

ON THE RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM OF THE UNICORN.¹

By the Rev. JOSEPH HIRST.

Though familiar to most of us as a chimerical charge in heraldry, or as one of the supporters of the Royal Arms of England, there are, perhaps, few who are aware of the important part played by the Unicorn in the religious symbolism of the Middle Ages. At that time, no doubt, men thoroughly believed in the existence of such an animal; and if excuse were necessary, it might be found in the fact that reckoning only from the year 1570, no fewer than twenty works² could easily be named in the English, Latin, French, German, and Italian tongues, which have been written on the existence of the Unicorn. Nay, even in the nineteenth century more than one English traveller³ has sent home word from Thibet or Africa that at length he was on the track of the fabulous animal and would soon secure a specimen. No wonder then if Guillim in his quaint style thus discourses: "The Unicorn hath his name from his one horn on his forehead. There is another beast of a huge strength and greatness, which hath but one horn, but that is growing

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, May 1st, 1884.

² The titles of fifteen of these works may be seen in the "Annals and Magazine of Natural History" for Nov., 1862, p. 363.

³ Vide "Asiatic Researches" for 1830. Cuvier playfully twitted the English with being partial to seeing the Unicorn in nature from their attachment to its figure in the Royal Arms, and says that in his day they have asserted the discovery of their favourite animal in Interior Africa and in the mountainous parts of Hindostan. See his dissertation at the end of the eighth book of Pliny's "Natural History," Aug. Taur, 1831. Malte-Brun in his "Precis de la Geogra-

phie Universelle," liv. xcii (tom. v, p. 71, Par. 1817), confines himself to saying that the existence of the Unicorn on the earth is not impossible, though it is not very likely. The race, like so many others, may have become extinct. Garcias relates that the first Portuguese navigators saw such an animal between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Corrientes. Two good modern observers, Sparrmann and Barrow, have seen the rocks of Camdebo and Bambo covered with representations of the Unicorn, and the Dutch colonists affirm that they have seen these animals alive and have killed some of them. (Notes on Pliny, N. H., viii, 31 ed. Pomba.)

on his snout, whence he is called *Rinoceros*. It hath been much questioned amongst naturalists which it is that is properly called the Unicorn, and some have made doubt whether there be any such beast as this or no. But the great esteem of his horne, in many places to be seen, takes away that needlesse scruple."¹

The veritable horns that so troubled the mind of Guillim can be otherwise accounted for. It must first however be observed that Aristotle mentions two animals possessing an uncloven hoof and a single horn; these he calls the Indian ass and the oryx. The first, says Rev. W. Houghton, is undoubtedly the rhinoceros, the second the nylghau, a large Indian antelope, the horns of which when seen at a distance in profile may to some observers have appeared as one, one horn covering and hiding from view the other.² Not however to these animals do we owe the testimony of the horns that played so great a figure in the hands of mediæval charlatans, and even with physicians of more modern date, which appear in the inventories of monastic treasuries, and even amongst the heirlooms of Charles the First of England.³

Naturalists describe a species of whale, called by them a sea-unicorn, which is quite enough for our purpose.⁴ The length of the narwhal, called *monoceros* or the sea-unicorn, is said to be about fifteen or sixteen feet, while that of its single tusk is from seven to ten feet. Besides the elongated tusk, which is like a spirally-twisted spear, the sea-unicorn has no teeth. Its single horn is occasionally employed in breaking the thinner ice, whereby the sea-unicorn can more easily carry on respiration, than it otherwise could; but it is chiefly used for attacking its prey, the sea-unicorn having first to kill the great fish on which it is to feed, as from the smallness of its mouth it cannot possibly devour it until it has put an end to all resistance. Its favourite resorts seem to be among the ice-islands of the Northern Pole, and the creeks and bays of Greenland, Davis's Straits, and Iceland. Sea-unicorns are quick, active, and usually inoffensive animals,

¹ "Display of Heraldry," London, 1724, p. 162.

² "Natural History of the Ancients," p. 169.

³ It was sold for £500.

⁴ The Genus *Narwallus*, the Sea-unicorn of whalers, has one species, the *Narwallus microcephalus*, called by Linnæus and Cuvier *Monodon*.

and swim with considerable velocity. The Greenlanders consider both their oil and their flesh a very delicious nourishment. The ivory of their single tusk is esteemed superior to that of the elephant.¹

Various are the traits and characteristic instincts attributed to the Unicorn of fable by the masters of profane and sacred learning. Let us first consult Guillim, who with great seriousness sets forth the various qualities of the Unicorn, one by one, as he comes to treat of the several noble English families who have blazoned it on their coat-of-arms. "Touching the invincible nature of this beast, Job saith, Lo, wilt thou trust him because his strength is great, and cast thy labour unto him? Wilt thou believe him, that he will bring home thy seed and gather it into thy barn? And his vertue is no less famous than his strength, in that his horn is supposed to be the most powerful antidote against poison: Insomuch as the general conceit is that the wild beasts of the wilderness use not to drink of the pools, for fear of venomous serpents there breeding, before the unicorn hath stirred it with his horn. Howsoever it be, this charge may very well be a representation but of strength or courage, or else of vertuous dispositions and ability to do good; for to have strength of body without the gifts of good qualities of the mind, is but the property of an ox, but when both concur, they may truly be called Manliness. And that these two should consort together, the ancients did signify when they made this one word, *virtus*, to imply both strength of the body and vertue of the mind." And again: "It seemeth by a question raised by Farnesius that the Unicorn is never taken alive; the reason being demanded, it is answered that the greatness of his mind is such that he chuseth rather to die than to be taken alive, wherein (saith he) the Unicorn and the valiant-minded souldier would die alike, as both contemn death, and rather than they will be compelled to undergo any forced servitude or bondage, they will lose their lives."²

¹ *Vide* "Encyclop. Britann.," 8th ed., vol. xiv, p. 230. The following is Pliny's description of the Unicorn in the thirty-first chapter of the eighth book of his *Natural History*:—"Asperrimam autem feram monocerotem, reliquo corpore equo

similem, capite cervo, pedibus elephanto, cauda apro, mugitu gravi, uno cornu nigro media fronte cubitorum duum eminente. Hanc feram vivam negant capi."

² L. c., p. 162-3.

“The UNICORN of antiquity,” says another author, “was regarded as the emblem of *strength*; and, as the Dragon was the *guardian* of wealth, so was the Unicorn of *chastity*.”

“His horn was a test of poison; and, in virtue of this peculiarity, the other beasts of the forest invested him with the office of water-‘conner’; never daring to taste the contents of any pool or fountain until the Unicorn had stirred the waters with his horn, to ascertain if any wily serpent or dragon had deposited his venom therein.”—“The Curiosities of Heraldry” . . . By Mark Antony Lower 1845, (p. 101.)

To Mr. J. Bone, F.S.A., I am indebted for a quotation from a mediæval bestiary in his possession entitled:—**ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΗ ΣΤΙΧΟΙ ΙΑΜΒΙΚΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΖΩΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΤΗΤΟΣ** Lipsiæ [1575]. “The Iambics of the Most Wise *Phile*, otherwise *Philes*, on the characteristics of animals, with a translation into Latin Iambics by Gregory *Bersman* of Annaberg, in Wisnia.” This *Philes* or *Phile* appears to be the same person as *Μανουήλ ὁ Φιλῆς*, born at Ephesus in 1275.

The passage may be thus translated:—

- “And it (the Unicorn) is fond of places uninhabited by
mankind,
And dwells apart, wandering alone.
And towards other species of animals
This beast is gentle, as a young dog accustomed to the
flock.
But its own species, which should by nature be dear
to it,
It regards as its enemy and altogether bad.
It becomes gentle with its female only, &c.”

John Tzetzes, an eminent Greek grammarian who flourished during the latter half of the twelfth century, observes in his Fifth Chiliad, line 399, of the Unicorn that he loveth sweet scents, *Θηρίον ὁ μονόκερος τυγχάνει Φιλευῶδες*. Hence when they desire to take one the huntsmen have recourse to the stratagem of sending to his lair a youth disguised as a maiden and richly perfumed, who when the Unicorn comes forth to meet him, seizes the animal by the horn, while the huntsmen coming up, cut

it off and thus take the animal when deprived of all defence.

Symbolical representations of the Unicorn date from very remote times. They held a conspicuous place in Persian mythology, and the Unicorn "was represented on the walls of Persepolis, in battle with the lion, both with and without wings; it was also known to the Egyptians and is found amongst their hieroglyphics. With these nations it was the symbol of purity and strength."¹ In later times "the swift unicorn, either Anglo-Saxon or Dane, was obliged to fly before the leopards and lions of Normandy. Hence the naturalization of the emblematical unicorn in Scotland,"² where two unicorns were the supporters of the Scotch Kings. Hence upon the union of the two kingdoms under James the First, this circumstance gave occasion to our retaining one unicorn as the sinister support of the Royal arms of this country. The earliest extant example of the Unicorn as a supporter in the Royal arms of Scotland appears to be that which occurs in the Royal achievements carved above the gateway of Rothsay Castle, Isle of Bute.³ In olden times Rothsay gave the title of Duke to the eldest son of the King of Scotland, who was born Prince of Scotland, Duke of Rothsay, and High Steward of Scotland.

Spenser in his *Faerie Queene* (Bk. ii, Canto v, verse 10) thus sets forth the traditional mythic combat of the Lion and the Unicorn :

"Like as a LYON, whose imperiall powre
 A prowde rebellious UNICORN defyes,
 T' avoide the rash assault and wrathful stowre
 Of his fiers foe, him to a tree applyes,
 And when him running in full course he spyes,
 He slips aside; the whiles that furious beast
 HIS PRECIOUS HORNE, SOUGHT OF HIS ENEMYES,
 Strikes in the stocke, ne thence can be releast,
 But to the mighty victour yields a bounteous feast."

The traditional attributes given to the Unicorn by the ancients were retained by the early Christians, who

¹ Twining, "Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediæval Christian Art," p. 172

² Brunet, "Regal Armourie of Great Britain," p. 209.

³ Dickson in Brown's "Unicorn," p. 5.

“preserved it amongst their representations of symbolic animal nature. The horn was considered to be a symbol of the Cross, and was believed to be an antidote to poison; even cups made of it were supposed to deprive any deadly drink of its injurious effect. During the Middle Ages, the fable or legend of the Unicorn was a frequent and favourite illustration of the doctrine of the Incarnation, for it was said that, although wild and fierce in its nature, it could be caught and tamed only by a virgin of pure and holy life, and from this circumstance the most familiar representations of the subject in Art are derived; the Virgin becomes the image of the Virgin Mary, and the Unicorn the type of Christ Himself.” . . . “Another meaning was given to the Unicorn, which was also derived from one of its supposed natural qualities; its love of solitude, from which it became a symbol of the monastic life, and in this sense it appears for the first time in Art, on the staff of S. Boniface, preserved at Fulda in Germany, which undoubtedly belonged either to him or to his successor, and is therefore thought one of the seventh or eighth century. The Unicorn is represented kneeling before the Cross, in much the same position in which the Lamb is often seen.”¹

The chase of the Unicorn was a favourite subject of Allegory in the Middle Ages. It was used to set forth in symbolical representation the Mystery of the Incarnation. In poetry we may see it in *die goldene Schmiede*, or “The Golden Forge,” by Konrad of Würzburg, who died in 1287. In Breslau there is over one of the altars of the Cathedral a most elaborate carving in wood which is thus described by Mrs. Jameson: “Mary is seated within a Gothic porch of open tracery work; a unicorn takes

¹ Twining, *op. cit.*, p. 171-2, Plate lxxxv. The brief explanation given by Mrs. Jameson in the beginning of the first volume of her “Sacred and Legendary Art,” where, after speaking of the Dove and Lily, she says, “The Unicorn is another ancient symbol of purity, in allusion to the fable that it could never be captured except by a virgin stainless in mind and life; it has become in consequence the emblem peculiarly of female chastity, but in Christian art is appropriate only to the Virgin Mary and S. Justina;” has given occasion to one

instance within the author's knowledge in which the Unicorn has been carved in stone as a type of the Blessed Virgin having as pendant the Lion, the acknowledged type of Christ. Mediaeval artists often gave the Unicorn by mistake to S. Justina of Padua, from its connection with S. Justina of Antioch in the legend of S. Cyprian the Magician, just as they represented the wheel, the instrument of martyrdom belonging to S. Catherine of Alexandria, in their pictures of S. Catherine of Sienna.

refuge in her bosom; outside a kneeling angel winds a hunting horn; three or four dogs are crouching near him."¹ Another example not mentioned by her is in the Cathedral of Erfurt. Another well-known instance is in the glass paintings of Bourges Cathedral. I have found, however, in a German periodical little known in England, a detailed account of two remarkable frescoes in the chapel of the ruined castle of Ausensheim, near Matrei in the Tyrol.²

It may be stated that the castle seems to have been built in the beginning of the thirteenth century, between 1200 and 1210. The chapel we may set down to the same period, as it seems to be contemporary with the original structure. Indeed, documents still preserved in the castle prove the chapel to be of that date. The frescoes representing the chase of the Unicorn would appear to have been executed shortly after the erection of the chapel. The date, however, 1024, to be seen on one of them has evidently been added by a later hand, probably in comparatively recent times, when the original frescoes underwent some kind of restoration.³

In the first of these two frescoes we behold the Archangel Gabriel, who represents the huntsman. He is clothed in a long white alb, with over it a purple dalmatic. The dalmatic is the token of his being the deacon, that is, the servant or messenger of God; the particular colour purple is used to signify that it is Advent, the time of expectation and yearning for the coming of the Messiah. In his right hand he holds a lance, the token of the chase, while with the same hand he holds the leashes of his four dogs, each having a scroll in its mouth. The gently trotting black terrier has the word *Pax*; the iron-grey, *Veritas*; the neutral-tinted, *Iustitia*, because impartial; and the brown, *Misericordia*. These legends are an allusion to the Psalmist's enunciation

¹ "Legends of the Madonna," p. 170.

² "Die Jagd des Einhornes eine symbolische Darstellung des Geheimnisses der Menschwerdung aus dem Mittelalter," von J. Liell.-Der Katholik, 1880, Zweite Hälfte, s. 412, Mainz. I may observe that neither Murray nor Bædeker make any mention of the existence of these pictures, which are probably altogether unknown in this country.

³ The author of the "Stalles d'Amiens" and Mrs. Jameson attribute the allegory of the Unicorn as applied to the Incarnation to the fifteenth century. The works, however, of S. Basil, of the grammarian Tzetzes, of Philes, of Henry Suso, and of Konrad, together with the Tyrolese frescoes, point undoubtedly to an earlier familiarity with the subject.

of the Incarnation in the well-known words, "Mercy and Truth have met each other, Justice and Peace have kissed, Truth is sprung out of the earth, and Justice hath looked down from Heaven."¹

It may be here remarked that in the Erfurt picture there are three dogs, styled respectively Fides, Spes, and Caritas. In the Bourges window there are only two dogs, and these without names.

In his left hand the heavenly huntsman holds a horn, out of which come the words, *Ave gratia plena, Dominus tecum*.

The whole attitude of Gabriel is full of reverence and tranquillity, and the expression on his countenance breathes devotion and a certain pious absorption in his holy duty.

In the back-ground of the flowery landscape we descry Nazareth with its towers and gates. Standing at the window of one of the houses may be seen the prophet Isaiah, who holds a long scroll on which are written the words *Ecce Virgo concipiet et pariet Filium, et vocabis Nomen ejus Emmanuel*.² In the superscription we read his name as *Isyas*. In the middle distance are two symbols, the Pelican feeding its young with its blood, as a figure of the love of Christ for men; and the Lioness with her young, which either means the same or may perhaps stand for the love of Mary for her spiritual children. Above in the lightsome clouds are angels looking down with wonder and concern on the heavenly huntsman and the issue of his chase.

On the other side is the second fresco, in which the painter represents the fulfilment of the mystery. Above on high sits enthroned the ever blessed Trinity. The figure of God the Father has a scroll on which are read the words, *Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra*. With these words of the Song of Solomon the bridegroom invites his bride to the wedding-feast; for he says: 'Spring is come again, for the flowers have sprung out of the earth, and the voice of the turtle is heard once more. Since this then is the time of the fulfilment of my promise, let us celebrate our nuptials together.' When the Son of God

¹ Vulg., lxxxiv, 11, 12,

² Matt., i, 23. "Behold, a virgin shall

be with child, and bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel."

became man, the time of the fulfilment of the promises had also come; the time of the most intimate union of the Son of God with human nature had at length arrived, and thus the words of the legend refer to the coming of Christ, by which was accomplished that re-priming and revival of the moral sentiment and of all the better instincts of our human nature which bears so close a resemblance to the yearly resurrection which takes place in the physical world in the passage from winter to spring. 'Arise,' God seems to say to man, 'behold the earth once more rendered fruitful by the quickening breath of My Spirit, and learn by the sight of that fact that I am the author of life. The time of ignorance and barrenness, the season of loss and death, the dark and frozen winter is passed. Frosts are no longer seen in the land: the heavens smile on earth, and under this genial-influence the teeming soil is quickly transformed into a beautiful garden. The dove, plaintive and solitary, finds there those secluded bowers which it loves so well. Its voice, monotonous and pure, bespeaks the innocence, simplicity and singleness of its love.'

God the Son sits on the left hand of the Father, as Son of David or the Messiah, who has not yet gained that victory of redemption, after which He will take His seat in power on the right hand of His heavenly Father. The scroll in His hand is without legend. Above the two Divine Persons is seen the Holy Ghost in the usual form of the Dove.

The lower portion of the picture portrays the happy issue of the chase. Before the hunter and his hounds the Unicorn, the Son of God has taken refuge in an 'enclosed garden' (*hortus conclusus*), which it has entered by the 'shut gate' (*porta clausa*), and now lies nestling in the lap of the spotless maiden, the blessed Virgin Mary. We see before us an hexagonal garden, surrounded by a wall. Five of its walls are adorned with gates and a tower, the sixth extends beyond the limits of the painting. This *hortus conclusus* of the Canticle was so called because no one had a right to enter in and taste its fruit but the Beloved: and in this sense it was applied to the Blessed Virgin by S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Epiphanius, S. Ildephonsus and S. Ambrose.

Over the gates are appropriate inscriptions. Thus the gate below on the left hand is called the *porta cæli* (gate of Heaven) to signify that Mary, by becoming the Mother of our Redeemer, has at least in a mediate and instrumental manner, opened heaven to us; while the gate below on the right is called *porta aurea* (golden gate) which may signify either the personal holiness of Mary or the great and precious blessings with which her Divine child-bearing was fraught. Above on the left there is a four-storied tower without inscription, which is perhaps meant for the 'tower of David' or the 'tower of ivory,' a title given to our Lady by (amongst others) Abbot Rupert, a mediæval commentator, who died in 1135.

Above on the right there is likewise a gate-like building, but without inscription. At the furthest corner of the left side of the garden is the mysterious *porta clausa*, as the inscription declares. This symbol is taken from the prophet Ezechiel, who says: "This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall pass through it, because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered in by it, and it shall be shut" (xliv, 2). This 'shut gate' is, according to S. Augustine, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Epiphanius and other Fathers of the Church, a symbol of the perpetual virginity of Mary.

Through this 'shut gate' the snow-white unicorn, the Lord God of Israel, has fled before the face of the huntsman and his four hounds, and has leapt with his forefeet on to the lap of Mary, who with her left hand takes hold of its forefeet, whilst, with her right, she presses the horn of the affrighted animal to her breast.

Mary is seated on the flowery turf, clothed in a white tunic which is held together by a green girdle, over which is thrown a large blue mantle which lies stretched upon the ground, reaching as far as the *porta clausa*, so that the unicorn on entering at once stood on it. The abundant hair of the Virgin falls down over her shoulders in beautiful ringlets. Her face, inclined a little towards the unicorn, is noble, calm, and grave. On one side of the head of Mary there is a scroll with the words: *Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*. Coming from God the Father and near the Blessed Virgin there is the figure of a little naked child, to represent the soul of

the incarnate Son of God, as is frequently seen on mediæval representations. It holds a cross in its little hands, and was probably originally encircled by a beam of light.¹

In order to bring out in still greater relief the sublime mystery of the Incarnation, our painter adds other symbols, or types, from the Old Law, which adumbrate and explain the supernatural conception of the Virgin Mary and her perpetual virginity.

Above on the right hand in the garden he represents the Ark of the Covenant with the inscription *virga Aaron*. For as the rod of Aaron in the holy Tabernacle began to bud forth and to blossom without having any root and without being watered, so also the Son of God as to his human nature had his existence in a miraculous way in the womb of Mary. So say S. Ephrem, S. Anastasius, S. Ambrose, S. John Chrysostom and others.

Below on the right he has the figure of a chest, and near it the inscription *areha* (for *area*) *Gedeon*. Of Gedeon Holy Scripture relates that he asked a sign from Heaven as a proof of his mission. He put a fleece of wool on the floor and said, "If there be dew on the fleece only and it be dry on all the ground beside, I shall know that by my hand . . . , thou wilt deliver Israel." And thus it came to pass. This event is to the Fathers of the Church a symbol of the miraculous conception of our Lord. Thus St. Bernard says: "What else does this fleece of wool mean than that the Redeemer has taken flesh from the Virgin and indeed without violating her virginity?" As to the representation of this figure our painter had in view the sacred text where it is said that Gedeon when he received his mission was thrashing wheat by the wine press. The Blessed Virgin is styled the fleece of Gedeon by S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Ephrem, S. Sophronius and others. Between these two symbols there is displayed a small vase with an inscription. The legend is very much defaced, but seems to be

¹ The appearance of this little figure may suggest a date later than that of the main fresco. In a description, however, of the Pienza Cope, a very fine and perfect example of English work of about the year 1300, given by my friend Mr. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., there is something similar in one of the five subjects at the

top (No. 50), where "our Lord, attended by four angels, bears the soul of His Mother to Heaven. The soul is represented as a child, dressed in white, standing upon a napkin, the ends of which are borne by two angels." (*Vide* Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, April 5, 1833.)

mannæ urna aurea, which may be a symbol of the Blessed Virgin, inasmuch as she bore in her womb the manna of the new Law, the body and the blood of Christ. S. Ambrose, S. Bernard, Rupert, Richard of S. Lawrence and other mediæval writers speak of the manna as a type of the Blessed Virgin.¹

Outside the garden may be seen on a mountain the figure of Moses kneeling with the inscription *Rubus Moysys*. For as the bush was on fire and yet against the laws of nature was not burnt, thus also Mary became mother without ceasing to remain a virgin. This symbol of the Blessed Virgin is very familiar with the Fathers of the Church, and is used by S. Epiphanius, S. Ephrem, S. John Chrysostom, S. Proclus, S. Augustine, &c., and by a great number of ante-mediæval writers, as Andreas Cretensis, Isychius, Chrysippus, George of Nicomedia, S. Germanus of Constantinople, S. John Damascene, &c., &c.²

It remains for me to explain another symbol. This represents a chalice over which a host hangs suspended (on which Christ on the Cross and the figures of the Mother of God and of S. John can be easily discerned), and from which proceed seven green branches in regular form which come together in the form of a cross. This chalice is placed close to the Unicorn on the mantle of Mary to signify that it is meant to be a *symbolical* explanation of the *symbol* of the Unicorn. The exact connecting idea cannot be determined, because the inscription on the chalice is quite illegible; but thus much seems to follow from it that the artist had in mind to indicate that the Unicorn is the symbol of the Saviour of the world, hidden in the Sacrament of the Altar, from whose real Body proceed the Seven Sacraments which are ever fresh and green, because like the leaves of the tree of life in the Apocalypse prepared "for the healing of the nations."³

NOTE.—I have received the final revise of this paper while passing through Germany, where I have found in my host's library Kraus's *Real-Encyklopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer*, who says the application of the allegory of the Unicorn to the Incarnation dates from S. Isidore of Spain, who died A.D. 636. See his *Origines* xii. 2, Eustathius, *Hexæm.* 20; Peter Damian, *Ep.* ii, 18 and Albert the Great, *de Animal.* xxii, 2. 1.

¹ Vide Maraccio, *Polyanthia Mariana*, *sub voce*. In this work will be found under each type of our Lady the original

texts and citations in full from all the Fathers who have made use of it.

² *Ib.*

³ Chap. xx, v. 2.