that *The Anthemata* has a tripartite structure.

In 'Rite and Fore-time', the narrator tentatively and prematurely asks:



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Who were his *gens*-men or had he no *Hausname* yet  
no *nomen* for his *fecit*-mark  
the Master of the Venus? (Ana., p. 59)

The beginning of the second section, in 'Angle-Land', is signposted by a more confident reiteration of the question:

What was his *Hausname*?  
He whose North Holstein urn  
they sealed against the seep of the Yare? (Ana., p. 113)

Finally, the movement into the third section in 'Mabinog's Liturgy' is signalled by a rejection of the question, which is no longer valid:

By their *Hausnamen* no longer called, their *nomina*  
already Anatolian:  
not now of *Wald* or *Ilan*  
but, of the *polis*. (Ana., p. 185)

Jones uses the factual chronological history of mankind as an anchor for his narrative. He returns to it at the beginning of each section in order to show the shifting of temporal perspective already outlined. As the *hausname* device indicates, the first section is set in the distant past, at the dawn of time, before the 'makers' (the 'Master of the Venus' is the master craftsman who sculpted the Willendorf Venus) had names. In this first section, civilisation had not yet reached Northern Europe. The second section is set later in time, a time when the 'makers' (identified by their '*fecit*-marks') have '*hausnamen*'; civilisation has been brought to the North by the Mediterranean traders. By the third section, however, the Germanic *hausnamen* are associated with the past; the people speak Latin, their names are Anatolian, and they belong to the state, not the land. They are freed from their geographical bonds. The linguistic developments and changes in nomenclature indicate that the central narrative has returned to the Eastern Mediterranean, the location of Christ's Passion. Jones's use of the term *hausname* is particularly significant; it is a family surname associated with a particular location. The



it promised. The certainty of the human past demonstrated in the first two sections dissolves into a timelessness in which only one thing is certain, man's redemption through Christ.

### **Triptych**

If the octaval division of the poem has an analogy in the liturgical and musical octaves, the tripartite structure is derived from theology and visual art. The number three finds obvious resonance in the Trinitarian orthodoxy. However, whilst the division of *The Anathemata* into eight numbered parts was clearly a conscious, mechanical decision by Jones, the tripartite structure is an organic shaping of the material. Jones applied visual criteria to the shaping of the poem; the first section is almost exactly the same length as the third, being sixty-one and sixty-two pages respectively, whilst the middle section is larger, but not disproportionately so, at seventy-two pages in length. The number of pages is not directly relevant to the structure, in the same way that the number of parts is, because it is affected by the inclusion of footnotes, amongst other things. What it does emphasise, however, is the remarkable symmetry of the poem, and its threefold structure.

The earlier diagrammatic representation of the eight parts (Figure 12) showed the narrative flow from one part to the next, and demonstrated a solution to the paradox of a simultaneous narrative alignment of Parts III and VI, and Parts IV and V, which is obviously impossible in a sequential narrative structure. The diagram demonstrates that if the poem is viewed in visual terms, through the eyes of an artist rather than a writer, it is possible for the whole poem to be immediately apprehended in its entirety, and for relationships to be apparent between parts that are not sequential. However, whilst the earlier diagrammatic arrangement solved the narrative problem, it raised the question of the obviously cyclical nature of the poem. This is an important consideration not just because it is self-evident, but because it is the only aspect of the structure to have been acknowledged by Jones himself: 'If it

has a shape it is chiefly that it returns to its beginning' (*Ana.*, p. 33). The problem with the earlier diagram as a description of the structure of *The Anathemata* is that it is strictly two-dimensional – the end cannot be made to return to the beginning. In fact, there is an art-form which, if portrayed in two dimensions, would show a remarkable resemblance to the diagram, and which, when viewed from a three-dimensional aspect, provides a model for *The Anathemata*. This art-form is the triptych.

The triptych is most strongly associated with medieval and especially Gothic religious art, and particularly with an ecclesiastical setting, as an altarpiece. The word 'triptych' is a

Term used to define a picture consisting of three parts and denoting both the object itself and its compositional form. As an object the triptych may vary in size and material, but usually consists of a central panel flanked by wings (or shutters), which may be hinged; as a compositional form it is a tripartite structure, often with an emphasized central element ... The two main functions of the wings [are] protection and limiting the times when the inside could be viewed ... Usually the central panel is twice as wide as the wings; triptychs with three folding panels of equal size have rarely survived... Small works of this type were used for private devotion in monasteries and homes, or as portable altarpieces.<sup>34</sup>

However, the term may also have a wider application: the altarpiece 'could have a tripartite structure, and thus be a triptych, but in fact the distinction between a triptych and a polyptych ... is often blurred.'<sup>35</sup> As altarpieces became larger and heavier, the lateral panels of many triptychs were fixed in place; such altarpieces were more likely to survive intact than the portable triptychs, evidenced by more extant examples.

In 1927, the year that Eric Gill published a pamphlet entitled *Christianity and Art*, exploring the relationship between the Church and the artist, Christian art was also being discussed in the national newspapers. Part of a medieval altarpiece was discovered in a stable-loft in Suffolk. Now known as the 'Thornham Parva Retable',

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<sup>34</sup> Victor M. Schmidt, 'Triptych', *Grove Art Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed 18/02/2007, <<http://www.groveart.com/>>.

<sup>35</sup> Schmidt.

it is a polyptych dating from the 1330s, four metres in length and one metre high, which is thought to originate from the Dominican Priory at Thetford and to have been lost when the Priory was destroyed during the Dissolution of the Monasteries.<sup>36</sup> It is not a winged triptych, but a tripartite polyptych depicting images of saints flanking the Crucifixion (Figure 13):

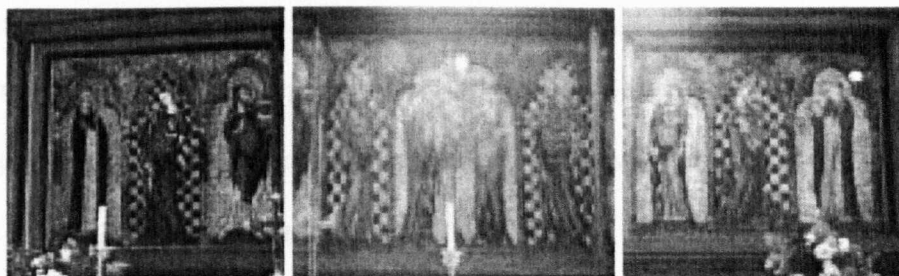


Figure 13: 'Thornham Parva Retable'.<sup>37</sup>

The discovery of the lost altarpiece, which was donated to the nearby church of St Mary, Thornham Parva, coincided with a resurgence of interest in medieval ecclesiastical decoration centred on the altar: Jones owned a copy of an off-print entitled 'Further thoughts on the English altar, or practical considerations on the planning of a modern church', published in 1933.<sup>38</sup> How it came to be in his possession is unclear; the book contains an autograph dedication from the author to 'Jeffrey Webb', who is presumably Geoffrey Webb, the author of *The Liturgical Altar*,<sup>39</sup> published in 1933 by Tom Burns, a close friend of Jones. Burns had also published *The Sacramentary*, containing a chapter on 'Sacred Art in the House of God'. Jacques Maritain's *Art et Scholasticism*, containing a Thomist discussion of beauty, and instructions for the decoration of churches, was translated into English

<sup>36</sup> This would have been of particular interest to the members of the Ditchling community, who were Dominican tertiaries.

<sup>37</sup> Image taken from <<http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk>>, photograph by Simon Knott, accessed 27 February 2007.

<sup>38</sup> Sir Ninian Comper, 'Further thoughts on the English altar, or practical considerations on the planning of a modern church', *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. X, part 2.

<sup>39</sup> Geoffrey Webb, *The Liturgical Altar* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1933).

by Fr John O'Connor and printed in Ditchling in 1923;<sup>40</sup> it was a seminal text for Gill, Jones and the Ditchling community. Jones himself had written an article on 'Beauty in Catholic churches' in 1926;<sup>41</sup> more specifically, a 'book of timeless authority' on altarpieces was published by a German Jesuit, Josef Braun, in 1914 and reissued in 1924.<sup>42</sup> I am not suggesting that Jones read Braun's work, but it is possible that he would have known of it, even if from reviews such as Walter Frere's article for the *Church Quarterly Review*.<sup>43</sup> The altarpiece was a 'fashionable' topic in the 1920s and 1930s,<sup>44</sup> which Gardner places in the context of an earlier increase in ecclesiastical interest and ornamentation due to 'an often-romanticised medievalism in the nineteenth century' and the Gothic Revival.<sup>45</sup> The concept of a triptych or polyptych as both a work of art and an aid to worship was therefore familiar to Jones and of contemporary relevance; it was also a subject in which he had a deep interest, combining his Catholic faith with his knowledge of art history gained from attendance at both Camberwell and Westminster art schools.

When open, the panels of the winged triptych depict either figures of saints or a visual narrative, usually running from left to right. The narrative can be perceived as a whole, or broken down into constituent parts and 'read'. When closed, the two outer edges – the beginning and the end of the internal narrative – meet together. The external design often complements the internal narrative but does not form part of it. Although the triptych form was not reserved solely for religious use, the primary function of the triptych in the medieval period was as an altarpiece, either positioned above the altar or attached to the side of it; the subject

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<sup>40</sup> Jacques Maritain, *The Philosophy of Art, being Art et Scholastique*, trans. Rev. John O'Connor (Ditchling: St Dominic's Press, 1923).

<sup>41</sup> David Jones, 'Beauty in Catholic Churches', *Blackfriars: A Monthly Review*, 7, (1926), 438-441.

<sup>42</sup> Josef Braun, *Der Christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, cited in Julian Gardner, 'Altars, Altarpieces, and Art History: Legislation and Usage' in *Italian Altarpieces 1250 – 1550: Function and Design*, ed. Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> W.H. Frere, 'The Christian Altar', in *Church Quarterly Review*, cited in Gardner.

<sup>44</sup> Gardner, p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Gardner, p. 9.

was biblical, often related to the Passion of Christ. Although it had an ornamental purpose, like other ecclesiastical decorations such as stained glass windows, or the 'picture-Bibles' like the *Biblia Pauperum*,<sup>46</sup> it also provided a topic for meditation.

If the model of the triptych described above is applied to *The Anathemata*, the structure of the poem can be described as follows: when viewed from the outside, the poem is about the Mass. The external 'edges' butt together to depict the raising of the host and chalice, joining the beginning of 'Rite and Fore-time' with the end of 'Sherthursdaye and Venus-Day': 'the holy and venerable hands lift up an efficacious sign' in the opening lines (*Ana.*, p. 49), and in the closing pages, 'into both hands' the priest-figure 'takes the stemmed dish/ as in many places/ by this poured and that held up' (*Ana.*, p. 242), 'what he does other/ he does after the mode/ of what has always been done' (*Ana.*, p. 243).

Once opened, *The Anathemata*, like a mystery cycle, 'sets forth a number of different episodes, which are doctrinally and thematically related but which do not fuse into one extensive plot'.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, the structure of *The Anathemata* as described closely resembles the symmetrical pattern of the ten illustrations engraved by Jones for the *Chester Play of the Deluge*, as described by Dilworth:

The fifth and sixth engravings [...] are the two central engravings [...] these pictures constitute a hinge, joining the illustrations that precede with those that follow.

The four subsequent engravings [i.e. engravings five to eight] correspond visually or thematically to the first four engravings in out-going sequence from the centre. That is, the seventh and eighth, which form a pair, mirror the third and fourth, which also form a pair; the ninth mirrors the second, and the tenth mirrors the first. This pattern – in no way suggested by the text of the play or by the biblical account – is entirely Jones's invention.<sup>48</sup>

The poem reveals itself to be a 'series of narrative wall-paintings',<sup>49</sup> with the exception that these 'wall-paintings' are dramatic in nature; they are performances,

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<sup>46</sup> The illustrations of the *Biblia Pauperum* are also displayed in triptych form, as the two illustrations included in this thesis testify. See Figures 4 and 5.

<sup>47</sup> Woolf, p. 55.

<sup>48</sup> Dilworth, 'Engraving the Structure', p. 12.

<sup>49</sup> See Woolf's discussion of medieval drama, previously cited (chapter five, p. 237).

taking the form of either liturgical enactments or dramatic monologues, which implies that they are intrinsically time-bound.

A revised diagram of *The Anathemata*, showing its structural affinities with the triptych, is shown as Figure 14.

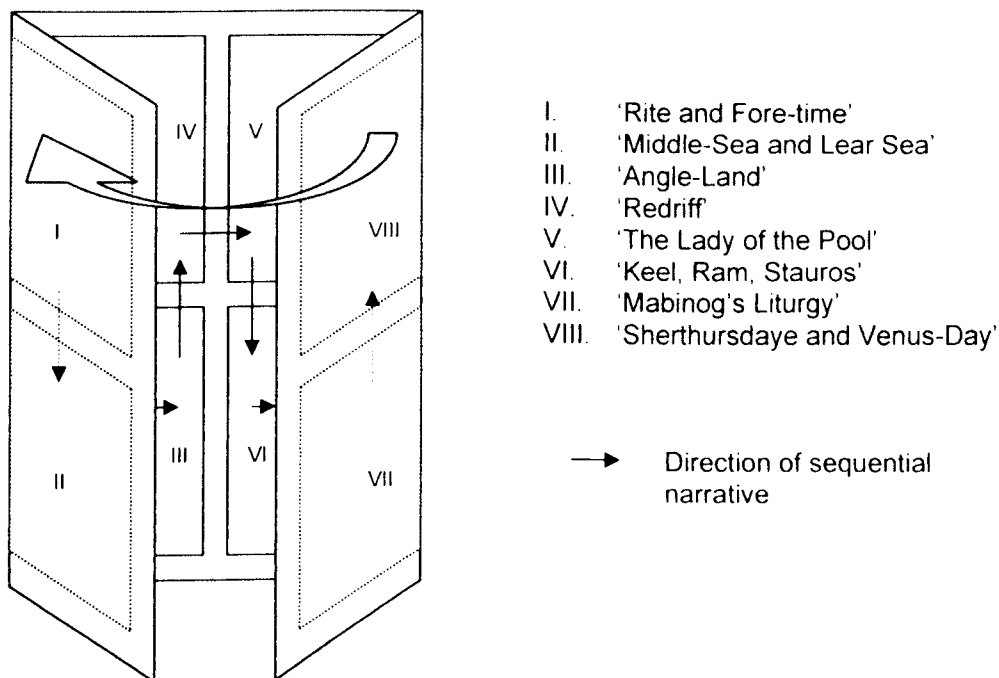


Figure 14: Diagram showing *The Anathemata* as triptych.

Jones himself is likely to have been familiar with several well-known triptychs; he made many visits to the National Gallery, in which the Donne triptych hangs. This artwork was painted as a private devotional piece by Hans Memling in around 1478; Donne was a Welsh merchant. Duccio's triptych, 'The Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Aurea', dated c. 1315, is also owned by the National Gallery; Jones greatly admired Duccio's work and mentions his relief carvings in correspondence and prose work. Jones was on good terms with Kenneth Clark, curator of the National Gallery, who had raised funds to support Jones in the early 1940s. The two



men regularly discussed the works of art owned by the Gallery, as a letter from Jones to Tom Burns testifies:

I thought of you in Spain very much the other day, because they cleaned the El Greco *Christ and the Money-changers* at the Nat Gal and put it on show all by itself – it's an absolute corker now it's cleaned – (it was just a yellow drab mess before) but now it's an absolute knock-out... I wrote to Ken Clark and asked him to keep it on for an extra week and he very kindly did so.<sup>50</sup>

Four years previously, a reassessment of El Greco's works by the art historian Rudolfo Pallucchini had resulted in the attribution of the Modena triptych to El Greco, a decision which caused controversy in the art world, and of which Jones would naturally have been aware. Dürer, one of whose paintings has already been discussed in connection with *The Anathemata*, produced 'The Paumgartner Altarpiece'. Hieronymus Bosch's two triptychs, 'The Garden of Earthly Delights', which shows 'The Creation of the World' when closed (Figure 15), and 'The Haywain', with 'The Path of Life' on its external panels, are both well known.

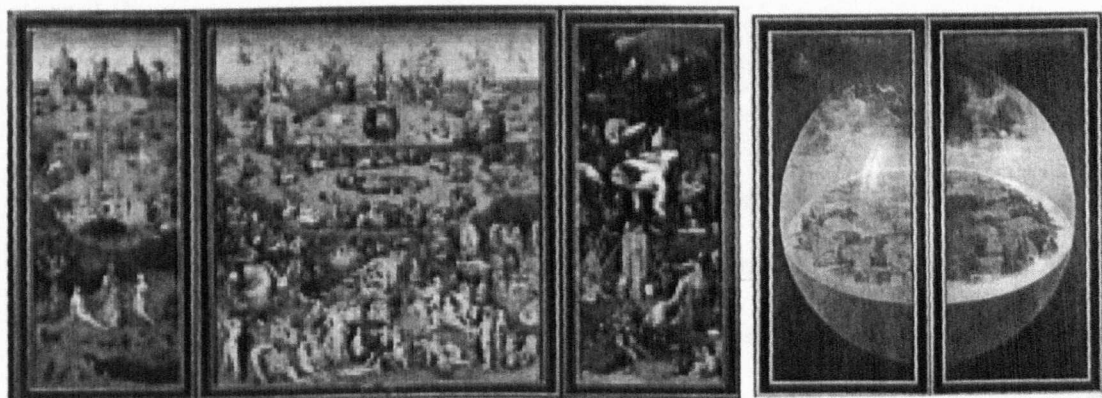


Figure 15: Hieronymus Bosch, 'The Garden of Earthly Delights' and 'The Creation of the World'.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Dai Greatcoat*, 16 May 1942, p. 118.

<sup>51</sup> Image from Web Gallery of Art, accessed 12 February 2007 <<http://www.wga.hu/>>.

However, the best known medieval altarpiece is probably also the most relevant to Jones's composition of *The Anathemata*. Hubert and Jan van Eyck's 'Adoration of the Mystic Lamb', otherwise known as the Ghent Altarpiece, completed in 1432, is a tripartite polyptych; it has twelve panels arranged in three sections, which are hinged to close as a triptych.

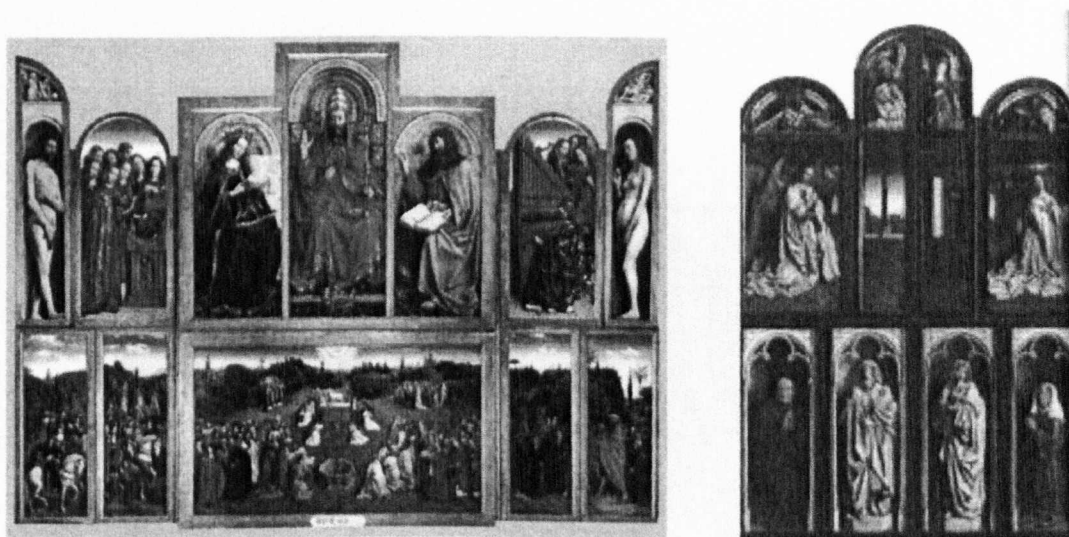


Figure 16: Hubert and Jan van Eyck, 'Adoration of the Mystic Lamb' (open and closed).<sup>52</sup>

It is very likely that Jones would have known several of these paintings, either from viewing them in public galleries or from studying them during his art college days. Jones was certainly aware of the triptych form and had previously used it in his own visual artwork; in 1922 he produced a small watercolour and pencil triptych which showed a central panel depicting a ship, flanked by two lateral panels (Figure 17). The left panel depicts St Gregory raising his hand in blessing over the kneeling Angle slaves in the marketplace; the right panel is a mirror image of the first, though in this scene, the leaning minister giving the blessing is St Augustine, and the Angles are the seated King and Queen. The symmetry is obvious, and the symbolism also overt. The ship is a narrative sign, representing

<sup>52</sup> Image from Web Gallery of Art, accessed 12 February 2007 <<http://www.wga.hu/>>.

Augustine's physical voyage, but it is also symbolic of the Christian Church and its arrival in Britain. Alongside the ship flies a dove, carrying the host, which is visually echoed by the haloes of Saints Gregory and Augustine. The subject matter of the St Gregory triptych pre-empts the narrative form of *The Anthemata*, in which the tableau narremes of the raised hands are juxtaposed with the narremes of the ship's voyage.



13. St. Gregory who sent St. Augustine to England, 1922

Figure 17: David Jones, 'St. Gregory' triptych.<sup>53</sup>

It seems likely that the characteristics of the triptych – as sacred art, representing a return to the beginning, providing matter for meditation – consciously or subconsciously influenced Jones in his shaping of the material of *The*

<sup>53</sup> Image reproduced in *The Maker Unmade*, p. 58. It measures 11.8cm x 14cm, and is apparently now in private possession.

## Chapter Six: Octave and Triptych

*Anthemata*. As an altarpiece, the triptych gave visual stimulation and mental guidance to the congregation during the time of the Mass. It thus has a fourth dimension, that of time, in addition to the three dimensions represented by the artefact itself; this fourth dimension is found in *The Anthemata*'s departure from chronological time and adherence to liturgical time. The events of the poem take place 'in the time of the Mass', and constitute a meditation prompted by the Mass. Whether or not he deliberately balanced the number of pages in the three sections is irrelevant; it is certain that the construction of the text in eight parts was a decisive act on Jones's part, and that the symmetry of the two-four-two pattern was also intentional. Jones's familiarity with the function and form of the altarpiece provided him with a visual model for his poetry, which he himself viewed as a similar activity to painting, 'making a picture in words'.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The liturgy, cycle comes full circle:  
from the cosmic Advent to the  
Xmas & Paschal nts.  
W. A's Gwenhewyvarr we  
assist at  
In the last – we are back.<sup>1</sup>

This thesis has offered a major reevaluation of the importance of the medieval materials used in *The Anathemata*. I have suggested that Jones's knowledge of medieval writings was both broader and deeper than has been acknowledged in existing published criticism, and that he was steeped in this material to the extent that he subconsciously assimilated many of the ordering and formal principles which he found therein. Jones's poetry has often been described as innovative, and yet the frequent comparisons to the work of other modernist poets such as Ezra Pound,

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<sup>1</sup> Cryptic handwritten note by David Jones found in one of the poet's copies of *The Anathemata*, and cited in Dilworth, p. 175. No explanation exists for 'W. A's Gwenhewyvarr', though the 'A' almost certainly represents Arthur. Perhaps 'W.' is an abbreviated form of 'When' or 'With'?

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James Joyce and T.S. Eliot belie the differences between them. The 'whole conditioning civilisational situation' into which all four poets were born may be responsible for some of the superficial similarities – the apparently fragmented narrative, the concern with coherence, the fear of cultural loss – but in the medieval histories and chronicles, Jones found reassurance that the inhabitants of the British Isles, to whom he dedicated his poem, had experienced, and survived, a similar situation.

What this thesis shows is that although the medieval influences on content, form and structure of *The Anthemata* are more significant than previously realised, Jones is not a 'medievalist' in the Victorian tradition of Tennyson, or even Morris. One of Jones's annotations reads

It was certainly a mercy that M. [Milton] did not do an Arthuriad except that it would have saved us from Tennyson's 'Idylls of the King'.<sup>2</sup>

The poem's use of medieval materials is not a superficial combination of archaic language and sentimental imagery, but a deeper, more complex re-presentation of universal truths. Though the imagery and language of *The Anthemata* display evidence of Jones's knowledge of medieval works, it is the medieval way of thinking that permeates the poem, and underlies its form and structure.

I have suggested that the principles by which Jones identified and selected his material accords with the medieval concept of *inventio*. In making thematic narrative associations between these items, Jones continues the tradition of *meditatio*. The form in which those materials are drawn from many different authorities into a single narrative resembles a *compilatio*; and finally, the physical presentation or arrangement of the reworked materials may be interpreted as an example of *ordinatio*.

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<sup>2</sup> Marginal comment in Jones's copy of 'Milton' by T.S. Eliot (London: British Academy, 1947), p. 10, cited in *Backgrounds*.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

As demonstrated in chapter one, in approaching Jones's poem, I have adopted the methods that Jones himself used; I have returned to the raw materials of the work.

(For men can but proceed from what they know, nor is it for  
the mind of this flesh to practise poiesis *ex nihilo*.) (Ana., p. 79)

In proceeding from the basis of what Jones knew, I have used a very different methodology from earlier critics, who were forced of necessity to work on the basis of assumption. The intervening event that has made the new method feasible was the publication in 1995 of *The Library of David Jones: A Catalogue*. Jones's library had been deposited at the National Library of Wales in 1975, and was bought from Jones's heirs in 1978. Whilst the contents were accessible to critics such as Corcoran in 1982 and Dilworth in 1988, no overview of the entire contents of Jones's working library was available in an easily accessible format. The *Catalogue* makes immediately apparent that which may have been less obvious to earlier scholars of Jones's work: the extent of his reading, and particularly the depth of his knowledge of medieval history, theology and literature. At his death, Jones's personal library contained approximately 2000 items, the majority of them books, but also including a number of historical and literary journals. Given that Jones led a largely peripatetic existence for the first half of his life, before living in a series of lodging-rooms from the mid-1940s onwards, it seems all the more remarkable that Jones was able to preserve such a large collection of books. This collection, of course, contains only the books that Jones owned, not the books that he borrowed from the London Library or read at the British Museum and British Library, nor the books that he was lent by friends. Indeed, a glance at Jones's *Catalogue* makes David Blamires's comment that 'David Jones's reading in the field of English literature is that of the average man, not of a contemporary poet or man of letters'<sup>3</sup> seem positively

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<sup>3</sup> Blamires, *David Jones: Artist and Writer*, p. 13.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

churlish, though Jones's subsequent annotation in his own copy of Blamires's book is typical of his diffidence, and demonstrates the potential danger of interpreting Jones's autobiographical comments too literally: 'Very true. I've never been a "literary man", but perhaps "His field of reading in English literature is that of the average man" is a bit misleading but its [sic] hard to state.'

Previous critics have referred to some of the annotated copies of books in Jones's library, and most of his draft manuscripts of *The Anathemata* have been studied in detail, most notably by Dilworth and Goldpaugh. However, no systematic examination of the library contents according to category had been conducted, nor an analysis made of all of the marginalia. From my study of Jones's medieval literature and history books, I have concluded that many significant annotations have been overlooked until now. It is widely recognised that several allusions in *The Anathemata* are to Chaucer's works, for example, but the extent of that influence has been greatly underestimated. As my thesis shows, Chaucerian traces may be found in the symbolism and typology of the poem, especially in the importance of the ship motif and voyage narreme, in the compositional form of the poem as a *compilatio*, in its modal form as a *meditatio*, and in the poem's measurement of time, as well as in the more immediately apparent linguistic puns and verbal descriptions.

Existing criticism has at least acknowledged Chaucer's works in passing. The significance of the early British histories and chronicles in informing Jones's perspective has not been explored at all, despite the poet's references in the 'Preface' and in his multifarious footnotes. Those critics who have focused on Jones's theory of history, such as Schwartz and Robichaud, have done so solely from a theological point of view, rather than from a historiographical perspective, yet Jones is as interested in the *praxis* as he is in the *poiesis*. Whilst two critics, Dilworth and Grennan, have published articles comparing Jones's work with the medieval mystery cycles, neither addresses the manifestation of aspects of those cycles within the work itself; Grennan compares the craftsmanship of the playwright with



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that of the poet, but does not realise that Jones exploits the double meaning of 'craft', or the typological implications of Noah, the builder of the salvational ship, within *The Anathemata*, following the example of the medieval drama. Dilworth, on the other hand, appreciates the bearing that a consideration of Jones's engravings for the *Chester Play of the Deluge* may have upon a discussion of the composition of *The Anathemata*, but does not comment on the explicit use made of the play within the text itself, or consider the wider impact of a visual interpretation of the structure of *The Anathemata*.

In addition to conducting an analysis of the contents of Jones's library, and examining the annotations contained within his books, I have also used the 'Map of Themes in the Artist's Mind', composed at the same time as *The Anathemata*, as a guide to those concerns and influences uppermost in Jones's mind. Interestingly this 'Map' has several areas of overlap with the list of fifty names credited at the end of the poem's 'Preface' (another useful source of information), but it is considerably more revealing than either that list or Jones's standard response to enquiries about influences – which was usually that he thought the business of literary criticism, at least from the point of view of ascertaining influences, was greatly overrated. Again, the 'Map' has been largely disregarded in criticism to date, but is, I believe, an important tool for determining the extent of Jones's knowledge, the significance he assigned to these events, figures and works (demonstrated by the size and prominence of the lettering) and the associations he made between the various fragments of knowledge, shown by the direction and thickness of the arrows.

In chapter two, Jones's concern with preserving these fragments, 'chance scraps really, of records of things' (*Ana.*, p. 34), was compared to the medieval concept of *inventio*, or the selection of material in order to construct an argument. In the case of *The Anathemata*, Jones is insistent that his material is selected according to its importance to the Western tradition:

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I tried very hard to make a lucid, impersonal statement with regard to those things which have made us *all* – of this island. Even its 'Welsh' stuff is not there because I happen to be in part Welsh, but because the Welsh mythological element is an *integral* part of our tradition. Nor indeed is the 'Catholic' element there because I happen to be a Catholic, but rather because historically speaking (and leaving aside the truth or untruth of the Christian religion) it is the Catholic thing which has determined so much of our history and conditioned the thought of us *all*.

(*Dai Great-coat*, p. 155-6)

I identified the three-fold purposes of *The Anthemata* as devotion, preservation and commemoration, united in and by the sacrament of the Eucharist, and also suggested that *The Anthemata* could be interpreted as a metaphorical construct for the celebration of the Mass, a metaphor which is confirmed by the presentation of the poem as a triptych in chapter six. The importance of tradition and of inheritance – tangible links with the past and future – was discussed, with Jones's insistence on the poet's role as 'rememberer' and visionary being explained by the function of memory in recalling the past and prophecy or revelation in realising the future in the present. This also reflects the role of the poet in Jones's earlier work, *In Parenthesis*, which, significantly, draws upon medieval battle epics such as the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Gododdin*, in which the poet is spared the fate of his fallen comrades, through divine rather than human means, because his destiny is to tell their story. It is interesting to speculate that Jones's view of the poet as rememberer and survivor, which manifests itself in *The Anthemata* as 'this man, so late in time, curiously surviving' (*Ana.*, p. 50), as well as in the compulsion to 'tell the tale' in the manner of the Ancient Mariner, is a result of the psychological trauma Jones received during service in the trenches of the First World War. In one of the most serious tactical errors of the British Military High Command, his battalion, the 15<sup>th</sup> Royal Welsh Fusiliers, was ordered to attack German artillery positions hidden in Mametz Wood. Forced by the topography to funnel uphill, the rows of British soldiers came under heavy fire from the machine-guns, and Jones's company suffered severe losses. One obvious question that may never be answered is whether Jones's nervous depression, which returned with the outbreak of the

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Second World War, was attributable to the psychological phenomenon of 'survivor's guilt', and whether this may have contributed to his conversion to Catholicism, with its greater emphasis on guilt and confession than the Anglican Church in which Jones had grown up. Certainly the element of confession, and complex fear of both death and survival, would align Jones's compulsions even more closely with those of the medieval writers discussed in this thesis.

It is the need to make sense of experience, both personal and collective, that drives Jones. In chapter two I argued that the Christian historiographical tradition, expressed in medieval theology and demonstrated in the chronicles and narratives, provides Jones with a framework which unites past, present and future, and subjugates the temporary existence of man to the eternal existence of God. This historiographical perspective also unites the universal with the particular, insisting upon the importance of the Incarnation happening in a specific time and specific place. The three tenses are further unified through the concept of *anamnesis* as a re-enactment of the past in the present; human history is thus seen as linear, but elements of it, and time itself, are cyclical. One of the most important conclusions of this thesis is that no reader should underestimate the significance of anamnesis to Jones's work.

In the third chapter, the analysis of Jones's selection of *materia poetica* was developed to consider the medieval forms, or modes, which determine the ways in which the material is given coherence as a single, unified narrative. I suggest that to interpret *The Anathemata* as a series of unrelated fragments is seriously to misunderstand Jones's purposes and methods. The subject of the poem emphasises the unity achieved through the Mass; I argue that the form similarly emphasises the unity of the disparate elements, through the use of narrative techniques found in the medieval writings from which Jones drew his content. As Jones wrote to René Hague eleven years after the publication of *The Anathemata*,

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It is, as you say, merely a question of making the bloody thing as you want it to be – so that 'form' follows 'content' and, as you say, you bloody well *know* if it's right or wrong, that is you know if it fits with what you intend.<sup>4</sup>

I suggest that the lack of chronological continuity has been wrongly interpreted by many critics as a lack of formal coherence. In fact, *The Anthemata* evinces characteristics of early medieval oral epics, and narratives developed from the oral tradition such as *vitae*, which contribute to the sense of dramatic performance discussed in chapter five. It also demonstrates the influence of the *meditatio* tradition, with associative rather than plot-causal links between narrative episodes and the *compilatio* form, in which thematic relevance governs the selection of material. From the chronicles, which are nominally ordered according to chronology but which lack causal narrative coherence, Jones borrows the inspiration of separate, dated narrative entries unified by a Christian teleological understanding.

I claim that Jones's amalgamation of these diverse elements leads to a bi-temporal structure of human and sacred time, also discussed in chapter three. The human temporal scheme, which uses regnal or pontificate and incarnational era dating systems, is disrupted, linear and finite, whereas the sacred temporal scheme, based on the liturgical calendar, is continuous, cyclical and eternal. The emergence of a clear chronological narrative, ordered according to consecutive liturgical events which are repeated *ad infinitum* regardless of the historical year, is another innovation proposed by my thesis; whilst other critics have noted some of the references to liturgical time, or identified the historical temporal location of the individual parts, none have systematically defined the parts of the poem according to their liturgical setting. The identification of this pattern is given further authority by the note found in one of Jones's copies of *The Anthemata*, and quoted as the epigraph to this chapter.

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<sup>4</sup> Letter to René Hague, 27 September 1963, in *Dai Greatcoat*, p. 194.

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Jones's computations of time are derived from examples in the chronicles or lifted from medieval narratives, such as Chaucer. In this chapter, the concept of *anamnesis* was expressed through the repetition of particular elements, such as the re-presentation of the voyage narreme, which bind together the disparate fragments of the poem. The significance of the voyage motif in medieval thinking as a narrative device to shift temporal and spatial location, as an anachronistic episode which can be re-used to identify similar situations in the present and the past and as a Christian symbol, especially as it is found in the early histories, in examples of wonder-voyages, and in Chaucer's work, was related to Jones's use of it in *The Anthemata*.

The voyage narreme is one element of the typological thinking examined in chapter four, strongly influenced by patristic typology in which one figure or incident prefigures another. Whilst most examples are drawn from the Bible, Old Testament narratives being given retrospective meaning by their relationship to similar episodes in the New Testament, this method is also used by medieval writers to relate figures and incidents from classical antiquity to the Christian tradition. Jones's use of the *figura* and of typology was considered in the light of both the Christian patriarchal system, and Freudian psychology of archetypes, as suggested by Dilworth. Whilst Jones undoubtedly found Freud's writings of interest, they proved to be of little use to *The Anthemata*, lacking the Christian historiographical impulse to discern a divine providence in such a typological scheme, and without the elements of anamnesis inherent in an understanding of pre-Incarnational incidents or characters prefiguring aspects of the Incarnation, Crucifixion and Redemption.

Instead, the medieval mystery cycles proved more fruitful, providing Jones with not only a typological scheme more appropriate to the theme of the Mass, but also a source of theologically apt puns, a means of expression – the dramatic monologue – and an example of a series of discrete but interlinked narrative episodes that relied on visual appeal. These characteristics of medieval drama

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were analysed in chapter five, alongside a discussion of the significance of the words 'craft' and 'mystery' to *The Anthemata*. Jones's understanding of the medieval mystery plays as a development of the dramatic potential of the liturgy informs the sense of *The Anthemata*, and the Mass itself, as a performance; anamnesis is again invoked, to describe the sacrament of the Eucharist as a re-enactment. The perception of the liturgy as a dramatic performance necessitates an appraisal of its visual and aural aspects. The analysis of the appeal to the senses of sight and sound in *The Anthemata* was further developed in the following chapter, in which Jones's use of the octave as a liturgical concept of time and as a musical term was analysed.

In what is possibly the most inexplicable omission in extant criticism of the poem, no critic has analysed the possible reasons for, or effect of, the division of the text into eight parts; as I have shown in chapter six, this was a number of particular significance to Christian thinking throughout the ages, but especially in medieval times, and this fact is reflected in the use made of the number eight in the content and structure of several medieval narratives explicitly stated by Jones to have been formative influences. The concept of *ordinatio* underpins Jones's arrangement of the eight parts into three sections, which also have a numerological significance, and moreover, may be seen to reflect the visual art form of the triptych, a form used both explicitly and implicitly in Jones's own paintings. The outer sections of this textual triptych fold inwards to close, thus completing the narrative and liturgical cycle contained within the Mass, as Jones indicates:

*The Anthemata* is cyclic in character and however wide the circle, the action of the Mass is central to it and insofar as a circle can be said to have a 'beginning' or an 'end', it begins and ends with the Mass.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> David Jones, notes to the record, *Readings from 'The Anthemata', 'In Parenthesis', 'The Hunt'*, Argo PLP 1093, cited in Corcoran, p. 83.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

In proposing that *The Anathemata's* structure resembles that of the triptych, this thesis counters the existing critical opinion that the poem takes the form of a series of concentric circles, as suggested by Dilworth, or that it is labyrinthine in form, a theory propounded by Goldpaugh. Dilworth's concept over-emphasises Jones's method of inserting new material into the existing narrative, allowing no consideration to be given to his arrangement and re-arrangement of the material, and failing to account for the explicit presentation of the poem in eight distinct, named parts. Goldpaugh's method, being derived from Dilworth's original theory, is similarly flawed, but has the additional problem of reconciling an elaborate structure with Jones's insistence that the poem 'has no plan, or at least is not planned'; a labyrinth must be constructed from the inside out, and cannot be imposed retrospectively. That Jones did arrange the materials into some kind of recognisable structure is implicit in his writings, notwithstanding the absence of original intention, and that the form was conditioned by external influences is also implicit in Jones's statement in the Preface that:

I have not included here any of those whose influence I associate chiefly with the 'form' of what I have written. It is confined to those whose works have had a bearing on the 'content' only, or principally so. (*Ana.*, p. 38)

This disclaimer may be interpreted as an admission that Jones did associate other influences with the 'form' of his writing, though no record of these influences has been published. Finally, neither Dilworth's nor Goldpaugh's theory fully relates the form to the content, an important consideration for Jones, who described his materials as 'things to which I would give a related form, just as one does in painting a picture' (*Ana.*, p. 34). Though the exact meaning of this sentence remains ambiguous, suggesting both a form that relates the fragments of content to each other, and a form that is related to the content, the probability is that he meant both interpretations. The view of *The Anathemata* as a series of concentric circles is founded simply upon the repetition of images within the narrative; where an image

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

or incident is repeated, it has been declared to represent the closing of a circle. The issue with this method is that the interpretation has been applied selectively; using the same criteria, more circles could be identified. Given the importance of re-enactment and re-presentation to the poem, it is not surprising that Dilworth has 'discovered' many incidents of repetition. The concept of a labyrinth has limited relevance to *The Anathemata*, though interestingly, it occurs as a motif in some of Jones's later works, including *The Roman Quarry*.

This thesis therefore offers a consideration of the text's physical arrangement of eight parts in three sections, with the radical possibility proposed of the poem as a triptych, which analyses the relationship of the fragments according to methods found in medieval sources used by Jones. This suggested structure and form reflects Jones's visual approach to writing and, using the same typological and historiographical principles as medieval writings, the same temporal scheme as that used by medieval writers and the same design as a medieval form of visual art, it complements the content of the poem. The purpose of Jones's work is to commemorate and to communicate. It re-presents, under a different form, the Word of God; and it is a physical manifestation of the poem's title, *The Anathemata*, which means, in Jones's words,

things that are the signs of something other, together with those signs that not only have the nature of a sign, but are themselves, under some mode, what they signify. Things set up, lifted up, or in whatever manner made over to the gods.

(*Ana.*, p. 29.)



## **Bibliography**

### **Works by David Jones**

*Note: The editions used throughout this thesis are indicated in brackets*

*In Parenthesis* first published 1937 (London: Faber and Faber, 1963)

*The Anathemata* first published 1952 (London: Faber and Faber, 1972)

*The Sleeping Lord* first published 1974 (London: Faber and Faber, 1995)

*The Roman Quarry* (also containing *The Narrows*, *Kensington Mass* and *The Book of Balaam's Ass*) ed. Harman Grisewood and René Hague (London: Agenda Editions, 1981)

*The Wedding Poems*, ed. Thomas Dilworth (London: Enitharmon Press, 2002)

*Epoch & Artist* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959)

*The Dying Gaul*, ed. Harman Grisewood (London: Faber and Faber, 1978)

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## List of Appendices

- Appendix 1: Facsimile of 'Map of Themes'
- Appendix 2: Contents of Keeler's *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chroniclers*
- Appendix 3: Contents of Johnstone's *A Hundred Years of History 1216-1327*
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## Appendix 2

The sources examined by Laura Keeler, as listed in the table of contents, are:

*Flores Historiarum*

Joannis Historici, *Angliae Chronicon*

Thomae Sprotti, *Chronica*

*Chronica Regum Angliae per Thomam Otterbourne*

*Chronicon Joannis Bromton*

Joannis Rossi, *Historia Regum Angliae*

Ranulphi Higden, *Polychronicon*

*Eulogium Historiarum*

Ricardi de Cirencestria, *Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliae*

Thomas Elmham, *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuarensis*

Thomae Rudbourne, *Historia Maior*

Willhelmis Rishanger, *Chronica and Annales Regum Angliae*

*Annales Angliae et Scotiae*

Nicholae Treveti, *Annales Sex Regum Angliae*

*Commendatio Lamentabilis ... Edwardii [Primi]*

*Annales Londonienses*

*Vita Edwardi [Secundi]*

*Gesta Edwardi de Carnavon et Gesta Edwardi Tertii*

*Chronicon de Lanercost*

Galfridi le Baker, *Chroniculum*

Robert de Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilis Regis Edwardi Tertii*

*Chronicon Henrici Knighton ... de Eventibus Angliae*

*Annales de Dunstaplia*

*Annales de Wigornia*

*Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*

Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana and Ypodigma Neustriae*

Adae de Usk, *Chronicon*

*Historiola de Antiquitate et Origine Almae Universitatis Immacolatae Cantebrigiae*

Joannis de Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*

John of Whethamstede, *Granarium de Viris Illustribus.*

Laura Keeler, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chroniclers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946).



### Appendix 3

The twelve sources examined by Hilda Johnstone, as listed in the table of contents, are:

Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*

Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*

William Rishanger, *Chronica*

Thomas Wykes, *Chronicon*

*Annales Monasterii de Burton*

*Annales Monasterii de Waverleia*

Walter of Hemingburgh, *Chronicon*

Compilation Chronicle of 1259-1326, *Flores Historiarum*

*Vita Edwardi II*

*Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon*

*Annales Paulini 1307-1341*

Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*.

Hilda Johnstone, *A Hundred Years of History 1216-1327* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1912).

## Appendix 4

David Jones and modern psychology.

David Jones had an interest in psychology for both personal and social reasons. Following severe and recurring bouts of depression, Dr Charles Burns, the brother of Jones's friend Tom Burns, arranged for him to receive treatment as an in-patient at a psychiatric hospital. As well as Charles Burns, Jones's circle of friends included Hugh Crichton-Miller and other doctors with an interest in mental health, and historians such as Christopher Dawson who analysed past concepts of memory; these friends not only passed on information in conversation with Jones, supplying him with ideas or supplementary evidence, but also lent or gave him books, evidenced by the catalogue of Jones's library. Jones writes 'Who should say how much may be owing to [...] a paper read before a London conference of psychologists...' (*Ana.*, p. 38). Unfortunately we have no way of knowing the title or contents of that paper.

It is highly probable, therefore, that Jones would have participated in, or listened to, discussions of the function of memory which involved contemporary research and ideas – his concept of 'memory' expressed in *The Anathemata* is not limited to classical and medieval philosophical and theological thought, but also shows an awareness of twentieth-century psychology, such as the ideas expressed in F.C. Bartlett's *Remembering*, mentioned earlier in this chapter. This leads to a complex presentation of remembering and memories in the text. The material consists of memories, both personal and collective, presented in a way that in the several points that I demonstrate resembles a mimetically medieval approach to remembering, but which is also informed by an intellectual understanding of memory and its importance to different epochs. This understanding thus adds an extra level of explicit, conscious detachment gained from psychological theory, which is expressed by the conscious narrative voice, to the implicit, subconscious replication of medieval remembering processes inherent in the form of the poem. Jones's interest in psychology is documented by passing mentions in correspondence, but is not deep enough to influence the content, either text or footnotes, of *The Anathemata* and thus I do not propose to discuss it further, other than to suggest that Jones's re-presentation of medieval ideas may well be occasionally augmented by the inclusion of a twentieth-century theoretical perspective on memory and the purpose of remembering, which the original medieval author would not have considered. It may or may not be coincidental that the title of Tom Burn's autobiography is *The Use of Memory*.

## Appendix 5

Commentary on Figure 4: 'Plate\*v\* - The reward of the righteous' in *The Bible of the Poor (Biblia Pauperum): A Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 d.2.*

The accompanying commentary (p. 179) reads:

In the central panel of the fortieth triptych, the crown of eternal life – the reward for having triumphed over temptation in the present life – is bestowed on the sanctified soul in the heavenly hereafter. To allegorise such a union, Christ is depicted as king and bridegroom; the soul becomes his queen and spouse. To the left, Solomon crowns his bride, after having extolled her beauties and affirmed that she is without blemish. Though this biblical passage typically is applied to the Blessed Virgin, who was conceived without sin, it is also related to the sanctified soul and to the Church Triumphant imagised as the *Mater Ecclesia*. To the right is the angel who summons St. John the Divine to the heavenly Jerusalem, where he will see the bride of the lamb.

## Appendix 6

Commentary on Figure 5: 'Plate\*c\* - Christ is mocked and crowned with thorns' in *The Bible of the Poor (Biblia Pauperum): A Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 d.2.*

The accompanying commentary (p. 166) reads:

The central scene of the twenty-third triptych shows the mocking and buffeting of Jesus. He is crowned with thorns, clothed with a garment described as scarlet in Scripture, and seated on a chair resembling a throne. Regal accoutrements and trappings provide the context for the Jews's [sic] mockery of Christ: 'King of the Jews'. His feet rest on a stone slab similar to that on which the Torah was inscribed and mounted at the temple, thus affirming that the New Dispensation supersedes the old law. While he suffers and after he is crucified, the Saviour is described in Scripture, Patristic commentary, hymnology, and religious literature as 'Christ the King'. The pole used by the antagonists to buffet the head of Christ recalls the ninth triptych, where two scouts transport the bunch of grapes from Chanaan [sic]. Whereas the Old Testament analogue foreshadows the winepress of the cross, the New Testament buffeting is the immediate prelude to the more bountiful outpouring of Christ's blood at the Crucifixion.

To the left are the three sons of Noe, who is drunken and asleep on the ground. Having been inebriated with an overabundance of his own wine, Noe prefigures the inexhaustible supply of Christ's blood, the fatigue and collapse of the Saviour during the way of the cross, and his unconsciousness at death. Of Noe's three sons, only Cham has seen his father's nakedness, which he reports to Japheth or Sem, the action depicted in the background of the panel. Cham's mockery of his father anticipates the Jews's [sic] derision of Christ. In the foreground, one of the sons covers his father's nakedness. Also evident is an arbour on which bunches of grapes are supported by poles, for Scripture describes Noe as having planted a vineyard. Either clothed or naked, Noe anticipates Christ, whose scarlet cloak at the buffeting suggests the redness of wine and whose nakedness at the scourging and the Crucifixion is red with blood. Related to the image of the fertile vineyard is God's enjoinder to Noe and his sons – 'Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth' (Genesis 9:1). If fertility in nature is an analogue of the propagation to be achieved through Noe's sons, from whom 'the whole earth was peopled' (Genesis 9:19), vines also suggest the bountiful supply of Christ's blood for the salvation of all humankind, an outpouring produced in the winepress of the cross.

To the right, Eliseus, who has travelled to Bethel, is mocked by children from the city.

