

PRE-RAPHAELITE CLERIHIEWS:
THE *FIN DE SIÈCLE* POETRY CONTEST

We remind our readers that *The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* is celebrating our own *fin de siècle* by sponsoring a poetry contest that commemorates the genre created during the last *fin de siècle* by Edmund Clerihew Bentley. You are invited to submit any number of original clerihews related to the subject of Pre-Raphaelitism. Entries may be sent to our postal address at York or e-mailed to dlatham@yorku.ca The deadline for submission is sometime in August 2000. The winner's clerihews will be published in our Fall 2000 issue. See the Fall 1999 issue for some rough examples.

WILLIAM MORRIS'S
"THE MOSQUE RISING IN THE PLACE OF THE TEMPLE OF
SOLOMON": A CRITICAL TEXT

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In the volume of Morris's juvenilia that forms part of the May Morris Bequest in the British Library (Add MS. 45,298A), the first manuscript poem is untitled. Letters in the volume show that May Morris conjectured, wrongly as it turns out that the poem was written on the topic of "The Dedication of the Temple" with entries due on 1 December 1853. Since that competition for "a Poem on a Sacred Subject" was open only to those who had already received the Bachelor of Arts Morris did not qualify, and so she surmises that "he thought of trying his hand or it 'for fun'" (May Morris, 2:376). In fact, Morris was writing on a quite different topic, for a different competition, and at a different date. His manuscript poem is a copy of his entry for the Newdigate Prize Poem competition for 1855, announced in July 1854, on the topic of "The Mosque Rising in the Place of the Temple of Solomon."

Morris's poem did not win the competition, for reasons that can be proposed with some plausibility. But it remains one of his earliest surviving compositions, the first of those written after childhood (May Morris, 2:517-21; Boos) when, as he said, "still an undergraduate, I discovered that I could write poetry, much to my own amazement" (Morris, *Letters* 2:228), and predates the Oxford poems of 1855 to which J.W. Mackail makes reference (1:51-52). "The Mosque Rising" also alludes to Morris's early acquaintance with the medieval chronicles and anticipates his later interest in politics by making oblique reference to a number of contemporary international disputes that provide the context for the poem. It was written at the time of the Crimean War, when, as A.P. Stanley said in the *Quarterly Review*, "the whole attention of Europe, after an interval of more than five centuries, has once more been fixed on the 'Holy Places' of the Eastern world, [and when its] 'solitary silence' ... is once more broken by the sound of the 'world's debate,' by the mighty controversies which, beginning with the wrangles of Greek and Latin monks over the key of the Convent of Bethlehem, and the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, has now enclosed within its circle the statesmen of all the greatest powers in Europe" (433).

This edition of the poem, the first to edit it in the light of the Newdigate competition, with annotation, commentary, and consideration of its context, also advances over 150 new readings from the manuscript. The critical introduction first outlines the immediate context of the poem within the Newdigate Prize competition. It next discusses the controversies about Jerusalem and its holy places on three levels: the political turmoil of the 1840s and 1850s leading to the Crimean War, the debate concerning the topography, architecture, and archaeology of the Temple Mount, and the religious and military history of the site (the specific topic of the Newdigate competition). The introduction concludes with a brief discussion and comparison of the two winning poems and Morris's entry. The text of the poem is prefaced by brief editorial comments. Editing and annotating the poem as a social text elucidates Morris's sources, specific references to contemporary controversy and politics, and his political position in relation to the winners; the textual apparatus makes detailed reference to the two earlier appearances of the poem in print: extracts in May Morris's gathering of Morris's unpublished works (1:376-83) and the complete unannotated version in Florence Boos's edition of Morris's *Juvenilia* (45-52).

In 1805 Sir Roger Newdigate (1719-1806) left a bequest to Oxford University to establish an annual prize for undergraduates (not having "exceeded four years from their matriculation") of £21 for English verse "of fifty lines and no more in recommendation of the study of the ancient Greek and Roman remains of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting." The line restriction was removed in 1826, "and from that time there has been no precise limitation either of the length of the poems or of the range of the subjects" (*Oxford*, 1863, 101). Despite the lack of a line restriction after 1826, it became customary to submit a poem of about 300 lines, the same length as that stipulated for the Oxford Prize Poem on a Sacred Subject, a prize approved by Convocation in 1848. In 1904 a 300-line restriction was imposed on the Newdigate entries, thereby making accepted practice official. Through the years some distinguished authors won the Newdigate while still undergraduates and subsequent publication of their prize poem was often their first appearance in print. For example, in successive years the winners were F.W. Faber ("The Knights of St. John," 1836), Arthur Penrhyn Stanley ("The Gipsies," 1837), and John Ruskin ("Salsette and Elephante," 1839). Later Newdigate poets included Matthew Arnold ("Cromwell," 1843), Oscar Wilde ("Ravenna," 1878), and Morris's biographer, the distinguished classicist, J.W. Mackail ("Thermopylae," 1881).

These titles alone indicate that the Newdigate committee selected topics that tended to hold to the founder's original condition of classical and archaeological subjects, with occasional departures for geographical sites, religious history, or historical figures. In the 1850s the topics followed that formula: "The Niger" (1850, W.A. Russell), "Nineveh" (1851, A.W. Hunt), "The Feast of Belshazzar" (1852, Edwin Arnold), "The Ruins of Egyptian Thebes" (1853, S.H. Reynolds) and "The Martyrs of Vienne and Lyons" (1854, F.G. Lee). It was not out of keeping

with these subjects on "Ancient Sculpture, or Painting, or Architecture" and related themes for the *University Calendar* to print the next topic: "The Mosque rising in the place of the Temple of Solomon" (1855, 23). The competition was announced at Oxford in a notice from the Vice-Chancellor, R.L. Cotton, dated July 20 ("Papers," fol. 171) and in the *Times* for 22 July 1854: "The subject for Sir Roger Newdigate's Prize for the best composition in English verse is 'The Mosque rising in the place of the Temple of Solomon.'¹ The prize is limited to undergraduates who, on the day above specified, shall not have exceeded four years from their matriculation. The Exercises are all to be sent under a sealed cover to The Registrar of the University on or before the 31st day of March next" (10). The subject for Latin verse for the same year was on a somewhat related topic, *Israelitæ Palæstinam occupantes* (The Israelites occupying Palestine). And that for the best "Poem on a Sacred Subject" for the year before (open only to those who had completed the bachelor's degree) was "The Dedication of Solomon's Temple," won by William Edward Green and printed in the following year (1854). Clearly at Oxford there was a considerable interest in turning undergraduates' minds towards the Palestinian implications of the Eastern Question.

The fact that Cambridge should choose for the same year a very similar topic for the Camden Medal for Latin Hexameters, *Loca Sacra apud Hierosolymam* (The Holy Places at Jerusalem), won by Charles Stuart Calverley, suggests that there too there was a focus on the Levant. Furthermore, the topic at Cambridge for the Chancellor's Medal for English Verse in 1855 repeated the same emphasis with "The War in the Crimea," won by John Sumner Gibson that, like so many of the poems on these topics, looks forward to an apocalyptic event when political differences are subsumed in a religious conversion. Other topics for the Cambridge Chancellor's medal on Jerusalem included the following: "Jerusalem" (1817, Chauncy Hare Townshend), "The Taking of Jerusalem in the First Crusade" (1832, William Chapman Kinglake), "Richard the First in Palestine" (1840, John Charles Conybeare), and "Titus at Jerusalem" (1849, Henry Day). Most of these poems draw on conventional sources, often cited in the printed texts: the Bible, Josephus, Michaud's *History of the Crusades*, and Tasso's *Liberation of Jerusalem*. Both Oxford and Cambridge, in assigning the topics for the 1855 English verse competitions, were forcing the competitors also to take account of contemporary intellectual and political issues as well as international hostilities.

The acute international political problem of the 1850s was the Crimean War (1853-56), but the unresolved issues of the "Eastern Question" continued to involve Britain, France, Germany, and Turkey against Russia in diplomacy and war intermittently through the nineteenth century as the Turkish Empire declined. The implications of that decline drew Morris into active politics, as he became treasurer of the Eastern Question Association (1877), taking part in demonstrations, writing manifestos and letters to the press, and delivering public lectures: the same activities that he directed in a more radical direction when he left the liberals for the

socialists in 1883. The roots of his concern with the Eastern Question can now be traced back to his first mature poem.

During the 1840s and 1850s the issue concerned the free access by adherents of three world religions--Jews, Christians, and Muslims--to the holy places associated with the events of their sacred history. Among Christians the idea of free access was particularly troublesome, as religious orders and the patriarchs of national churches engaged in a series of unseemly struggles for possession and control of the major shrines. Palestine was under the political control of the Ottoman Turkish government, while Russia, after the treaty of Bucharest in 1812, replaced France as the protector of Christian groups subject to the Ottoman rulers. But when fresh rivalries emerged, especially between the Latin Church and the Orthodox in the late 1840s, a Franco-Ottoman Commission was established to determine the claims and rights of the differing groups, with the influence of Napoleon III being brought to bear in 1851. However, Russia intervened on behalf of the Orthodox, and insisted that the *status quo* from 100 years earlier (1757) be maintained. A purely Ottoman commission then took over, and in accordance with its recommendations, the Sultan of Turkey, Abülmecid I, issued a decree in 1852 confirming the *status quo* of 1757, with a few minor concessions to the Latin Church. Nevertheless, through 1853 Russia continued to demand not only the *status quo* in the holy places, but also her right to protect all Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

The outbreak of war, and its threat to the security of Jerusalem and the holy places, caused enormous excitement in England, as was reflected in the attention paid to the topic in the popular press, exactly when the Oxford authorities were devising the topic for the Newdigate prize in 1854.² In the previous decade and a half Britain had paid increasing attention to Palestine, establishing a diplomatic mission in Jerusalem as the first official British presence since the time of the crusades and greatly increasing Christian proselytizing efforts through the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (1839). Tremendous evangelical interest in the associations between the holy places and the biblical narrative was renewed by studies of the bible that attempted to locate places and events. In 1841 William IV of Prussia, through his ambassador, Baron Christian Bunsen, persuaded Queen Victoria to undertake the establishment of an Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem (consecrating a converted Jew, Michael Solomon Alexander, as bishop) in a joint venture with the German Lutherans, a move that caused religious unrest in England since such fraternizing was strongly opposed by the High Church faction. Shortly thereafter the Greek, French Catholic, and Russian churches appointed senior dignitaries who raised the rivalries of already-present and fractious monks to an inflammatory level. At the same time, many Jewish and Russian immigrants were moving to Jerusalem from Europe, fleeing from persecutions there to find abject poverty and new hostilities in Jerusalem, all reported in the domestic press by returning travellers and philanthropists (Gilbert

1-55). When war broke out, all of these activities and relationships, the British presence in Palestine, zeal for Jewish conversions, evangelical veneration for the locales of biblical stories, theological controversy at home and in Jerusalem over the Jerusalem bishopric, rivalry amongst the European churches and powers, and humanitarian concerns for the starving and homeless in Jerusalem, were called into question, as the most profound religious feelings, mixed with patriotism and ethnic animosities, were ignited by lack of access to the holy places and the war in the Crimea. Contestants for the Newdigate prize could draw on this wide range of popular emotions and political alliances to appeal to their Oxford evaluators.

A special scholarly edge was added to these political and ecclesiastical battles over recent debates on topography, architecture, and archaeology. Two major sites attracted pilgrims to Jerusalem. One was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, successively rebuilt and destroyed, the foundations and crypt dating from the time of Constantine (ca. 330), beneath which were burial caves of the first century. The second site, the one which provoked most controversy over lack of access, was the Temple area, called now the *Haram esh-Sharif* or "noble sanctuary," where had stood the Temples of Solomon, the Second Temple dating from just after the exile and rebuilt by Herod the Great, and since the seventh century, the Dome of the Rock. Christians and Jews were denied access to the sanctuary until the late nineteenth century. Accordingly, to supply the demand for such elusive information about Jerusalem in the 1840s and 1850s, many travel, topographical, and architectural books on Jerusalem were published (Gilbert, 228-29), the most reprinted of which was Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* (1856).

Undoubtedly the most controversial work on the archaeology of Jerusalem, one that linked the two sites of the Temple and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was James Fergusson's treatise of 1847, *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, with Restored Plans of the Temple, &c., and Plans, Sections, and Details of the Church Built by Constantine the Great over the Holy Sepulchre, Now Known as the Mosque of Omar*. Fergusson's title gives the theme of the work, that the Mosque of Omar, or Dome of the Rock, is Constantine's Church over the sepulchre of Christ. Fergusson's theory gained some support, notably from William Smith, who had him write the articles on "The Topography of Jerusalem" and the "Temple" for the *Dictionary of the Bible* (1860-63), and William Robertson Smith, who followed Fergusson in his article on the Temple in the 9th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1875-89). But at the time Fergusson's views were hotly disputed by Robert Willis as being "ridiculously absurd," by George Williams for neglecting the direct observations of Eusebius who knew of Constantine's excavation and building programme, and by Edward Robinson for neglecting both Eusebius and the Pilgrim of Bordeaux.

Competitors for the 1855 Newdigate prize, then, were embarking on perilous seas, strewn with the rocks of religious rivalry over the control of the holy places; political and military struggles between Turkey and Russia, with Britain aligned with Turkey; and the controversy over the Temple site itself.

However entrants for the prize poem handled the contemporary political and archaeological controversies, the very inclusiveness of the Newdigate subject suggested that they had to deal explicitly with the religious history of the site itself, particularly the fifteen hundred years between the building of the Temple of Solomon and its replacement by the Dome of the Rock. The sequence of time and of buildings implied also a sequence of religious traditions, from Jews to Christians to Muslims, providing fresh opportunities for entrants to exploit current interest in the conversion of the Jews, the privations of Christians, and animosity toward the Muslims.

The history of the site can be reconstructed historically from biblical and many other documentary and archaeological sources, but it is also legendary, drawing into overlapping strands a number of narrative lines from the lore of the three world religions. When King David established his capital in the Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem he also made it his religious centre, moving the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem, and acquiring a site for the Temple on Mount Moriah (2 Chron. 3:1). David had wrongfully undertaken a census (2 Sam. 24), thereby provoking a pestilence administered by an angel of God. The prophet Gad advised David to purchase the threshing floor of a Jebusite farmer called Araunah or Ornan, which he did, along with the oxen and their yokes which David sacrificed on an altar he made on the site (2 Sam. 24:24; 1 Chron. 21:25).

The site was already hallowed by earlier traditions, or at least the threshing floor on Mount Moriah came to be associated with a legendary past as the place where Adam was created, where Cain and Abel offered sacrifices, where Noah sacrificed after the flood, and especially where Abraham offered to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:14; 2 Chron. 3:1), for which the site was venerated by Jews and Muslims alike. Because David was a man of war and had shed blood he was not allowed to build the Temple (1 Chron. 28:3), but Solomon, his son, undertook the task in the fourth year of his reign (1 Kings 6:37-38; see also Barton, 12:85-101; Comay, 28-59; and Parrot, 15-66).

The building of the temple, with either the Holy of Holies (Deut. 10:2, 5; 1 Kings 8:4-7) or the altar of burnt offering over the rock on the threshing floor, is elaborately described in the first book of Kings. The temple of Solomon was plundered and burned by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Chron. 3; 2 Kings 25:8-17) and the people of Israel were taken into captivity in Babylon. After the return from exile, the temple was rebuilt as the Second Temple under Zerubbabel's governorship. This temple was desecrated by offering sacrifice to Zeus (the "abomination of desolation" of Dan. 11:31) at the hands of the Seleucid king of Syria, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, as part of his effort to Hellenize Judaea and suppress Judaism. But with the re-taking of Jerusalem in the Maccabean revolt, the temple was re-dedicated under Judas Maccabaeus (Ezra 5, 6; Ezek. 40-41; Hag. 2; 1 Macc. 1-4). Herod the Great rebuilt this edifice for which elaborate accounts are detailed in the first book of Josephus' *The Wars of the Jews* and the mishnaic treatises *Middoth* (3:2-3) and

Yoma (5:6). It was this temple which formed the backdrop to many of the events of the Gospels (such as the expelling of the moneychangers: Mark 11:15 and parallels). When Titus took Jerusalem at the end of the Jewish War in 70 he burned the Temple of Herod to the ground and in 135 the site was destroyed by Hadrian. Christian pilgrims returned to the holy places from the reign of Constantine or (313), as his mother, Helena, began to undertake the construction of churches over the sites, but they did not have access to the Temple area (Achtemeier, 1021-29 see also Haran).

In 638 the Muslims under Caliph Omar entered Jerusalem, and cleared the sanctuary; subsequently the splendid Dome of the Rock (*Kubbet es-Sakhra*) wrongly called the Mosque of Omar, was built between 687 and 691 by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik as a site for pilgrims rather than for public worship. The tradition of Islam added further legendary layers of association to the site: the Dome was built over the rock on which Noah's ark rested; the rock was the foundation stone or omphalos of the world, one of the rocks of Paradise, and the location from which Mohammed in his Night Journey with the archangel Gabriel rode on the winged steed El-Burak and leapt up to heaven, leaving a hoof mark on the rock. Finally it will be the site for the final resurrection when the Angel of Death, Israfil, will sound the last trumpet (*Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2:1088-89). As the focus of all of these traditions, the rock was the third most important shrine to Islam, yielding place only to Mecca and the prophet's tomb at Medina (Grabar, 18).

During the First Crusade the crusaders captured Jerusalem in 1099 and, after butchering the Muslim defenders, worshipped at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and seized the Dome of the Rock, converting it into a Christian church, the *Templum Domini* ("Temple of the Lord"). Their victory lasted less than a century; when Saladin defeated the Franks in the Second Crusade, retook Jerusalem for the Arabs, and restored the Dome of the Rock with mosaics (1187); he was also successful in repulsing the Third Crusade (1188-92), led by Richard the Lionheart. Further restoration of the Dome of the Rock using enamelled tiles was undertaken by the Sultan Suleyman I the Magnificent and the Ottoman Turks between 1520 and 1566, whose rule lasted virtually four centuries, until the First World War.

Hence, when the Newdigate competition was announced in the summer of 1854, Christian Europe was hoping for an end to the control of Islam in Palestine but the possible control by Russia looked equally threatening. Already England and France were at war with Russia, in support of Turkey. The plight of Jews and Muslims in Jerusalem was critical. At the same time, the security of the holy place was imperilled, made worse by the bellicose monks and their supporters who contested control over all of the sites of pilgrimage. The rival archaeological theories of Oxford's Smith and Fergusson against Cambridge's Robinson could not be tested because of the political uncertainties, and the continuing refusal of the authorities to grant Christians or Jews access to the Temple site. All of these fears and aspirations came sharply into focus in the Newdigate competition of 1855.

The winning entry for the Newdigate Prize was written by Edward Haydon Osborn, whose success was announced in the *Times* on 7 June 1855 (10). His poem was recited publicly in the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford on 20 June and was subsequently printed. The poem of 309 lines was written in blank verse. The poet wanders in his dreams as a pilgrim, and has a vision of the past and of Jerusalem:

So, as I gazed upon the death-like scene,
But most upon the minaretted Mosque,
Crowning the rock whereon in bygone years
Had rested like a gorgeous diadem,
That thrice-famed Temple, on whose royal front
Thoughts of the buried ages filled my soul
With mournfulness, and dimmed my sight with tears. (6)

In a dream within a dream he sees the Jewish people at the wailing wall, a figure representing Jewish religion with a broken lyre, the neglected prophets, and, breaking chronological order, Jesus of Nazareth, followed by the invading power of Babylon (Nebuchadnezzar), Rome, and Islam in a few lines:

Such sights I saw, and still, at intervals,
Came mighty armies ... I might discern,
Now by the scarlet robe and jewelled crown
A king of Babel,—now beneath the wings
Of golden eagles, Rome's proud legions passed;
And oft would silken banners rustle by,
Now brodered with the Crescent, now the Cross;—
Nor silently they marched, but evermore
The breath of brazen clarions shook the air,
And in the rigid groves of slanted spears
The wind sang drily,—and they went their way,
Some to defeat, and some to victory. (11)

Little attention is given to the details of the biblical narrative, the religious associations of the topography, or the chronology of historical events. The sequence of temples is referred to in a cursory manner and the mosque recurs only as a reference point throughout, with no interest in architectural detail or accuracy; for instance, there are no minarets associated with the Dome of the Rock (though four dating from the thirteenth century are built into the walls):

A Temple sank in ruins; and again,
With mingled sound of weeping and of joy,
Another Temple rose; and last of all,
Those clustered minarets and faëry dome,
Glorious within with many-coloured light ...
While over all that silver Crescent shines,
Fit emblem of the fragmentary faith

Of him, who, born amid the wilderness,
In the fantastic fretwork of old creeds
And image-worship found nor rest nor peace. (12)

The marginal note identifies Mohammed. The vision continues with a prediction of the second coming of Christ to usher in universal "peace and brotherhood" before the accounting of the Last Judgement, that suggests some conflation with the Crimean War as "night" when the "sharp sickles ... reap the world." Osborn's poem concludes with an archangel's warning to the dreamer who awakens:

"Mortal! who hast God's work on earth to do,
Linger not idly gazing,—dream no more!"
Then from my waking eyes the vision fled,
And from mine ears that solemn-sounding song,
But not the voice of warning from my heart. (15-16)

These confusing chronologies and lack of detail (or sometimes inaccurate detail) are glossed over by the device of the dream vision as generalized images of the temples and the mosque are interchanged, along with the three religious groups of Jews, Muslims, and Christians, all of whom are envisioned as becoming unified in the Christian apotheosis the final lines of the poem. Contemporary events are referred to only indirectly at the beginning in the references to the Jews, "who wept their fortunes and their race" (6) and through the apocalyptic warning and the awakening poet to the reality of "work on earth to do" (16).

For the only time in the nineteenth century a second Newdigate prize was awarded in the same competition, to Robert William Henderson for his 268 lines of heroic couplets. Although his poem was also printed under the terms of the prize, he did not get to recite his lines in the Sheldonian Theatre. Where Osborn had been indirect about contemporary events, Henderson is explicit, even blunt. In his synopsis and poem he attributes the destruction of the Temple of Herod and the building of the Mosque as retributive justice for Jewish guilt over their rejection of Christ: "Rejection of Christ by the Jews—Their guilt consummated by His Death—The Capture of their City by the Romans, and the Destruction of their 'holy and beautiful House'— ... A still heavier retribution, as it were, befalls them in the Mohammedan Conquest, and in the profanation of their ruined Sanctuary by the rising of the Mosque." To Henderson, the contention over the holy places and the Crimean War suggest an apocalyptic moment when the conversion of the Jews might be immanent: "The present Crisis seems to point to some such great event, not far distant" (3).

The poem describes the building, magnificence, and dedication of Solomon's Temple, its destruction, the building of the Second Temple, the life of Christ, the destruction of the temple under Titus, and the coming of the Muslims. A strong anti-semitic direction is pursued by invoking conventional denunciations against both Jews and Muslims:

They came, like fiery blast from steppes afar,
 To Salem came those desert sons of war; ...
 Well-pleas'd beneath Religion's specious name
 To cloak the reeking blade, the ruthless flame,—
 Yet haply there was one, one hallow'd spot,—
 "Paynim, avaunt! disturb, pollute it not,
 'Tis holy ground, 'twas once Jehovah's fane,
 Withdraw thy foot, thine impious hand restrain"....
 Judah hath spurn'd the birthright in disdain,
 And now these bitter tears must flow in vain,
 While proudly rear'd upon her Temple's sight
 Flaunts the pale emblem of the Moslem's rite. (12-13)

The references to the moon as emblem recur in almost all of the poems on the theme. Henderson, however, incites stronger feelings with stronger racialist stereotypes against the Jews:

Lorn cast-away! How hath affliction's tide
 Roll'd its rude billows o'er her shattered pride! ...
 Her sons forsake her, distant lands to roam,
 The world their pilgrimage, no spot their home;
 Live but to gold, dead to all sense of shame,
 What care have they for Salem's long-lost fame? (14)

Henderson's poem ends with explicit reference to the Crimean War and the poet's hope, like Osborn's, for the conversion of the Jews:

'Tis not for nought the Crescent and the Cross
 Now side by side their mingling banners toss,
 And, leagued in fight, the Lily and the Rose
 Waste their dear bloom for Russia's feebl' foes.
 Yes—faint and fainter wanes the Moslem power,
 And near and nearer draws the saving hour,
 When Sion shall assert her rights again,
 Her sceptre grasp and claim her world-wide reign.
 Then seek, ye wandering Tribes, your ancient home,
 No more to suffer, and no more to roam!
 Then Salem, rise, with joy and triumph crown'd,
 Thy sorrows o'er, thy long-sought Saviour found!
 Then fall, thou Mosque! Then Temple, spring from earth,
 And let the shout of worlds announce thy second birth! (15-16)

These verses, regular in scansion with the occasional Alexandrine to end a cadence, present a clearer chronology of events than Osborne's dream of "mystic sorrow," but give no more attention than he to details or contextual accuracy. Henderson, however, makes far more of the rhetoric of conversion that was a stock-in-trade of

the societies set up for the conversion of the Jews, and in his appeal to patriotic nationalism in the concluding lines he anticipates the jingoism that became current over similar issues in the Eastern Question crisis of the late 1870s.

Osborn and Henderson, then, are aligned with the dominant political position. They do not use the competition to question the historic implications of the religious site, or describe the successive temples or the mosque, or consider a range of contextual ramifications. The winning poems say the right thing for the political moment without approaching controversial or disputed topics: they raise the proper nationalist sentiments in the climate of war, trace the roots of sectarian conflict to religious retribution, heap enough scorn on Jews and Muslims, and look forward to a more brotherly (and more Christian) future foreshadowed in the present political alliances of the Crimean War.

Morris's poem is exactly the traditional length, 300 lines, written in often irregular blank verse. Generically, Morris distances himself from the dominant-culture model of heroic couplets that had been conventional for so many of the prize poem entries over the years (and used by Henderson), a model that retained the social cachet of eighteenth-century class acceptability epitomized in the precise balance and contrast of figures and images in successive lines. Morris's blank verse, affiliated generically with Tennyson's and Browning's most recent poems (that Morris had read), takes many liberties with the form, introducing rough scansion, inverted feet, inconsistent use in successive lines of the accented "ed" syllable of the past tense, and so on, thereby insisting on his difference from the acceptable literary norm (see Frow, 170-80). That he could control such matters in regular scansion is demonstrated in his other early poems; that he was setting out to do something different with his pentameters is substantiated in his next major poetic effort, the longer poems of *The Defence of Guenevere*.

"The Mosque Rising" is structured to proceed chronologically from the choosing of the site for the Temple by David (the "Place" of the Temple in the poem's title) through the building, conservation, and destruction of the Temple of Solomon. Then follows a night-vision of the life of Christ, the second Temple of Zerubbabel, rebuilt by Herod, and its destruction. The third large division involves the Muslim seizure of Jerusalem and building of the Mosque, the First Crusade and the Mosque as a Christian Church. The poem concludes as the Mosque reverts to Muslim hands with final questionings. The structural organization of Morris's poem can be set out in sixteen roughly chronological sections:

1-34	The sword of the Destroying Angel is stayed over Jerusalem at the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite.	1002 BCE
34-59	King David comes to the threshing floor and builds an altar.	
59-90	The First Temple (of Solomon): its construction, description, and consecration.	968 BCE
91-105	The fall of the First Temple at the hands of Babylon.	586 BCE
106-28	The moon-vision of the birth of Christ in Bethlehem, the crucifixion, the empty tomb.	33 CE

128-40	Pilgrims come to the sepulchre of Christ.	313
141-44	The Second Temple of Zerubbabel and Herod is burned by Titus and destroyed by Hadrian.	19-9 BCE
152-65	The coming of the Muslims.	638
166-76	The Muslims take Jerusalem under Omar; the soldiers die and Omar dies.	687-91
176-90	The building of the Dome of the Rock and its description.	
191-217	Invocation of the North; contrast with the South.	
218-26	The preaching of the First Crusade by Peter the Hermit.	1095
227-59	The arrival of the Crusaders and a description of their homelands, families and travel.	
260-81	The siege and capture of Jerusalem.	1099
282-92	The Mosque becomes a Crusader church.	1099-1187
293-300	"Now all is changed": the mosque reverts to Muslim control: questions and musings.	1187-1854

Morris's poem is full of sharp visual details, apt and particular descriptions, a rich use of colours, senses, sounds, feelings, and some major images. The account of David, for example, is overshadowed by the Destroying Angel whose sword was stayed by God over Jerusalem after David's impiety in numbering Israel, and whose fiery wings wave throughout the opening lines; the brief account of the life of Christ (22 lines) takes place in a moonlight vision ("moon" is used some nine times in the first half of the poem); and the northern lands of the Crusaders are invoked in a direct and passionate appeal as Morris already declares his primary loyalty to the northern legendary tradition. When the Crusaders lay siege to and seize Jerusalem the event is particularized with clearly-drawn vignettes of individual deeds of heroism and detailed acts of cruelty which Morris condemns:

Ah me! they slew the woman and the babe
 They slew the old man with his hoary hair
 The youth who asked not mercy and the child
 Who prayèd sore that he might see the sun
 Some few days more. (276-80)

The images of slaughter anticipate the violence in the Froissartian group of poems in Morris's *The Defence of Guenevere* four years later, such as "Concerning Geffray Teste Noire":

We enter'd Beauvais town,
 Slaying them fast, whereto I help'd, mere boy
 As I was then; we gentles cut them down,
 These burners and defilers, with great joy. (101-04).

In "The Mosque Rising" Morris refers to "white bones" (173) and to "great bones lie whitening in the southern sun" (249) and in "Concerning Geffray Teste Noire" to "the small white bones that lay upon the flowers" (143); in "The Mosque Rising"

he writes of the weeping women at the sepulchre of Christ whose hands "twitched at their garments evermore" (126) and in "Concerning Geffray Teste Noire" to the weeping women whose faces "kept twitching with a sort of smile" (178). The Crusaders are enthusiastic in their slaughter: "Hurrah! for slaying down the narrow streets" (271) just as Sir Launcelot is in his attack on the "Pagan castle" in "A Good Knight in Prison": "Shoot well together! God to aid! / These miscreants will be well paid. / Hurrah! all goes together" (107-09). Beyond these anticipations of phrasing and detail of image, however, the poem looks forward in narrative to the knightly battles, clashing of armour, fighting with paynims, and details of siege and attack that characterize so many of the contexts for the poems of the *Guenevere* volume, the romances of *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, his own *chansons de geste* in *The Earthly Paradise*, and the visionary romances of his last years. Each of these is foreshadowed significantly in the Newdigate entry, and foreshadowed not only in theme, but in the taut and vigorous prosody of the verse.

While the violence in *The Defence of Guenevere* volume is made immediate by narrative realism or the representation of a malicious character in a dramatic monologue, in "The Mosque Rising" the atrocities, especially of the Crusaders, are described as an historic occurrence (evidenced in the chronicles from which he draws much of his imagery) from which Morris distances himself by two devices: either by ironic juxtaposition of conflicting moral claims, as when the slaughter is committed by "those soldiers of the cross" (280); or by hortatory remorse, as in "Pray Christians for the sins of Christian men" (281). Although there are moments of triumph in battle (271-72), the prevailing mood is "weariness, anxiety, and the agony of death" as Boos has claimed (20). By such means of distancing himself from approving of the violence, Morris remains true to the old chroniclers, but avoids conventional racist positions and the nationalistic partisanship of contemporary politics. At the same time, one of the marks of the poem is the invocation of the "North" and its contrast with the "South" (191-217). Whether or not these resistances and affiliations cost Morris the prize is a matter that remains open to conjecture.

Morris, like some other voices at the time, is adopting a position that differs in some measure from the dominant one. While the hardships of the Christian pilgrims in gaining access to the holy places had been well documented for English readers in the many traveller's accounts, the plight of the Jews in Jerusalem was not dealt with nearly so sympathetically, as Gilbert and others have pointed out (2-55). The visits of the British philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore did much to draw attention in London to the plight of the Jews, but to most of the English they were primarily seen as subjects for missionary zeal. On the other hand, Karl Marx, in an article on the declaration of war in the Crimea in the *New York Daily Tribune* on 15 April 1854, comments in detail on the British and Russian positions with respect to the Turks, tracing the historical, religious, and economic roots of the hostilities to the problems of the holy places that lie "at bottom" of the Eastern Question and

that are "incessantly reproduced, constantly stifled, but never solved" (143). At issue is the fact that one power (Turkey) controls them by an ownership he reads as in conflict with the *Qu'ran*, while other powers claim them and all dispute jurisdiction and territorial rights. Customary use, not possession (which lies with the Turkish authorities), has degenerated into bribery by "fanatic and greedy pashas" and monastic battles which he roundly condemns (139-41). Meanwhile the Jewish population is in anguish: "Nothing equals the misery and the suffering of the Jews at Jerusalem ... the constant object of Musselman oppression and intolerance, insulted by the Greeks, persecuted by the Latins, and living only upon the scanty alms transmitted by their European brethren" (142; see also Marx, *Eastern Question*). Morris too refrains from attributing any culpability to the Jews (except for the apostasy of various kings of Israel in worshipping foreign gods, 91-97), but neither does he make anything of their present distresses.

Morris draws his sources from an expectedly wide range. The first ninety lines of the poem are heavily indebted for narrative and descriptive details to the double sources for the David and Solomon stories that Morris has also extensively elaborated and interwoven (2 Sam. 24; 1 Kings 6, 7; 1 Chron. 21; and 2 Chron. 5, 7). He has omitted details of direct disagreement between the two accounts (such as the amount paid by David for the threshing floor) and has also excluded many details of the description of the Temple of Solomon to concentrate on the essentials: the stone for the Temple building hewn without a tool of iron, the cedarwood and gold decoration, the great brass vessels for sacrifice, and the consecration of the Temple that is the culminating event. For the later episodes he uses New Testament passages (for the life of Christ) and then a succession of rather surprising documents.

Here, in his first public poem, Morris turns to the historical accounts and medieval chronicles of heroic deeds through which he traces the history of the sanctuary. Hence, he uses Josephus and Eusebius for the early period, and for the period of the Crusades he draws upon the established sources: Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (1776-88), Michaud's *History of the Crusades* (1852). But he also uses materials from some of the chronicles: William of Tyre's 13th-century chronicle, *History of the Deeds Beyond the Sea*, Caxton's translation of *History of Godfrey of Boloyne and of the Conquest of Jerusalem* (1481, which Morris himself later printed at the Kelmscott Press), and Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581). It is also of interest that when he was at Marlborough College five years earlier, the *Marlborough Magazine* published a lead article by "C.C." on "The Crusades: The Causes of Their Rise and Decline: And Their Influence upon the Condition of Europe." The article suggests that the causes are more remote than "the enthusiastic preaching of Peter the Hermit." It was superstition that suggested "the idea of pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre as a means of atonement for sin," while "the minds of the pious devotees [were filled] with indignation at beholding the object of their adoration in the hands of the enemies of their religion" (113), all details

that Morris alludes to. The range of modern sources consists of echoes of Reginald Heber's *Palestine* (1803), Edgar Allan Poe's "Raven" and "Coliseum" (1845), Tennyson's "Morte d'Arthur" (1842), and especially Benjamin Disraeli's novel *Tancred, or the New Crusade* (1847), for the moon-vision over Jerusalem.

It is this range of reference, breadth of scope, clear chronology, precise observation and description, and anti-mellifluous blank verse, together with his refusal to take a narrowly nationalist, racialist, or archaeological side that sets Morris's poem off from his competitors and from other poems on related topics.

The manuscript (British Library, Add Ms. 45,298A, ff. 6-12 verso) is written in black ink on both sides of twelve sheets of light blue quarto paper, unwatermarked and unlined. The pages were folded only once, all together, from top to bottom in the centre of the sheet. There are some wear marks on the verso of sheet 12, indicating that it was the outside fold. The whole manuscript is in Morris's hand, is signed by him, and probably is a fair copy of the submitted entry, as we can determine from some of the errors copied into the text where his eye had skipped a line where lines began with the same words. The poem was copied out for his favourite sister to whom he had sent other poems. That this MS was signed indicates that it was not the returned original, since the entry copy required a pseudonym before it was deposited in the university offices in the Clarendon Building at the end of Broad Street, like the fictitious Charles Larkyns in Cuthbert Bede's novel of Oxford life, *The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green*, published a year before Morris was writing, in 1853:

His writing for the prize poem had been a secret. He had conceived the idea of doing so when the subject had been given out, in the previous "long" [vacation]; he had worked at the subject privately, and when the day (April 1) on which the poems had to be sent in had come, he had watched his opportunity, and secretly dropped through the wired slit in the door of the registrar's office at the Clarendon, a manuscript poem. (362)

The manuscript is the first poem in the bound volume, preceded by a table of contents for the volume and two letters; the first letter is a draft in May Morris's hand to the Registrar at Oxford asking if the names of competitors for the "Prize for a Poem on a Sacred Subject, December 1, 1853" were preserved since she had found a copy of Morris's poem on "the dedication of the Temple." As we have shown, her conjectures about the occasion, date, and title for the poem are incorrect. The second letter is from Morris's niece, Effie Morris, to May: "I found these poems the other day when I was sorting some furniture etc. of dear Aunt Emma's [Emma Morris Oldham, Morris's eldest sister] ... and I wondered if you would glance through them to see if there is anything new to you? Aunt Emma used to tell me that as a young man Uncle William sent her his poems." This letter shows that Morris had sent off to his favourite sister his copy of the Oxford poem, and she retained it until it was sent by Effie to May in 1921.

When May Morris gathered together Morris's writings not included in her edition of *The Collected Works* (1910-15) in *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist* (1936), she explained further:

A little while back, an interesting discovery was made in an old bureau belonging to my Aunt Emma, the eldest of the family. In the back of a drawer were discovered some early poems, copied for or by his favourite sister and chum.... Among them, more interesting still, is an enterprise to which no one apparently but Sister Emma was privy, an attempt to treat the subject of an Oxford Prize Poem for which he was not eligible to compete. This was the "Prize for a Poem on a Sacred Subject" open to Bachelors of Arts in Oxford in 1854. The subject was "The Dedication of the Temple," and competing poems were to be sent in by 1 December 1853. Morris's poem has no title, but it is undoubtedly on this theme.... It is safe to assume that he thought of trying his hand on it 'for fun,' in this his first term, that is, at some time before what is considered to be his earliest poem, "The Willow and the Red Cliff," came to light. (1:376)

May Morris prints 126 lines and 5 half-lines in six extracts from Morris's poem, mystified by its content which is "full of incoherences" (376). To her it is "the phantasmagoria of a dream"; he "cannot control" the images or the "rambling verses" (377-78)--understandable objections for "The Dedication of the Temple" topic, but quite misplaced as objections given the true subject of the poem. When considered as a poem on the Newdigate topic, all of Morris's details fit neatly into place, and May Morris's praise of her father's "keen observation ... [and] painter's eye," his "consciousness of colour and form" (380), and his response to "the claims of simple human justice" (382) are more appropriate than she thought.

May Morris's transcription of extracts from the poem contains some 53 editorial misreadings, including a number of "substantive" misreadings of specific words, omitted accents, an omitted line in a long quoted passage (line 98), and insertions or substitutions of punctuation without manuscript authority. Since this version of the text has been the only one well-known to several generations of Morris scholars, all of these variants and misreadings have been noted in the present edition with the attribution "MM" (for May Morris). Each is included within square brackets to set it off from foliation or manuscript variants. Every one of May Morris's variant readings is without manuscript authority.

Florence S. Boos published the poem in *The Juvenilia of William Morris, with a Checklist and Unpublished Early Poems* in 1983. This edition of the poem uses May Morris's mistaken title. Boos's text repeats 23 of May Morris's mistakes or corrections, and adds some 130 more misreadings of its own, including the misreading of "Omar" as "Ornan" throughout; Boos removes or silently changes Morris's punctuation or adds new punctuation. The edition includes no textual apparatus or explanation of editorial method. Again, in the interests of completeness, all of the variants from the Boos edition are included in the following notes, so that the reader will have a complete checklist, and will know where the present

edition has corrected earlier misreadings. Each of the variants in the Boos edition is noted with the attribution "FB" (for Florence Boos), and is included within square brackets. None of the variant readings introduced by Florence Boos has any manuscript authority, but depends upon either a misreading or a silent emendation.

The present edition has already accounted for the poem's moment and its multiple layerings of contemporary controversies and generic conventions. Attention is paid in the present edition to such matters in annotative methods, and in the textual apparatus from the two earlier editions, to give readers the history of the text beyond the author's hands. As Peter Shillingsburg remarks on such a view of editorial policy, "scholarly editions should trace and respect the development and transmogrification of the text by the succession of entities that have appropriated the work for publication" (26). Behind such a view is Jerome McGann's assertion that textual authority is "a social nexus, not a personal possession.... It takes place within the conventions and enabling limits that are accepted by the prevailing institutions of literary production" (*Critique*, 48). In many ways the editing of this poem is simplified by the existence of only one autograph manuscript and no published versions issued by Morris. The editions by his daughter and by Boos have no authorial authority, but they do add to the complexity of reading the poem because of their editorial methods and decisions and because they are the versions of the poem that have become known to Morris scholars. The concept of a discrete and autonomous text for scholarly editions advocated by such textual critics as G. Thomas Tanselle seems almost possible for Morris's poem. Authorial intent and the possible emending of texts to produce an eclectic version, under such intense scrutiny in contemporary textual theory, is defended on the basis of final authorial intent (Tanselle 1976, 1980, and 1991) but is questioned by such scholars as McGann (1991), Greetham (1988, 1991), Cohen and Jackson (1991), and Shillingsburg (1997). For Morris's poem, no "ideal" or "perfect" text can conform to either original or final authorial intention, which remains in this case a completely hidden matter: indeed, it seems that Morris's intention, if any can be discerned, was to resist publication.

Notes

1. David and Sheila Latham cite this 1854 *Times* announcement as the earliest entry in their *Annotated Critical Bibliography of William Morris* (131).
2. For instance, in *Blackwoods Magazine*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, the *Dublin Review*, and *Fraser's Magazine* there were twenty-four articles on the Eastern Question during 1853 and 1854, with five on the Holy Places: Abraham, G.W. "The Turco-Russian Question: The Holy Places." *Dublin Review*, 35 (September 1853): 69-92.
Milnes, Richard Monckton. "Mr. Disraeli's *Tancred* and the Emancipation of the Jews." *Edinburgh Review*, 86 (July 1854): 138-55.
Oliphant, Margaret. "The Holy Land." *Blackwood's Magazine*, 76 (September 1854): 243-45.
O'Meagher, J.B. "The Russian Church and the Protectorate in Turkey." *Blackwood's Magazine*, 75 (March 1854): 285-302.
Stanley, A.P. "The Holy Places." *Quarterly Review*, 93 (September 1853): 432-62.

WILLIAM MORRIS

[THE MOSQUE RISING
IN THE PLACE OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON¹]

Ornan threshed wheat upon the threshing floor²
 When all about a strange light shone that made
 His face look wild; he hid himself, with him
 His four sons hid themselves:³ and then alone
 The glory shone, making all common things 5
 Look fearful in its light: behind the straw
 They crouched, but soon they looked out timidly.
 The fearful thing looked from the rocky ledge
 Towards the City: in its hand a sword⁴
 Waved as its fiery wings waved fearfully. 10
 Often those men that hid behind the straw
 Had heard of Angels singing before God
 For ever and for ever:⁵ often heard
 Of how the Captain of the Lord's own hosts
 Stood before Joshua long ago:⁶ of how 15
 Aaron rushed in between the quick and dead
 His censer clanging in the tainted air.⁷
 They knew the angel, and about them crept
 A horror like to his who stands alone
 Upon a moor, when black clouds creep along 20
 Against the east wind blowing sullenly,
 Bringing the thunder towards the sultry wind

1. The title of the Newdigate Prize competition for 1855 bears striking resemblance to a phrase in Robson's translation of Michaud's *History of the Crusades*, 1852, 1: 204: "[Jerusalem] extends over four hills; on the east the Moriah, upon which the Mosque of Omar was built in the place of the temple of Solomon."

2. 1 Chron. 21:15-20; 2 Sam. 24:16-18. Ornan is also referred to in the Biblical text and in Morris's poem as Araunah.

3. 1 Chron. 21:20; no parallel passage in Samuel.

4. 1 Chron 21:16. The exterminating angel, brandishing a sword, had been sent by God to inflict a pestilence on Israel because of King David's pride in numbering Israel. God stayed the sword of the angel over Jerusalem, at the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite, where David, now penitent, was required to build an altar to God, having purchased the site from Ornan.

5. Rev. 5:11-13.

6. Josh. 15:13-15.

7. Num. 17:46-48.

Which has prayed for it blowing many days
 Towards the house of thunder: so felt they
 For ne'er before upon that threshing floor 25
 Had such a wind blown the small straws about
 As that, which blowing from the fiery wings,
 Raised the curls up upon his snow white brow
 And let them fall again, as the lull came
 While the great wings swept back, or for awhile 30
 Rested, an arch of light above his head
 Of light that scorched not; so for long time stood
 The awful angel on that threshing floor,
 And Ornan trembled, till he heard a step,
 As if of one burdened with many woes, 35
 Come slowly towards the straw he hid him in;
 He heard a sigh drawn from the inmost heart
 Of one so pressed upon by misery.⁸
 He could not tremble at the angel there
 But only wept and wept; while evermore⁹ 40
 His long robe dragged the stones along the ground.
 He knew the King, King David whom he loved
 And straightway fell before his feet, for love
 Had all o'er mastered fear, and he forgot
 The angel, who still stood upon the floor; 45
 His great wings sweeping grandly to and fro
 And while he stood there calmly looking forth,
 Without a doubt upon his loving soul,
 An altar rose, and from it went the smoke,
 About; about; in many curls and wreaths 50
 Up to God's throne, who answered David there
 As he lay praying, thinking of the flowers
 That grow about the hills of Bethlehem.
 Who knoweth how the dreadful angel went?
 Or how he came upon the threshing floor? 55
 But he was gone and from the city rose
 Grand hymns in very solemn rolls of sound
 That dwelt for long about the o'er hanging hills
 Entangled in the Olives. Years passed by

8. 1 Chron. 21:26; 2 Sam. 24:25.

9. Here and at line 125 Morris is perhaps echoing the dominant rhyme of Poe's "The Raven" to which May Morris may be alluding as his "Edgar Allan Poe touches" (1:381).

The temple rose up from the rocky ledge.¹⁰ 60
 No tool of iron smote upon the stone
 The white chips flying from it:¹¹ silently
 The gold was clasped upon the cedar wood:
 And silently the cherubim stretched out
 Their heavy wings, on which the gold lay thick. 65
 The brazen lilies round the sea of brass
 Threw wondrous shadows when the moon was up
 On the clear water under them, through up:
 The brass showed yellow darker than the moon
 The narrow windows let the sun come in¹² 70
 And strike the gold, and redden where it struck,—
 As though it drew out blood—A solemn place
 Even before the glory of the Lord
 Had entered it: and when the moon alone
 Shone there by night, the sun alone by day: 75
 A solemn place—but soon a day came on,
 When all the people stood about the rock
 How many thousands!¹³ hushed in deep deep awe:
 With solemn heads bowed down unto the dust¹⁴
 While the king blessed them¹⁵—then he turned him round 80
 And prayèd many things upon his knees¹⁶
 And they prayed with him till the Altar blazed
 With fierce white flame that licked the victim up
 The Lord had come down to his sanctuary.¹⁷
 An awful place the temple was that night.¹⁸ 85
 The moon was on it, there was something else
 Shone in it and about it, not the moon

10. 2 Chron. 3:1; 1 Kings 6:1. The First Temple was built by King Solomon. He ruled from about 970-930 BCE and is said to have begun the temple in the fourth year of his reign (1 Kings 6:37-8) as a shrine for the Ark and the sacred vessels from the Mosaic Tabernacle. This temple, made of hewn stone and gilded cedarwood, was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BCE.

11. Lines 61-66 allude to 1 Kings 6:7 (no tool of iron; built in silence); 6:9, 15 (cedar); 6:20, 22 (overlaid with gold); 6:23, 28 (images of the cherubim); 7:26 [also 2 Chron. 4:2, 5] (lilies); 7:23 (sea of brass).

12. 1 Kings 6:4.

13. 2 Chron. 5:2-6.

14. 2 Chron. 7:3.

15. Solomon: 1 Kings 8:14; 2 Chron. 6:3.

16. 1 Kings 8:54.

17. 2 Chron. 7:1-2.

18. 2 Chron. 7:12.

For when the sun rose from above the hills
 And struck it from the east, he changèd not
 The wondrous light that shone for ever there.¹⁹ 90
 For ever? Ah! how many shameful sins
 Were wrought upon the bosom of the Land
 For ever? Ah how many were the hills
 On which the west wind blew the palms about
 With all their branches blackened by the smoke 95
 That foully rose from altars which the Lord
 Held cursèd always:²⁰ so the temple fell,
 How terribly the gorgeous temple fell
 The brass all vanished from the polished rose
 The gold all vanished from Araunah's floor 100
 The wild winds threshed the charrèd cedar beams
 As erst the tread of oxen threshed the grain,
 Where once the incense stirred the purple veil
 With its low breathing, now the wind bent down
 The green grass waving o'er the Holy place.²¹ 105
 How strangely shines the moon in Bethlehem,²²
 How strangely fall the shadows on the hills:
 Where sit the warriors keeping watch by night,
 Not like the quiet watch the shepherds kept,
 When shone the moon upon the word made Man, 110
 When shone the moon upon the manger wall,
 Making a shadow larger than the life
 Upon the white wall, of a babe and maid,
 A babe and mother;²³ aye the moon shone bright
 Upon a hill where three tall crosses stood, 115
 Black, and black shadowed; where the white sky lay
 Broken and ghastly on the withered grass.
 Then in a garden fair the moon shone once,
 The light fell full upon a sepulchre,

19. 2 Chron. 7:2.

20. Temple worship was abandoned in favour of foreign gods under the reign of such kings as Ahaz (2 Chron. 28:22-27), Ahab (1 Kings 16:32; 2 Kings 17:9-12), Jehoiakim (2 Chron. 36:5-8), Johoiakin (2 Chron. 36:9-10), and Zedekiah (2 Chron. 36:11-14).

21. The destruction of the Temple of Solomon under Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BCE (2 Kings 25:1-17; 2 Chron. 36:18-19).

22. Cf. the moon vision of Jerusalem that opens Book III of Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred, or The New Crusade* (1847).

23. Luke 2:8, 16.

Hewn in the rock, with armèd men around;²⁴ 120
 There when the light was grey about the trees
 And the moon sunk, the sun not risen yet,
 Then women came to view the sepulchre²⁵
 With eyes that weeping had made red, with hands
 That twitchèd at their garments evermore 125
 Twisting them into knots; with faint slow steps
 Bringing to Him who lay no longer there
 Sweet spices:²⁶ many a summer flower sprung up;
 Fainted and withered in that garden sweet;
 Beneath the sun and wind, beneath the cold. 130
 But now the garden and the trees are gone;
 From far off lands both men and women come,
 Strong men and weak, and women very weak
 That they may lie upon that blessèd stone
 Where lay the piercèd body of the Lord, 135
 That they may die upon it, kissing it;
 That they may kiss their sins away on it;²⁷
 Such reverence pay they e'en to dead cold stone
 That could not feel God's body as It lay
 Wrapt in the linen, hidden in the rock. 140
 And Ornan's threshing floor? years years ago,
 A marble temple²⁸ stood, where stood of old

24. Matt. 27:60, 66; Mark 15:46. By locating the sepulchre in the garden, Morris resists Fergusson's identification of it with the Dome of the Rock. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was one of the two major pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem.

25. Matt. 28; Mark 16.

26. Mark 16:1.

27. Cf. Heber: "And wear with many a kiss Messiah's tomb" (*Palestine*, I, 294). Again Morris refers to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

28. Morris follows the Jewish tradition of two temples in Jerusalem. According to this view the Solomonic Temple was restored and rebuilt about 520 BCE by Zerubbabel (Hag. 2:18), in the second year of the reign of Darius, King of Persia. This rebuilding (seen by Jewish historians as the continuation of Solomon's Temple, and designated the Second Temple by modern historians) had been envisioned by Ezekiel, and was effectively undertaken at the instigation of Haggai and Zechariah. It was rededicated in 516 BCE. In 167 BCE it suffered desecration at the hands of Antioches Epiphanes (1 Maccabees 1:10-24), but was rededicated in 164 BCE under Judas Maccabaeus after he had defeated the armies of Antioches and his princes (1 Macc. 4:36-58). The temple rebuilt under Zerubbabel was rebuilt by Herod the Great who built the temple known as the "second" to Josephus, and the "third" to some modern historians in the 18th year of his reign, in 20-19 BCE (see Josephus, 334 [*Antiquities* XV.xi. note]). The Herodian Temple was made of "polished stone" according to Josephus (336 [XV.xi.5]). This temple was destroyed by the Roman troops of Titus in their campaign in Palestine in 70.

That other temple with the gilded beams
 Of cedar and of olive—years ago
 The marble burnèd slowly into dust 145
 While shouts and shrieks rang round it:²⁹ filthy things
 Are filled now upon the level rock.³⁰
 Instead of marble pilèd into walls
 With splendour on them from the morning sun
 With splendour on them from the summer winds, 150
 That sweetly slid along the marble smooth.
 And now the warriors are upon the hill.
 Some sleep and dream, not of the clashing swords
 Dreaming of faces very far away
 Some sit and twist the grass about their hands 155
 Dreaming awake: some talk about the fight
 And some there are, who pacing up and down
 Are weary, weary, with the watch they keep.³¹
 About them stand all glittering in the moon
 Tall things bright-headed, blades, but not of grass 160
 Bright-headed, but they will be duller soon
 When blood dries brown on them, these are the men
 Who have swept over many lands with these
 Tall spears bright-headed that I tell about.
 What people stood before them? on they come. 165
 How may the dwellers in Jerusalem
 Keep close their gates against them? very soon
 The gates are opened, and the lances gleam
 From street to street in dots of trembling light
 From which the women shrink back shuddering 170
 The warriors who lay dreaming on the hills
 Lie dreaming now within their quiet graves
 Or seem to dream, for there the white bones lie
 With nothing moving them: Omar is dead
 And in its sheath his great sword perishes
 As the rust eats it: on Araunah's floor 175

29. See Josephus 580-81 [*Wars of the Jews* VI.iv.5-8].

30. Christians used the Temple site as a dung heap (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 10:37).

31. The frequent references in the text to the crusaders keeping watch through the night are also found in William of Tyre: "They too had kept vigilant watch"; "ever mindful of their purpose they eagerly waited for the dawn"; "they maintained a continued watch over them [the moveable towers and engines of war] and passed a sleepless night (1:361, 363, 364 [VIII, 12-14]).

Another temple³² lifts its splendour up,
 So gorgeous, that purchase some simple ones
 Think it the same that Solomon did build
 Without the sound of hammer: it is sweet 180
 To see the many marble pillars stand,
 To see within, the many arches cross:
 To see the arches other arches make
 In dark and light upon the marble floor.³³

32. The Dome of the Rock (*Qubbet es-Sakhra*) was built on the site between 687–91 by Abd-al-Melik, the 5th of the Umayyad Caliphs. It is sometimes called the Mosque of Omar after the Caliph Omar who recovered Jerusalem from the Persians in 638 with the aim of recovering the relics of Mohammed (*Qur'an* 2:136-38). William of Tyre described the site and the 'Mosque of Omar' as follows:

On Mt. Moriah to the east and on the southern slope lies the Temple of the Lord. It was built on the place where, according to the account in the second book of Samuel [2 Sam. 24:16 ff.], and II Chronicles [2 Chron. 3:1], David the King bought a field from Araunah, or Ornan, the Jebusite. It was there that he was commanded to build an altar to the Lord, on which he afterwards offered a burnt offering and peace offerings.... In that same place also, Solomon, after his father's death, built the Temple at the Lord's command.... From ancient histories, we learn what the shape of this temple was, how it fell under Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, and was rebuilt under Cyrus, King of Persia, by Zerubbabel and Jesu, the high priest; likewise how that same temple and the entire city was later destroyed by Titus, the prince of the Romans.... Omar, son of Khattah, the third in succession from the seducer Muhammad and the inheritor of his error and his power, was the builder of this temple.... in form an octagon with equal sides. Both within and without, the walls are adorned with marble slabs and mosaic work. The roof is spherical and is very skilfully covered with lead. Both the upper and lower courts, with their porticoes, are paved with white marble.... In the centre of the Temple, within the inner row of columns, is a rock, not very high, which contains a grotto. Here it was, according to tradition, that the angel sat when he struck down the people by the Lord's command, in punishment for David's presumption in numbering them (1:343-45).

33. In 1833 Frederick Catherwood, in the company of Francis Arundel and Joseph Bonomi, disguised himself as an Egyptian Muslim, entered the Noble Sanctuary of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and made drawings of the Dome of the Rock. Although he was discovered and almost killed for having polluted the Mosque, the governor saved his life, claiming that he was making drawings for the repair of the structure. He worked on his drawings for six weeks, describing the interior as filled with "marble columns ... connected by arches," and whose "arches cross to the sides." His account is printed in a letter in Bartlett's *Walks* (167, 169). In his biography of Catherwood, Von Hagen recounts the connection between Catherwood's drawings and the Dome of the Rock controversy:

Not many years after Catherwood had worked there [in the Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem] violent controversy developed between various schools of architecture over the origins of the Dome of the Rock [.] Mr. James Fergusson, the eminent historian of architecture, conjectured that this mosque had been built by Constantine over the tomb of Christ. Challenged by antiquarians, he sought out Catherwood, to see the drawings and prove his archaeological theory. In 1846 he made contact with him: "The only means," Fergusson

In sooth it is a very beauteous place 185
 And I purchase could rest within its walls
 Could rest within its smooth and barrèd walls
 But round me ever a confusèd noise
 Swells up and falls and clearer swells again.
 Well know I what it means that awful sound 190
 O North! O north!³⁴ about thy quiet hills
 How fair thy flowers are in summer time
 O north! O north how oft the west-wind brings
 The purple haze to lie upon the elms,
 And make them purple too, in autumn eves 195
 When twilight shades the streets and underneath
 The thick trees, darkness makes: O! north O! north
 Under thy hills how fairly dance the waves
 Showing the slate-stones lying in the lake,
 And throwing shadows on them from the sun. 200
 O! South Sky without a cooling cloud,
 O! Sickening yellow sand without a break
 O! Palm with dust a-lying on thy leaves
 O! Scarlet flowers burning with the sun.³⁵

wrote, "that occurred to me of getting out of this dilemma was trying if possible to gain access to Mr. Catherwood's drawings which I knew from the works of Dr. Robinson and Mr. [W. H.] Bartlett did exist somewhere. Mr. Catherwood was then in Demerara [British Guinea] and in answer to a letter I wrote him he gave me hope he would accede to my wishes when he returned to this country which he did last autumn [1846]." In January 1847 Catherwood turned over his collection of drawings to Fergusson and persuaded Francis Arundel, who was on the point of death, to do likewise; "they agreed," acknowledged James Fergusson, "to turn over the material in a handsome manner." Thus disappeared one phase of Catherwood's own archaeological monument; giving his drawings one by one to interested scholars, he lost his identity. Now all his drawings of the Mosque of Omar have disappeared. (36-37)

34. The contrast between the north and the south, and in particular between the personalities of northern and southern peoples, is drawn by Pope Urban in the address that inaugurated the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095, recorded in the *Chronicle* of William of Malmesbury: "It is apparent too, that every race, born in that region, being scorched with the intense heat of the sun, abounds more in reflexion, than in blood; and, therefore, they avoid coming to close quarters, because they are aware how little blood they possess. Whereas the people who are born amid the polar frosts, and distant from the sun's heat, are less cautious indeed; but, elate from their copious and luxuriant flow of blood, they fight with the greatest alacrity. You are a nation born in the more temperate regions of the world; who may be both prodigal of blood, in defiance of death and wounds; and are not deficient in prudence" (361).

35. The repeated exclamation points and the use of anaphora are perhaps imitated from Poe's "The Coliseum" (1845), 10-11, 40-45. Morris uses anaphora at lines 110-11, 136-37, 180-83, and elsewhere.

I cannot love thee South for all thy sun,
 For all thy scarlet flowers or thy palms
 But in the North for ever dwells my heart:
 The North with all its human sympathies,
 The glorious North, where all amidst the sleet
 Warm hearts do dwell, warm hearts sing out with joy. 205
 The North that ever loves the poet well.
 The North where in the spring the primrose lies
 So thick amongst the moss and hazelroots,
 The North where all the purple clouds do come
 From out the north-west making green the trees 210
 Shout for the North, O! brothers shout with me,
 Pray for the North, O brothers pray with me. 215

A piteous tale that holy hermit³⁶ told
 In all the listening ears of Christendom,
 A piteous tale to all the swelling hearts: 220
 He told of pilgrims dying at the gate,
 The warders mocking at their agony³⁷

36. Peter the Hermit (c. 1050-1115), thought in the nineteenth-century to be one of the instigators of the First Crusade along with Pope Urban II, of whom Gibbon writes: "He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways.... When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour" (6:34-35 [LVII]). See also Baldwin's discussion in *A History of the Crusades*: "It was long believed that he [Peter the Hermit] had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that on his return he had persuaded Pope Urban to launch the crusade. This legend, related by Albert of Aix, was given wider currency by William of Tyre. Thus it came to be believed that Peter, not Urban, initiated the crusade, and this explanation was accepted until late in the nineteenth century, when it finally became clear that there was no evidence to show that Peter had any influence on the Pope" (1:258). William of Tyre tells how Peter returned from Jerusalem, having witnessed the sufferings of the pilgrims and resolved to allay them. He met Urban who promised to assist him. Peter then "traversed all Italy, crossed the Alps, and went about to each of the princes of the West.... He longs to inspire the common people and men of the lower classes by his pious exhortations to undertake the same duty. As he made his way slowly through kingdoms and nations, devoutly solicitous, he preached the same message to the poorest and most lowly in the faithful execution of his mission.... He prepared the hearts of his hearers to obey" (1:87 [I.13]).

37. William of Tyre writes: "A numerous company of Greeks and Latins, after risking death in a thousand forms in hostile lands, arrived at the city.... But the keepers of the gates refused them admittance until they should pay the gold piece which was fixed as tribute money.... So it happened that more than a thousand pilgrims, who had gathered before the city to await the privilege of entering, died of hunger and nakedness" (1:79-80). The same

He told of bishops with their hoary beards³⁸
 A-lying in the grasp of Saracens³⁹
 Of Christ's name cursèd in the very place 225
 Where He had blessed so many solemnly
 So those new warriors that are on the hills,⁴⁰
 The hills that hang about Jerusalem
 Come from the North that they might free the tomb
 Of Him who bought them—they have come from far 230
 From towns where all over the houses rise
 White spires in the light: from pleasant hills,
 Which look down on the river, where the trees
 Are dark above the stream and dark below:
 Where all the bank and all the pollard trees 235
 Lie in the water clearer than above
 They come from woods where underneath the beech
 The ground is hard, the air is almost green
 From the green leaves above, while in the sun
 The notched fern is laughing merrily. 240
 Ah me they come from many a lovely place⁴¹

passage is given in the translation by Caxton of *The couragyouys faytes ... of noble Illustrious and vertuous personnes ... the boke Intituled Eracles ... the Conquest of the holy lond of Iherusalem* (1481), republished as *Godeffroy of Boloyne or the Siege and Conqueste of Jerusalem*. William Morris published Caxton's translation at the Kelmscott Press in 1893. Cf. Heber, "nor spare the hoary head" (*Palestine*, l. 105). See also "The Mosque Rising," 277.

39. William of Tyre: "Even while they were in the very act of celebrating the holy rites, the enemy would violently force an entrance into the churches which had been restored and preserved with such infinite difficulty. Utterly without reverence for the consecrated places, they sat upon the very altars and struck terror to the hearts of the worshippers.... The lord patriarch ... was dragged from his seat by his hair and beard and thrown to the ground like a mean and abject person. Again and again he was seized and thrust into prison without cause" (1:81 [I.10]). Cf. Gibbon, 6:40-50 (LVIII); Michaud, 1:33, 43. The passage from William of Tyre is summarized by George Williams in 1849: "Not one in a thousand of the wretched pilgrims, who had lost their all on the road, could satisfy the demand [for an aureus or golden Bezan for admission to Jerusalem] ... tyrants would sit upon the altars ... insult the clergy with abuse and blows, and pluck the venerable patriarch from his seat by the hair of his head or beard. They would even occasionally proceed so far as to throw him into prison" (1:362).

40. Cf. William of Tyre, who tells how Count Raymond of Toulouse (d. 1105) transferred "a part of his camp to the hill on which Jerusalem is built" (1:349-50 [VII.5]).

41. William of Malmesbury tells how Urban's speech inspired all for the crusade, and how the crusaders came from "the most distant islands, or savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with lice; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish. Lands were deserted of their husbandmen; houses of their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated" (1:364).

And there their wives are weeping in the night
 And there their children breathing heavily
 Dreaming of horrors as the night goes on
 With changes of the clouds—They dream perhaps 245
 Of all the horrors that lie round about
 The line of march the Christian soldiers took.
 Perchance they dream that there for many a mile
 Great bones lie whitening in the southern sun⁴²
 And over armour crawls the loathly asp 250
 His flat head dubbing at the close steel rings,
 Of broken swords, whose hilts are wrought about
 With what the Saints have suffered for the Lord
 That they may die while on the army goes.
 Of friends that stay behind, to die with them 255
 And hold the cross against their parched lips,⁴³
 It may be that their sire is such a one
 A dying on the sand, but there all night,
 The soldiers watch about Jerusalem.
 Shout! for the ladder catching on the wall⁴⁴ 260

42. Cf. Fulcher of Chartres: "O, how many severed heads and bones of the dead lying on the plains did we find beyond Nicomedia near the sea!" (29 [IX]); and Gibbon: "The savage countries of Hungary and Bulgaria were whitened with their bones.... Their northern constitution was scorched by the rays, and infected by the vapours, of a Syrian sun" (6:66, 67 [LVII]).

43. Cf. William of Tyre: "parching thirst" (1:353 [VIII]); and Michaud: "Every morning they were seen to glue their parched lips to the marble covered with dew" (1:209).

44. Raymond of Toulouse's forces are so described: "Being unable by any other means to scale the wall ... they planted ladders ... [and] mutually assisted each other in gaining the top of the rampart" (qtd. in Arundale, 45. A copy was in the Marlborough College Library when Morris was there). Similarly, William of Tyre describes the role of Duke Godfrey who "at once began with loud shouts to call back the people [to battle]" (1:366 [XVIII]; Caxton, EETS, 267). As the attackers raised the scaling ladders, "[they] vied with one another in raising to the walls the scaling ladders with which they were well supplied. For ... each pair of knights had prepared a ladder to be used in common" (1:369 [XVIII]; Caxton, EETS, 272). Cf. Tasso:

The walls are reached; and now Rinaldo rears
 Aloft a scaling ladder with a flight
 Of full two hundred steps, which he appears
 To move and manage with an ease as light,
 As winds the willow; from the ramparts' height
 Now rocks, now spears, now beams down thundering go;
 Yet upward still ascends the dauntless knight,
 By each rebuff unscarred, unmoved, although
 They should Olympus down, or piny Ossa throw. (2:413 [XVIII:lxv])

Shout! for the mail coat falling back again
 From the knee slackening underneath its fold;
 Shout! as the Christians press against the foe⁴⁵
 Shout! as the turbans wave despondingly:⁴⁶
 Shout as the swords clash on the parapet 26
 And fall in shivers underneath the wall,
 Shout for the brave knight⁴⁷ raising well his knee
 Amid the glances of the scimitars;
 Shout as the sword rises above his head
 And falls again amidst the turbaned ones.⁴⁸ 27
 Hurrah! for slaying down the narrow streets⁴⁹
 Hurrah! for rushing into Omar's Mosque
 Where all the marble pillars stand aghast
 As if they feared the shadows of the men

45. Cf. Tasso: "Then raised the Christians all their long loud shout" (2:415 [XVIII. ci]). The passage is quoted in Bartlett (*Walks* 138).

46. Cf. Tasso: "Turban and gem alike are trampled low" (2:515 [XX. lii]).

47. There are a number of possible contenders for the role, including Raymond Count of Toulouse or Tancred (William of Tyre 1:371 [XIX-XX]), or Godfrey and Ludolph (William of Tyre 1:368 [XVIII]). Tasso mentions Tancred (XI. iv), and Thomas Fuller specifies Godfrey of Boloyn: "Under the protection thereof [smoke] the Christians entered the city Godfrey himself first footing the walls" (45). The *Gesta Francorum* mentions Lethold: "At that moment one of our knights, called Lethold, succeeded in getting on to the wall. As soon as he reached it, all the defenders fled along the walls and through the city, and our men went after them, killing them and cutting them down as far as Solomon's Temple, when there was such a massacre that our men were wading up to their ankles in enemy blood" (91).

48. Cf. Tasso:

But through the streets which near the western hills,
 Where he beholds the solemn Temple stand,
 All moist and horrid with the blood he spills,
 Rinaldo, rushing, drives the Paynim band;
 The cruel falchion in his red right-hand
 O'er their plumed heads in bickering circles waves;
 Its strokes nor shield nor helmet can withstand;
 He bleeds who vainly turns, he dies who braves;
 It is the want of arms, not armour here which saves. (XIX. xxxi)

49. Cf. William of Tyre who refers to "the narrow streets" (1:369 [XVIII]) and Caxton's translation "narowe stretes" (EETS, 272). Fulcher of Chartres also notes this topography: "They vigorously pushed into the city.... All the heathen, completely terrified, changed their boldness to swift flight through the narrow streets of the quarters" (68 [XXVII]). Cf. also Tasso: "And Death the Slaught'rer goes ... / From street to street; the blood in torrents flows" (2:41 [XVIII. cv], qtd. in Bartlett, *Walks*, 138).

That cross the shadows of the arches there⁵⁰ 275
 Ah me! they slew the woman and the babe
 They slew the old man with his hoary hair
 The youth who asked not mercy, and the child
 Who prayèd sore that he might see the sun
 Some few days more—those soldiers of the cross.⁵¹ 280

50. Cf. William of Tyre: "The greater part of the people had taken refuge in the court of the Temple because it lay in a retired part of the city and was very strongly defended by a wall, towers, and gates. But their flight thither did not save them, for Tancred immediately followed with the largest portion of the whole army. He forced his way into the Temple and, after a terrible carnage, carried off with him a vast amount of gold, silver, and jewels.... No mercy was shown to anyone, and the whole place was flooded with the blood of the victims" (1:371 [XX]). The *Gesta Francorum* tells of the same scene (see above n. 47). Fulcher of Chartres does the same: "Within this Temple about ten thousand were beheaded. If you had been there, your feet would have been stained up to the ankles with the blood of the slain. What more shall I tell? Not one of them was allowed to live. They did not spare the women and children" (68-69 [xxvii]). Samuel Purchas writes as part of his "peregrinations and travels by land into Palestina": "They which remained, fled to the Temple of *Solomon*, where they defended themselves the most part of the day; but ours before night breaking in, shed so much blood, that slaine carkasses were tumbled on the Pauement to and fro in a streame of blood; armes and hands dismembred floted in blood, and were ioyned to others bodies, none being able to discern; and the slayers themselues were scarcely able to endure those hot mists of bloudie vapours" (1200 [II.viii.1]). See also Michaud where the same events are recorded (1:225).

51. Cf. William of Tyre: "No mercy was shown to anyone.... [They] broke into houses where they laid violent hands on the heads of families, on their wives, children and their entire households (1:371-72 [XX]; tr. Caxton, EETS, 274). Cf. also Caxton's translation of the deeds of Godfrey: "The valyaunt duc Godeffray of Boyllon, the knyghtes, and the other men of armes that were with hym, descended from the walles all armed into the toun. They wente to gyrd through the stretes with their swerdes in their handes and glayues; all them that they mette they slewe and smote right down, men, wymmnen and childeren, sparyng none: there myght no prayers ne cryeng of mercy auaylle. They slewe so many in the stretes that there were heeps of dede bodyes, & myght not goo ne passe but vpon them that so layed deed" (Kelmscott Press, 388 [clxxxvi]). Fulcher of Chartres writes "Nor did they spare anyone, not even those pleading for mercy" (69 [XXVII]). Tasso paints a similar picture:

Each place is choked with carnage, filled with death;
 In intermingled heaps the slaughtered lie;
 The fallen rests upon the fallen; beneath
 To' unburied dead the buried living die;
 Here with dishevelled locks mad mothers fly,
 Straining their infants to their breasts; and there
 The savage spoiler, drunk with victory
 And rifled treasure, by her golden hair
 Drags off the shrieking maid to his voluptuous lair. (XIX. xxx)

Pray Christians for the sins of Christian men.
 Then for long years the mosque of Omar fell
 The long hymns which beat against the domèd roof
 The hymns which Solomon had sung of old 285
 His full heart swelling, in the golden wall
 (His gift) from which the Cherubim looked down
 It saw the image of the Crucified
 Over the Altar, and it saw the priest
 Stand with his chasuble in heavy folds 290
 The jewels on it hiding from the sun.
 About the arches rolled the incense-cloud
 As once it rolled about the cedar roof,⁵²
 Now all is changed—when will the Cross once more 295
 Be lifted high above its central dome?
 Never perhaps. Yet many wondrous things
 That silent dome has looked on quietly.
 And truly very many wondrous things
 The rock on which the temple stood has seen
 I wonder what Araunah's floor was like
 Before the flood came down upon the Earth 300

William Morris.

Thomas Fuller also: "Besides, the execution was merciless, upon sucking children, whose not speaking spake for them; and on women, whose weakness is a shield to defend them against a valiant man. To conclude: severity hot in the fourth degree, is little better than poison, and becometh cruelty itself; and this act seemeth to be of the same nature" (46).
 52. Cf. William of Tyre: "An altar and choir were built above it [the rock] and there a priest celebrates the sacred offices" (1:345 [VIII, 3]).

TEXTUAL NOTES

Variants are keyed to the present edition by line numbers. The foliation of the MS is also indicated. Each cue-phrase reference is printed in italics, followed by a slash / and the variant in roman face. Following each variant, the MS reading or the reading in the editions of May Morris or Florence Boos is noted in brackets. Occasionally one of the earlier editors questions a MS reading, in which case that reading is also included in square brackets. For instance, at line 45 the MS reads "stoop" which is corrected in the present edition to "stood." Florence Boos correctly reads the MS as "stoop" but adds her query "[stood?]". Hence, the textual note reads:

45 *stood* / stoop [MS] / stoop [stood?] [FB]

Words or letters that Morris has struck out in the MS are indicated thus: ~~strike-out~~. Words or letters that Morris has added to the MS are indicated thus: \word added/. Such typographical conventions in the editions by May Morris and Florence Boos as spaces before or after em-dashes are not listed in the textual notes. Editorial emendations are "stood" (above) and the expansion of the ampersand to "and." The contents of the MS, ff. 1-12^v, are as follows:

f.1 [Table of Contents folio, white, parchment-like paper, watermarked "Silver Linen", 20 cm x 26.5 cm; 7 7/8 x 10 7/16 in: written on in black ink; some pencil inscriptions are noted as such].

[Written in May Morris's hand in pencil:] I Editor's numbering [The following written in ink:] The Dedication of the Temple [/] (For the 'Prize for a Poem on a Sacred Subject' at Oxford in 1854. The Poems were to be sent in by Dec. 1. 1853 [no]) [four pencil scorings crossing out the parenthetical material]

"Ornan threshed wheat upon the threshing floor"

ff. 2-3 [Table of Contents for the rest of the MS, consisting of other early poems]

f.4 [MS note in pencil on cream paper, quarto, watermarked "STRAT ... PARCH ..." with 1/2 crest with 1/2 a horse, and the further watermark "... DRY ... NT". The note, full of abbreviations, including the vertical line as her abbreviation for "the," all here expanded, is very likely a draft of a letter to the Oxford authorities. It is in May Morris's hand, and bears no date:]

To the Registrar o[f] [= the] U.[niversity] of Oxford if [[the] names o[f] those who sent in poems for the Prize for a Poem on a Sacred Subject Dec. 1. 1853, are preserved, & if so is [[the] name o[f] W.[illiam] M.[orris] of Exeter as I've [sic] think I've found a copy o[f] a poem on [[the] Subject o[f] [[the] dedication o[f] [[the] Temple.

f. 4^v [blank]

f. 5 [MS letter in black ink on blue letter paper 11.3 cm x 17.5 cm, 4 7/16 x 6 7/8 in, the inside address embossed in black]

29, the Avenue
Kew Gardens
Surrey
Oct. 16th 1921

My dear May,

I found these Poems the other day when I was sorting some furniture &c of dear Aunt Emma's (Emmie has given them to me for my Parkstone rooms) & I wondered

if you would glance through them to see if there is anything new to f. 5^v you?

Aunt Emma used to tell me that as a young man Uncle William sent her his poems. 3 of the papers are in Aunt Hennie's writing. I have been away 10 days & I was sorry to find Aunt Issy in bed after a bad fall on Wednesday. The Dr. says she is wonderful. We are hoping to manage the move in a fortnight.

Yours affect'ly
Effie M Morris

[The letter is written to Morris's daughter, May, by Morris's niece. She makes reference to Morris's eldest sister, Emma (b. 1829?), to his second sister, Henrietta (1833-1902), and to his third sister, Isabella (1842-1923). See Morris, *Collected Letters*, 1:3.]

ff. 6-12^v [Text of the poem, written in William Morris's hand in black ink, in a fair copy, with few corrections. The paper is light blue, quarto size (18.8 x 22.6 cm; 7 3/8 x 8 15/16 in), unlined and unwatermarked. The paper has been folded once; there are some wear-marks from top to bottom on the verso of folio 12 indicating an outside fold. In the following "Textual Notes" the foliation of the manuscript is indicated. Readings from the two earlier editions of the text are also given.]

1 f. 6

[MS: no title]

1-7 [printed by May Morris 1: 377]

4 *themselves*: / themselves; [MM, FB]

14 *Captain* / Captains [MS: letter s scored out] / captain [FB]

16 *and* / & [MS] / and [FB]

18-32^a [printed by May Morris 1:377]

18 *angel* / Angel [FB]

20 *along* / along, [FB]

21 *sullenly*, / sullenly [MM]

24 f. 6^v

26 *about* / about* [MM: May Morris adds in a footnote "**This anticipates a line in The Message of the March Wind: [/] The straw in the oxyard is blowing about."]

28 *snow white* / snow-white [MM, FB]

29 *again, as* / again as [MM]

30 *While* / Which [FB]

32 *not*; / not. [MM]

33 *aweful* / awful [FB]

35 *woes*, / woes [FB]

36 *in*; / in [FB]

37 *heard* / heard [FB]

42 *King* / king [FB]

- 45 *stood* / stoop [MS] / stoop [stood?] [FB]
 47 f. 7
 49–53 [printed by May Morris 1: 377-78]
 50 *About; about; / About, about, [MM] / About, about [FB]*
 54 [FB: after l. 53 introduces a gap of one line in the printed text, based on a misreading of the MS]
 55 *how / whow* [MS: w is scored out]
 58 *o'er hanging / o'erhanging* [FB]
 59 *Olives. / choir [?]. [FB]*
 59^b-128^a [printed by May Morris 1:378-80]
 59 *by / by: [MM]*
 61 *stone / stone, [MM]*
 64 *stretched / streetched* [MS: first c is scored out]
 68 *through up: / through up [?]: [FB]*
 69 *moon / moon. [FB]*
 70 f. 7^v
 70 *in / in, [FB]*
 71 *struck,— / struck— [MM, FB]*
 77 *rock / rock. [MM, FB]*
 78 *deep deep awe: / deep [?prayer] [MM] / deep despair [FB]*
 80 *the king blessed them— / the king blessed the\m/ people [MS] / the King blessed them— [MM] / the king blessed them [FB]*
 81 *prayèd ... knees / prayed ... knees, [MM] / prayèd ... knees, [FB]*
 82 *the / [the] [FB]*
 83 *up / up: [MM] / up. [FB]*
 84 *sanctuary. / sanctuary: [MM]*
 86 *on it, / in it; [MM]*
 87 *in it ... moon / on in it ... moon [MS: on scored out and over written with in] / on it ... moon; [MM]*
 89 *changèd / changed [MM, FB]*
 92 *Land / Land: [MM, FB]*
 93 f. 8
 93 *For ever? / For ever! [FB]*
 97 *cursèd always: so / cursed always: so [MM] / cursed always: So [FB]*
 98 [MM: line 98 omitted]
 99 *rose / rose, [MM, FB]*
 100 *floor / floor. [MM]*
 101 *wild / wilds [MS: letter s scored out]*
 101 *charrèd / charred [MM]*
 102 *grain, / grain. [MM, FB]*
 106 *strangely / strangely [MS]*
 107 *hills: / hills, [MM] / hills; [FB]*
 108 *Where / while [FB]*

- 109 *kept / [MM]*
 [110] *When shone the moon upon the manger wall* [MS: Morris skipped a line in copying because of anaphora, inserting line 111 between 109 and 110, then scoring it out]
 110 *word made Man, / Word made man, [MM] / word made Man [FB]*
 114 *mother; aye / mother, ay [MM] / Mother ay [FB]*
 115 f. 8^v
 115 *tall crosses stood, / black crosses stood [FB]*
 116 *black shadowed; where the / black shadowed; where they* [MS: letter y scored out] / black-shadowed; where the [MM]
 116 *lay / lay, [FB]*
 119 *The / Thes [MS: overwritten]*
 120 *armèd / armed [MM]*
 121 *There when ... trees / There where ... trees* [MS: where is overwriter with when] / There where ... tree, [FB]
 123 *sepulchre / sepulchre, [FB]*
 125 *twitchèd ... evermore / twitched ... evermore [MM] / twitchèd ... evermore, [FB]*
 126 *into / unto [FB]*
 127 *who / Who [MM, FB]*
 [129] *Beneath the* [MS: inserted between ll. 128 and 129 and scored out]
 129 *Fainted / Famished [FB]*
 132 *and / & [MS] / and [FB]*
 135 *piercèd / pierced [FB]*
 137 f. 9
 137 *it; / it, [FB]*
 138 *dead cold / cold² dead¹* [MS: marked with superscript numbers to indicate order of adjectives]
 141 *floor? years / floor! Years [FB]*
 147 *filled ... rock / fillèd ... rock, [FB]*
 149 *sun / dew [FB]*
 150 *winds, / weeds [FB]*
 156 *fight / fight, [FB]*
 159 *About them / About \them/ [MS]*
 160 f. 9^v
 160 *grass / grass, [FB]*
 161 *duller / dullèd [FB]*
 165 *come / [come?] [FB]*
 168 *opened, / opened [FB]*
 174 *Omar / Ornan [FB]*
 176 *on / On [FB]*
 178 *purchase / perchance [FB]*
 180 *hammer / hammers [FB]*

- 181 *marble pillars* / marbles columns [MS: letter s in marbles scored out; columns overwritten with pillars]
- 182 *arches* / archèd [FB]
- 183 f. 10
- 185 *place* / place. [FB]
- 186 *purhance* / perhance [FB]
- 188 *round ... noise* / ~~not~~ round ... noise [MS] / round ... noise, [FB]
- 190 *sound* / sound. [FB]
- 191-217 [printed by May Morris 1:380-81]
- 191 *O North! O north!* / O North! O ~~south~~ north \north/! [MS: south is scored out and north is written through it and is also scored out; north is then written above the line] / O North! O North! [MM]
- 192 *time* / time. [FB]
- 193 *O north! O north ... west-wind* / O North! O North! ... west wind [MM]
- 197 *makes: O! north O! north* / makes: O North! O North! [MM] / makes. O! [sic] north O! north [FB]
- 199 *slate-stones* / slate stones [MM, FB]
- 201 *O! South Sky ... cloud* / O! South ~~O! south~~ Sky ... cloud, [MS] / O! South, O! sky ... cloud; [MM:] / O south sky ... cloud, [FB]
- 202 *break* / break; [MM] / break, [FB]
- 203 *Palm ... leaves* / palm ... leaves; [MM] / palm ... leaves, [FB]
- 204 *Scarlet ... sun.* / scarlet ... sun: [MM] / scarlet ... sun. [FB]
- 205 f. 10^v
- 205 *thee south* / thee, South, [MM] / thee South, [FB]
- 206 *palms* / palms; [MM, FB]
- 207 *North ... heart:* / North ... heart. [MM] / north ... heart. [FB]
- 208 *North* / north [FB]
- 209 *North* / north [FB]
- 210 *sing* / sing [?] [FB]
- 211 *North ... well* / North ... well, [MM] / north ... well, [FB]
- 212 *North* / north [FB]
- 213 *hazelroots* / hazel roots; [MM] / hazel roots, [FB]
- 214 *North ... come* / North, ... come [MM] / North, ... course [FB]
- 215 *trees* / trees, [MM]
- 216 *me,* / me [FB]
- 217 *North,* / North [FB]
- 218 [MS: a new verse paragraph begins with line 218 after a space of one line]
- 222 *warders* / wardens [FB]
- 224 *Saracens* / Saracens, [FB]
- 226 *He ... solemnly* / ~~he~~ [MS: he overwritten as He] / he ... solemnly. [FB]
- 227 f. 11
- 227 *So* / To [FB]

- 228 *Jerusalem* / Jerusalem, [FB]
- 230 *them—they ... far* / them they ... far, [FB]
- 232 *hills,* / hills [FB]
- 233 *river,* / river [FB]
- 239 *above, while in the sun* / aboves, while in the sun [MS: s in "aboves" scored out] / above while in the den [FB]
- 241 *place* / place, [FB]
- 242 *wives* / voices [FB]
- 245^b-252^a [printed by May Morris 1:381-82]
- 245 *They* / they [FB]
- 249 *bones lie ... sun* / bones lie ... sun, [MM] / bones be ... sun,— [FB]
- 250 f. 11^v
- 250 *asp* / asp, [MM, FB]
- 251 *dubbing ... steel rings,* / dubbing steels rings, [MS: final s on "steels" scored out] / clubbing ... steel rings [FB]
- 252 *swords,* / swords. [MM]
- 253 *Lord* / Lord— [FB]
- 255 *behind* / behind, [FB]
- 256 *parched lips* / parchèd lips. [FB]
- 257 *one* / one, [FB]
- 258 *A dying ... night,* / A-dying ... night [FB]
- 260 *wall* / wall, [FB]
- 261 *mail coat* / mailcoat [FB]
- 262 *knee ... fold;* / knees ... fold: [FB]
- 263 *foe* / foe. [FB]
- 264 *despondingly* / despairingly [FB]
- 268 *glances ... scimitars;* / glimmer ... scimitars: [FB]
- 271 f. 12
- 271 *slaying* / sloping [FB]
- 272 *into Omar's Mosque* / out of Ornan's mosque [FB]
- 273 *Where* / So here [FB]
- 275 *there* / there. [FB]
- 276 *and the babe* / & the ~~child~~ \babe/ [MS]
- 277 *hair* / hair. [FB]
- 282 *Omar fell* / Omar ~~steed~~ \fell/ [MS] / Ornan fell [FB]
- 284 *old* / old, [FB]
- 285 *wall* / wall, [FB]
- 286 *(His gift) ... down* / His gift, ... down, [FB]
- 287 *Crucified* / ~~Cruei~~ \Crucified/ [MS]
- 288 *it saw* / saw² it¹ [MS: marked with superscript numbers to indicate order of words]
- 289 *folds* / fold, [FB]
- 291 *incense-cloud* / incense-cloud, [FB]

- 292 f. 12^v
 292 *roof*, / roof— [FB]
 293 *Cross* / cross [FB]
 294 *dome* / home [FB]
 298 *seen* / seen. [FB]
 299 [FB: inserts an unwarranted space between II.298 and 299]
 300 *Earth* / Earth— [FB]
 [301] *William Morris*. / William Morris. [MS: indented signature]

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HOUSEHOLD TASTE: INDUSTRIAL ART, CONSUMERISM, AND PRE-RAPHAELITISM

Patrick Brantlinger

For eighteenth-century philosophers, the concept of taste involved speculation about a *sensus communis*, as Kant called it, or the intersubjective agreement about values that seemed essential both to human nature and to social cohesion.¹ The bodily sense of taste, of course, is linked to those most basic forms of consumption: eating and drinking. As the metaphoric name for aesthetic discrimination, moreover, taste has a direct bearing on "the fashion mechanism" and consumer preferences whenever there are choices among commodities (Gronow, 74-131; McKendrick et al., 34-98). In both of these ways, taste would seem to be a concept of fundamental importance to economic theory. But while economics was emerging as a specific discourse around a limited set of issues about the public production of wealth, aesthetics was emerging as an at times antithetical discourse about seemingly more private, non-economic forms of value. And taste became central to aesthetics, not to economics. As the faculty or process of qualitative discrimination, taste seemed at once intensely subjective and individualistic and yet necessarily public, because everyone's private tastes added up to what Enlightenment intellectuals often called "national taste." But they also added up to patterns of economic demand, which might or might not be the same as good national taste.

These separate axiological discourses developed in part out of a contradiction within eighteenth-century "moral philosophy." As Mary Poovey notes, the division is evident in "the Adam Smith problem," or "the apparent discontinuity between his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *The Wealth of Nations*." Abandoning the category of "sympathy" as "both the motor of social relations ... and the faculty of moral judgment" in his earlier work, Smith emphasizes the profit-motive or "acquisitive" instead of "contemplative" (aesthetic) desire (Poovey, "Aesthetics" 85, 86). He also defines value in terms of labour and hence of production rather than consumption. Value no longer depends on the immeasurable, because