

ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE BOOKS OWNED OR USED BY JOHN GRANDISSON, BISHOP OF EXETER (1327-1369)

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This thesis sets out to identify the books used by John Grandisson, by establishing the principal characteristics of his handwriting and the marks he used when annotating texts. Grandisson annotated not only his own books, but also the Cathedral's, and those he borrowed. He used books to educate himself and to prepare himself for his role as bishop (Chapter II). From his early books, two salient features of his personality appear: his penchant for turning to sources to find truth, which caused him to learn Hebrew; and his predilection to acquire *originalia* of the Church Fathers, out of which he developed an enduring admiration for Augustine.

Chapter III describes Grandisson's activity in Exeter Cathedral books to make them easier to read. He added apparatus for quick-reference: indexes, tables of contents, running titles, chapter and subject headings. His paraph and *paragraphus* marks indicate beginnings, and his *Nota* signs, brackets, and excerpt marks identify *sententiae*.

Chapter IV discusses briefly the content of Grandisson's glosses and other annotations, which reveals a wide range of interests, not only in theology and canon law, but also in history and natural science. He assembled the largest extant collection of Anselm's letters. Other interests include Virgil's poetry, Seneca's tragedies, romances of the Grail, and miracles of the Virgin.

The Ordinal with Kalendar attributed to Grandisson survives only in s.xv copies which incorporate feasts introduced after Grandisson's time. Chapter V discusses the contemporary evidence (including books he used) for assessing Grandisson's activity in the production of the Ordinal for his Cathedral Church.

Grandisson had a lifelong interest in the relative roles of Church and State; thus, he wrote a 'Life of Becket' (Chapter VI), drawing from many contemporary sources. No doubt his study enabled him to take a confident stand in maintaining the liberties of the Church from c.1340 to the end of his life.

Grandisson's ideal was to be a pastoral bishop. Books helped him in decision-making, in learning his vocation, in educating his clergy. They also sustained him, as man and bishop, through a fruitful career.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
Title Page	1
Preface and Acknowledgements	i-ii
List of Plates	iii
Principal Abbreviations and Conventions	iv-ix
Chapter I--Introduction	2
Chapter I--Notes	11
Chapter II--Grandisson's Personal Books	15
Grandisson's Early Acquisitions	21
Grandisson's Hebrew Books	31
Grandisson's Biblical Texts	33
Other Originalia	36
The Following Works Owned by Grandisson Served Both for his Own <i>Lectio Divina</i> and during his Preparation for Liturgical Reform	45
Grandisson's Strong Interest in History	55
Books of Personal Devotion	67
Grandisson Manuscripts of Doubtful Ownership	71
Grandisson Refers to Copies of Texts which Have Not Survived	73
A Text which Survives Only as a Fragment	74
Chapter II--Notes	79
Chapter III--Books at Exeter Cathedral 1327-1369	97
Grandisson Educated Himself in Canon Law	103
Other Works of the Church Fathers	105
Histories and Chronicles	106
Scriptural Texts, Glossed Books of the Bible, the Sentences, Sermons and Tracts	109
Grandisson's Interest Falls off Markedly with the Following Manuscripts (Some Ascriptions Doubtful)	111
Grandisson Scarcely Annotated the Following Manuscripts (Ascriptions Uncertain)	125
Chapter III--Notes	131
Chapter IV--Grandisson's Glosses	138
Grandisson's Interest in the Early Church and its Laws	139
Acts and Precedents Set by the Church's Great Leaders, Gregory I and Anselm	142
The Progress of the Church in Britain	143
Anselm, Defender of the Faith	145
Grandisson's Theological Views Reflected through his Annotation	146
Grandisson's Annotations Concerning his Vocation	151
Grandisson's Annotations in General	156
Annotations Reflecting the Search for Answers to	

Particular Problems	157
Grandisson's Observations on Knowledge and Learning	162
Grandisson's Especial Interest in History	164
Grandisson's View of Miracles	168
Chapter IV--Notes	171
Chapter V--Grandisson's Liturgical Works	184
Background	184
Problems in Gathering and Assessing Evidence	185
Some Differences between Sarum Use in the 'Old Ordinal' and Exeter's, as Grandisson Began to Modify It	187
Ways in which Grandisson Used his Books	189
Manuscripts Reflecting Grandisson's Preparation of the Ordinal and Lectionary	190
The Kalendar	195
The Liturgy	197
Grandisson Searched his Own Books and Those of the Cathedral for Suitable Lections	197
The Sanctoral (1--Preparation)	198
The Sanctoral (2--Propers in Exeter MS 3505, no. 84)	199
Chapter V--Notes	204
Chapter VI--Grandisson's 'Life of Becket'	213
Chapter VI--Notes	252
Conclusion	268
Conclusion--Notes	276
Appendix I, II	278-79
Supplement	280
Supplement--Notes	283
Manuscripts in Numerical Order	284
Manuscripts List	286
List of Works Cited	290-300
Plates 1-17, with commentary on facing pages	

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is limited to that which could be learned about Bishop Grandisson through the books he used; it consists principally of the view of a bishop at work in his diocese. Anything added from other sources is intended to serve as background or to confirm what is evident from Grandisson's ownership and use of books. A corpus of texts which Grandisson used has been established by identifying the various kinds of handwriting he used: his display script, smaller glossing hand, and his book hands, which he altered for legibility and to be unambiguously clear especially in making corrections or giving directions. It is probable that other texts may be identified when Grandisson's hand becomes more widely known.

The dissertation focuses on what Grandisson read and his methods of working, through the multiplicity of his marks in the books which he used. We know he valued some texts because he selected them for the liturgy which he reformed; others he openly praised, or he bequeathed them to certain individuals in his Will. Since Grandisson rarely expressed his thoughts and beliefs in sentence form, the interpretation of his views (by means of Nota marks, brackets, and short glosses) is subject to change pending the discovery of additional evidence.

Space precludes textual analysis of Grandisson's *Life of Becket*, which is not in print, and for which a critical edition has not been written. Producing such an edition, for which Chapter VI may provide a beginning study, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The poor quality of plates for Lambeth Palace Library MS 203 is regrettable. Unfortunately, Lambeth Palace Library were unable to supply

glossy prints, but gave permission for copies to be taken from a microfilm held by the Bodleian Library.

My thanks go, above all, to Professor Malcolm Parkes, Fellow of Keble College, my mentor throughout this research. His suggestions, encouragement, and criticism, have been invaluable.

I wish also to thank the following: Dr. Avril Bruten, Professor Douglas Gray, and Dr. Ann Hudson for their valuable advice and assistance; and Ian Doyle, for information about manuscripts far afield. Dr. Neil Stratford and Dr. Anne Duggan answered questions on special points. Mrs. Edith Grout gave me information on the Grandisson family in Savoy and Lausanne, and Bryan and Daphne Webster took me on a tour of Grandisson sites in Herefordshire. I very much appreciate the support and assistance of Barbara Taylor, Hazel Schenk, and Philippa Smith in checking my Latin transcriptions, and of Richard Taylor and Delia Twamley in reading my text and making suggestions. I am grateful to the staff of the Bodleian Library for their patience and assistance, and for the gracious and thoughtful help I have received especially at Exeter Cathedral Library and at Lambeth Palace, but at other libraries in London, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Oxford, as well.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to Peggy Rundle for her support and assistance over a long period, to my sisters and brothers for their good advice and encouragement, and to my children who, at the outset, said, 'Go for it, Ma!', and have created no crises to call me home.

Margaret W. Steele

LIST OF PLATES

1-12 GRANDISSON'S HANDWRITING WITH THE PRINCIPAL VARIATIONS

1. London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 106
2. London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 118v
3. Exeter Cathedral MS 3549B, f. 169
4. Exeter Cathedral MS 3505, f. 1
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 230, facing f. 1
6. Register Grandisson, II, facing title page
7. Register Grandisson, I, facing title page
8. London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 74v
9. London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 75v
10. London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 76v
11. London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 83
12. London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 87

13-16 VARIATIONS OF GRANDISSON'S PRINCIPAL NOTA SYMBOLS

13. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 691, f. 147
14. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 691, f. 23
15. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 94, f. 135
16. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 94, f. 94v

17 GRANDISSON'S WORKING COPY OF A CONCORDANCE

17. Gonville-Caius College, Cambridge, MS Fragments 803-807 (40)

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Acta sanctorum J. Bolland and others, *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, uel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, quae collegit, digessit, notis illustravit* (Antwerp, 1643-)

Alan Alanus Abbat Tewkesberiensis, *Vita Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, printed in *Mats* (see below), II, 299-300; 323-52

Anon. I Anonymous I (Rogerius Pontiniacensis monachus), *Vita Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, printed in *Mats*, IV, 1-79

Anon. II Anonymous II, *Vita Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, printed in *Mats*, IV, 80-144

Barlow F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986)

Benedict Benedict, Petriburgensi Abbat, *Passio et Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis*, printed in *Mats*, II, 1-298

BHL *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols, supplement (1898-1901, 1911)

Bibl. nat. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale

Brit. Libr. London, British Library

BLR *Bodleian Library Record* (Oxford, 1939-)

Bodl. Libr. Oxford, Bodleian Library

Boyle, 'Wm. of Pagula' L. E. Boyle, 'A Study of the Works Attributed to William of Pagula with special reference to the *Oculus Sacerdotis* and *Summa Summarum*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1956)

Callus, 'New MSS' D. A. Callus, 'New Manuscripts of Kilwardby *Tabulae Super Originalia Patrum*', *Dominican Studies* II (1949), 38-45

Callus, *Tabulae* D. A. Callus, 'The *Tabulae super Originalia Patrum* of Robert Kilwardby, O. P.', *Studia Mediaevalia in honorem admodum Reverendi Patris Raymundi Josephi Martin* (Bruges, 1948)

CC *Corpus Christianorum*, series latina (Turnhout, 1953-)

CCCC *Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge

Coxe, *Catalogus* H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1852)

Coxe, *Catalogue (Laudian)* H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogue II: Laudian Manuscripts*, reprinted from edition of 1858-1885 with corrections, additions and historical introduction by R. W. Hunt (Oxford, 1973)

CPL *Clavis patrum latinorum*, ed. E. Dekkers (2nd edn, Steinbrugge, 1961)

CSEL *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (Vienna, 1866-)

Drage, 'Bishop Leofric' E. M. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter, 1050-1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1978)

Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum, sive Pandectae coenobiorum, Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum, a primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem*, eds John Caley, Henry Ellis and others, 6 vols (London, 1655-1673; rev. 1817-1830; repr. Gregg International Publishers, Westmead, Farnborough, 1970)

Edn I, II, III Dalton, J. N., ed., *Ordinal Exon*, HBS 37, 38, 63 (London, 1909-1926)

Edn IV Doble, G. H., ed., *Ordinal Exon: Appendix IV, 'Martyrologium Exon'* with indexes supplied by C. W. Surrey, HBS 79 (London, 1940)

Edwards, *Engl. Secular Cathedrals* K. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages: A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1949; rev. 1969)

EETS Early English Text Society (London, 1864-)

Emden, *BRUC* A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1963)

Emden, *BRUO* A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* (Oxford, 1957-1959)

Grim Edwardus Grim, *Vita Sancti Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, printed in *Mats*, II, 353-450

Guernes E. Walberg, ed., *La Vie de Saint Thomas le martyr par Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence* (London, 1922)

HBC E. B. Fryde, and others, eds, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn (London, 1986)

Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* *Henrici archidiaconi Huntendunensis historia Anglorum: The History of the English*, by Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154, in eight books, ed. T. Arnold, RS [74] (London, 1879)

Herbert Herbertus de Boseham, *Vita Sancti Thomae, Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, et *Excerpta ex Libro Melorum*, printed in *Mats*, III, 155-554

Hins. K. P. Hinschius, ed., *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863)

HMC Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Appendices to Reports V, VIII, IX, and Various Collections IV* (London, 1876-1938)

Holweck F. G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of Saints* (London, 1924)

HUO *History of the University of Oxford*, ed. J. I. Catto, 4 vols: I, II, III, V (1984-1992) I, *The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984); II, *Late Medieval Oxford*, with Ralph Evans, ed. (Oxford, 1992)

James, *Mediaeval MSS in Lambeth Palace* M. R. James, *A Descriptive*

Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: the Mediaeval Manuscripts (Cambridge, 1932)

John of Salis. Joannes Saresberiensis, *Vita Sancti Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, printed in *Mats*, II, 300-322

Kelly, *Jerome* J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome, His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London, 1975)

Ker, *Engl. MSS* N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century After the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, Lyell Lectures, 1952-1953; repr. 1960)

Ker, *MLGB* N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, iii (2nd edn, London, 1964) and *Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. by A. G. Watson (London, 1987)

Ker, *MMBL* N. R. Ker, ed., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, I-III (Oxford, 1969-1983) with A. J. Piper, ed., for IV (Oxford, 1992)

Knowles, *EC* D. Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (Cambridge, 1951)

Knowles, *TB* D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1970)

McKisack M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959, repr. 1976)

Mats J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard, eds, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols, RS [67] (London, 1875-85)

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica, G. H. Pertz, ed., and others, (Hannover, 1826)

Nicene Fathers *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, eds H. Wace and P. Schaff, ns, vols 1-8, 10-14 (Oxford, 1890-1900)

OHS Oxford Historical Society, vols 1-101, ns 1- (Oxford, 1885-)

Oliver, *Lives* G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral* (Exeter, 1861-1887)

Pächt and Alexander O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1966-1973)

Pantin, *Engl. Church* W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955; repr. Toronto, 1980)

Parkes, *ECBH* M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500* (Oxford, 1969; repr. London, 1979)

Parkes, *P&E* M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect, An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992)

Parkes, *SS&R* M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991)

Pfaff, *New Liturg. Feasts* R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970)

PL *Patrologia cursus completus*, series latina, accurante J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844-1855)

Quad. J. C. Robertson, ed., *Tractatus de Vita et Passione de beati Thomae, Archiepiscopi et Martyris, e diversis auctoribus excerptus, seu Quadrilogus*, printed in *Mats*, IV, 266-424

Reg. I, II, III *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, AD 1327-1369*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 3 vols (London, Exeter, 1894-1899)

Reg. Stapeldon *The Register of Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter, AD 1307-1326*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1892)

Registrum Anglie R. H. and M. A. Rouse, *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum* (London, 1991)

Rev. bénéd. *Revue bénédictine*, (Maredsous, Belgae, 1883-)

Römer 276 F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Sitzungsberichte, Band 276 (Vienna, 1972)

Rouse, 'The A Text' R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The A Text of Seneca's Tragedies in the Thirteenth Century', *Revue d'histoire des textes* (Paris, 1971) I, 93-121

Rouse, *Statim Invenire* R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'Statim Invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds R. L. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1982), pp. 201-25

RS Rolls Series: i.e., *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* (London, 1859-1896)

SC *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, eds F. Madan, H. Craster and others (Oxford, 1922-1953)

S., Schmitt F. S. Schmitt, ed. *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1949-51)

Smalley, *Friars* B. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960)

Smalley, *Study* B. Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (3rd edn, Oxford, 1983, repr. 1984)

TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1873-)

Ward, *Catalogue of Romances* H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1883-1910; repr. 1961)

Wilkins, *Concilia* D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 3 vols (London, 1737)

Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels* A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Âge latin* (Paris, 1932)

Wm. Willelmus Cantuariensis, *Vita, Passio, et Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi*, printed in *Mats*, I

Wm. F-S Willelmus Filius Stephani, *Vita Sancti Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, printed in *Mats*, III, 1-154

General Abbreviations and Conventions

a/b	left and right column designations
art.	article
c., <i>circa</i>	'about'; used with approximate dates
ch., cap.	chapter, <i>capitula</i>
col., cols	column(s)
d.	died
ed., eds	editor, edited, editors
edn	edition
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , 'for example'
esp.	especially
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , 'and so forth'
<i>et seq.</i>	<i>et sequentes</i> , 'and following'
f.	folio
ff.	folios
fig.	figure
fl.	<i>floruit</i> , 'flourished'
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , 'that is'
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
n, nn	note(s)
n.d.	no date (of publication)
no.	number
ns	new series
os	original series
p., pp.	page(s)
Ps.	Psalms
pt	part
r	recto of a leaf (omitted except with column)
repr.	reprinted
resp.	respectively
rev.	revised
s., <i>siècle</i>	(century), followed by roman numeral
sect.	section
<i>sic</i>	thus in the original
<i>signe de renvoi</i>	a sign used to connect a piece of text to a marginal note
s.n.	<i>sub nomine</i> , 'under the name' in classification
St	Saint
trans.	translated
v	verso of a leaf
vol., vols	volume(s)
[]	used around numbers for volumes assigned in the Rolls Series

The principal conventions employed when transcribing from manuscripts are as follows:

Symbols to indicate Grandisson's marks:

C	paraph
P	<i>paragraphus</i>
∴	<i>positura</i>
*	Grandisson's 'star' used to attract attention
3-<	excerpt marks

Other conventions:

.	(<i>punctus</i>) a point on the line or medially in the written space
./	(<i>punctus elevatus</i>) Grandisson's chief indication of a medial pause
.~	(<i>punctus interrogativus</i>) used to indicate the end of a question
< >	indicate the manuscript is deficient through damage or letters are hidden by the binding. Letters are supplied where possible.
()	enclose editorial comment
	indicates the end of a manuscript line in transcription.

Punctuation and capitalization of transcriptions follow the manuscript; medial points are indicated by a point on the line. Transcriptions quoted from printed works follow the editor's punctuation, but English translations have modern punctuation.

Latin abbreviations in the manuscript have been expanded silently, except in cases where it is important to identify the form or shape of the abbreviated note. The word *et* is substituted for Grandisson's characteristic Tironian (7-shaped) form. Scribal additions above or below the line are indicated by *superscript*, *infrascript*. Continuous underlining follows Grandisson's practice in headings and glosses. Nota (Notae) refer to Grandisson's symbols or monograms; 'Nota' refers to the word 'note'.

Formulae for dates, based on palaeographical opinion, follow list given by Parkes, *P&E*, p. xv.

CHAPTER I--INTRODUCTION

John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter from 1327 until his death in 1369, is less well known than some of his contemporaries. He firmly avoided royal service, rarely left his remote diocese, and kept out of the limelight. At first he considered his diocese to be a wilderness, saying that he had not been placed at the ends of the earth, but at the very 'ends of the ends' (*in finium finibus*). He soon discovered this to be an advantage, and said that although he was denied the company of the nobles of the land, he was also free from their incursions.¹

He was born at Ashperton in Herefordshire in 1292. His ancestors on his father's side were said to have been allied to the Dukes of Burgundy and to Queen Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III. His uncle, Otho de Grandisson, was a friend and confidant of Edward I, and served both him and his successor on important diplomatic missions to Avignon and Gascony. On Grandisson's mother's side of the family his great uncle was St Thomas of Cantilupe, Chancellor of England under Henry III, and bishop of Hereford. Grandisson studied civil law at Oxford, then went with his brother Thomas to study at Paris where his tutor was Jacques Fournier, the future Pope Benedict XII. By about 1320 he had become chaplain to Pope John XXII who became his friend and patron and who eventually provided him to the see of Exeter.² In many ways Grandisson, with his Burgundian background, his familiarity with Paris, Avignon, and Westminster, his extensive friendships among scholars and clergy,³ could be considered cosmopolitan; nevertheless, from his glosses to copies of universal histories which draw attention to events taking place in England, it is evident that he increasingly identified with things English, and especially with the West Country which had become his home.

When he arrived in his diocese, he found it saddled with enormous

financial debts to the Roman Curia incurred by his predecessors and redounding on him because of his papal appointment. He cleared the debts, subsequently made the diocese into one of the wealthiest in England, and the Cathedral into one of the most beautiful, 'which will shine with pulchritude' (*pulcritudine renitebit*), he said.⁴ By his first acts he began to acquire a reputation as a reforming bishop. Law and order were gradually restored to the government of the Church,⁵ discipline reintroduced into the administration of its finances,⁶ and the education of the clergy improved.⁷ One of his major reforms was that of the liturgy and customs of his Cathedral Church. He compiled an Ordinal, a set of directions for the conduct of services at the Cathedral, in which he specified readings for the Church Year, but no contemporary copy survives.⁸

The subject of this study is the books which Grandisson owned and used. He was unusual for his time in annotating books and leaving in them the apparatus which would assist future readers.⁹ He first read books to complete his education.¹⁰ He explored careers and philosophies, and discovered what it meant to be a bishop. He developed an interest in history and kept it to the end of his days, reading for recreation as well as for information. Some books, such as his Hebrew texts, Augustine's *Confessiones* and *De civitate Dei*, or the three-volume set of Augustine's commentaries on the Psalms, were used to continue his scholarly study, as his annotations show. In his vocation, he used books containing doctrine or canon law,¹¹ and he studied the letters of outstanding bishops, such as Gregory the Great (no. 33) and Anselm (no. 16), who served as models of integrity and provided precedents in administration. He was concerned for the quality and accuracy of books provided for the clergy.¹² For their benefit, he read and marked the lives of saints for use in a legendary which he compiled (manuscript nos 83-84), and he marked books to be read aloud to them as lections or homelies in the Office.

The books which are associated with Grandisson fall into two general categories: those which he owned, or borrowed for his personal use from sources outside Exeter (nos 1-31); and those which belonged to Exeter Cathedral and were available to him when he arrived (nos 32-90). He annotated prolifically all of the books that interested him; his large splayed hand used for titles or inscriptions of ownership has been familiar to palaeographers for some time, but his glossing hand and his 'book hand' have not previously been identified and described. Besides Grandisson's glosses, his distinctive Nota monograms, pointing fingers, and brackets, his subject headings, corrections, tables of contents and running titles, all constitute commentary on the text. Grandisson rarely challenged *auctoritates*,¹³ and his annotation 'Nota, Nota, Nota', indicated the strength of his agreement.

Grandisson turned to the Scriptures: his copies of a Hebrew grammar and a Hebrew Pentateuch indicate that he studied Hebrew. Among the Fathers, his glosses show that he knew the works of Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory.¹⁴ His glosses of books of canon law show how he studied them in order to make decisions in his capacity as ordinary. The passages glossed relate to drunkenness or incontinence among the clergy, marriage relationships, unlicensed chapels or unauthorized priests, heresy, and encroachments on the liberties of the Church. It took a 'bold fellow', as Grandisson said of himself,¹⁵ to stand for what was right in the fourteenth century, and Grandisson's confidence came from his knowing what was right through his reading. In the few contests in which he engaged, he usually won, but sometimes he had to bow to the superior power of Pope or Crown.¹⁶

The question arises as to whether Grandisson's contemporaries, especially bishops, were 'bookish' kinds of people, or was Grandisson unique? There are two kinds of book-lovers; those who love books as

possessions (like silver cups and palfreys), and those who love them because of the content and use them. Grandisson was of the latter kind. All bibliophiles delight in being surrounded by books, but view them differently, and the size of the library is probably only a fair indication of the love of reading. Did a collector like Richard Bury, whose acquisition of books was deemed 'fanatical', ever have time to read all of the books he acquired?¹⁷ Bury speaks in the *Philobiblon* of dividing his time between the 'study of truth' and the 'dispensation of temporal things'; we know that someone read aloud at mealtime and that his bed was surrounded by books.¹⁸ However, since he was heavily involved with the king's business and other administrative affairs, it is doubtful whether he had time to read the five cart-loads, or more, of books which he is said to have possessed, and reports about his erudition are equivocal.¹⁹

Since reading requires time (given facility in Latin grammar and vocabulary), one would consider monks, in this case monastic bishops, to have had more time to read than others. Among archbishops of Canterbury contemporary with Grandisson from Robert Winchelsey (1295-1313, for whom Emden, *BRUO*, lists forty-five books), to William Whittlesey (1369-1374, who owned libraries and also wrote books), it was Simon Langham (1366-1368), a Benedictine, who had the most books to survive, eighty-two titles.²⁰

Among Grandisson's bishop contemporaries, the following evidence is derived from Emden:²¹

Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bath and Wells 1329-1363, gave Lyra's Postills on the Old Testament to Oriel College

Simon Meopham, Canterbury 1328-1333, owned 3 books; possible author of *Speculum Regis Edwardi*, and a tract on governorship

William Reade, Chichester 1369-1385, had a library of some 370 books which he distributed among colleges

Walter Skirlaw, Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Durham 1385-1406, gave books and money to various colleges

Thomas Arundel, Ely 1374-1388, gave books to the University of Oxford
 Lewis Charleton, Hereford 1361-1369, bequeathed books to his Cathedral
 William Courtenay, Hereford, London, Canterbury 1369-1396, gave books to Maidstone College
 Richard Gravesend, London 1280-1303, owned a library of 58 volumes
 Ralph Baldock, London 1306-1313, gave over 126 books to his Cathedral
 Richard Newport, London 1317-1318, gave his books and houses for a chantry for two priests
 Stephen Gravesend, London 1318-1338, had at least 15-20 books; gave two to St Paul's Cathedral
 Michael Northburgh, London 1355-1361, owned books on canon and civil law; made a concordance of same
 William Bateman, Norwich 1344-1355, founded Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and gave it 84 books
 John Sheppey, Rochester 1353-1360, gave Aristotle's *Metaphysica nova* to Rochester Priory; owned part of Merton MS 0.1.1. (another part owned by Simon Islip)
 Thomas Trillek, Rochester 1364-1372, owned 'a considerable collection'; 20 or so acquired by William Reade
 Simon of Ghent, Salisbury 1297-1315, owned *De vita solitaria* and *Meditacio de statu prelati*
 Roger Martival, Salisbury 1315-1330, gave 6 books to Merton College, Oxford
 John Stratford, Winchester, Canterbury 1323-1348, wrote a 'repeticio' and perhaps sermons
 Thomas Cobham, Worcester 1317-1327, built a library to house his books which had to be sold (to Adam de Brome)
 William Greenfield, York 1306-1315, bequeathed books to St Albans Abbey
 John Thoresby, York 1347-1373, wrote *The Layfolks' Catechism*

This list, drawing from fifteen dioceses over a period of approximately seventy-five years, gives only a partial view. Survival of libraries and of records of books is a matter of chance. For example, the Register of Simon Langham as archbishop of Canterbury still survives, but that of Walter Skirlaw, an active churchman and builder, bishop of Durham, does not. I have not attempted here to account for books which may have slipped through A. B. Emden's net. Information drawn from wills or college records would not include the books which might be given away privately over a lifetime, and at best, the list is only an indication of a trend.

Only four bishops, Thomas Arundel, Lewis Charleton, William Baldock, and Stephen Gravesend, gave books to their cathedrals, as Grandisson did. In the fourteenth century archbishops, and bishops who could afford to, founded or supported colleges with money and books. William Reade's collection far exceeded any of the others I have mentioned. He gave one

hundred books to Merton College, another hundred to New College, and gifts of money and books to Exeter, Queens, Balliol and Oriel Colleges. His career has been summarized and his books listed by F. M. Powicke.²² Grandisson admitted Reade 'ad omnes Sacres Ordines' by letter dimissory, August 17, 1354, and according to Hingeston-Randolph, Reade was called 'Exoniensi Clerico, Sacre Pagine Professori' in petition to the pope (1358).²³

Those who spent a greater proportion of their lives in *academia* had more opportunities to read and acquire books than those who turned early to royal service. Thus Thomas Bradwardine, Walter Burley, Thomas Buckingham, Richard FitzRalph, read and studied books, as we know from their writings. By contrast, Stephen Kettelbergh and John Lutterell, friends of Grandisson and of each other from early days in Avignon, 1319-1326, left no record of books, though Kettelbergh became a lawyer for the Court of the Advocates, and Lutterell was chancellor of Oxford University.²⁴

It has been said of Thomas Trillek and Lewis Charleton that they (like Grandisson) rarely left their dioceses after becoming bishop, but this was exceptional.²⁵ Most bishops of Exeter after Grandisson combined service to the diocese with service to the government. Several may have come to the king's notice through their early association with St George's Chapel, Windsor.²⁶ The bishops after Grandisson (and before 1506, the date of the next recorded Exeter Inventory) were, with their years of service in the diocese, Thomas Brantingham (24+), Edmund Stafford (24+), Edmund Lacy (35, eight or so of his books survive), George Nevill (7), John Booth (13), Peter Courtenay (7), Richard Fox (5, founded Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and grammar schools at Grantham and Taunton), Oliver King (3), Richard Redman (5+), John Arundel (2), Hugh Oldham (14+, gave 6,000 marks to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for endowment).²⁷ Most of these bishops held high administrative posts in government or university, either concurrently or after they left Exeter, and there is little record of their

books. It is not surprising that Grandisson, who served for forty-two years, added the most books to the Cathedral library.

In the twelfth century, Exeter had had schools of both theology and law which continued into the thirteenth century, but by Grandisson's time, the schools had become defunct.²⁸ Walter Meriet, awarded the dignity of chancellor in January 1323, and still chancellor when Grandisson became bishop, was by statute responsible for the education of cathedral clergy and required to give claustral lectures twice a week. But he regarded his position as a sinecure; he was absent most of the time and, being a royal favourite, could not be removed.²⁹ Not until the arrival of Thomas Buckingham in March 1346, were the duties of the chancellor properly fulfilled.³⁰ Meanwhile, Grandisson encouraged clergy to attend universities in England or abroad. In the first twelve years of his episcopate under the Constitution *Cum ex eo*, of Boniface VIII, he granted 360 licences for study to candidates of whom 108 were already priests and 142 already held the title of 'Magister'. He strengthened the collegiate foundations of Crediton, Glasney, St Probus, and St Crantock, and he established a new foundation for the Church of St Mary Ottery in 1337. He provided new books for the Cathedral and improved the old ones so that an educated clergy might have them available for use.

After his first visitation to virtually every corner of the diocese, Grandisson seems to have left much of the work of inspection and discipline to commissaries; he worked from his manors at Chudleigh or Clyst. Among the expense accounts of the time, there are no amounts for book-producing materials, ruling out any kind of scriptorium at Exeter. Grandisson seems to have worked alone on books except for the occasional sentence or paragraph which appears in another hand. He was not short of qualified scribes, had he chosen to have them copy books (among whom were Benedict Paston the younger, bishop's chancellor; John Chaille and David Alyam, registrars in the

early years and both notaries). It seems likely that, instead, he used his contacts at Oxford, London, Hereford, Paris and Avignon, to learn of books and obtain them.

Grandisson may be compared favourably with two outstanding figures whose interests were similar to his: ^{Robert} Grosseteste (c.1175-1253) about seventy-five years before Grandisson, and ^{Thomas} Gascoigne (1404-1459) who flourished about fifty years after him. Grosseteste was more prolific in writing than Grandisson, as his many books attest, and he had more years of formal education so far as records indicate. Their interests were similar, but their emphases were different.³¹ Grosseteste attempted to classify in his *Compendium Scientiarum* all the departments of knowledge then known; Grandisson gave his Cathedral an Ordinal and Lectionary. Each valued education for the clergy, thought that studies should be made of original writings rather than translations and abridgements, deemed it necessary to acquire Greek and Hebrew in order to read *originalia*. Both held that the cure of souls was paramount; both were stalwart in defense of the liberties of the Church.

Gascoigne loved books and wrote in them, much as Grandisson did. In attitude and aspirations, however, they were far apart, for Gascoigne had 'contempt for civilians' and 'declined the cure of souls'.³² He did, however, believe in preaching, and he urged reform of the faults of the Church. It seems he was most at home as chancellor of Oxford University. He was involved with the University from c.1420-1457, being supported by his father's estate. He did not act effectively in his other appointments, some of which he could not fulfill because of ill health (he died at fifty-five). He was a voracious reader who gave books to Oxford colleges. His biographer says of him, 'No one would claim that Gascoigne was an original thinker, but he was a persistent and careful scholar'.

Whereas Thomas Bradwardine, Grandisson's contemporary, wrote a book on 'The Cause of God', Grandisson wrote a Life of Thomas Becket. The contrast highlights the focus of the two bishops; Bradwardine's was theoretical, while Grandisson's was concerned with practical problems in the cure of souls. Grandisson's theology, like Bradwardine's, was shaped by Augustine, but Grandisson did not indulge in speculation nor scholastic debate, though he learned the vocabulary. He accepted much on faith, as he once wrote in connection with the Trinity (MS no. 32, f. 115ra). His primary concern was to care for the welfare of the people in his charge.

Grandisson was born five years later than Richard de Bury and in the same year as Bradwardine, both bookish men like himself. With both he stands in marked contrast. De Bury despised civil law,³³ and filled his life full of political missions so that he had more time to collect books than to study them; Bradwardine acquired eminence as a scholar and author, and adopted radical positions concerning free will and contingency that Grandisson, a traditionalist and moderate, would not publicly debate.³⁴ Grandisson called his books into service to make him a better bishop, and fortunately for his diocese, he lived to serve forty-two years as teacher in the cure of souls.

CHAPTER I--NOTES

1. 'Et ecce Pater dulcissime, dum nedum in mundi finibus, set ut ita dicam in finium finibus consisto'; *Reg.* I, 97, Ltr.7. 'sicut eorum non potero plerisque Nobilitatibus interesse, ita nec eorum incursibus turbinibusve conquacior aut procellis'; *Reg.* I, 101, Ltr. 11. See *Reg.* III, Preface, xx.
2. See Grandisson's pedigree, *Reg.* III, opposite title page. On Otho de Grandisson, C. L. Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandisson, 1238?-1328', *TRHS* (3rd series, III, 1909), 125-95. On Thomas of Cantilupe, *DNB*.

Jacques Fournier left Paris in 1317; P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des Maitres en Théologie de Paris au xiii^e siècle*, XVIII (Paris, 1934), no. 370, pp. 265-66 and *La Faculté des arts et ses maitres xiii^e siècle*, (Paris, 1971), p. 439, sect. 1707. In 1317 Grandisson's brother Thomas was prosecuting a suit in Avignon; it may be that Grandisson accompanied him.
3. Information on Grandisson's life is found in the following: Emden, *BRUO*, 800-801; *DNB*; Frances Rose-Troup, *Bishop Grandisson, Student and Art-Lover* (Plymouth, 1929). Theses: Donald J. Cawthron, 'The Episcopal Administration of the Diocese of Exeter in the Fourteenth Century with Special Reference to the Registers of Stapeldon, Grandisson, and Brantingham' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1951); G. R. Dunstan, 'Parish Clergy in the Diocese of Exeter in the Century after the Black Death' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Leeds, 1939).
4. *Reg.* I, 97, Ltr. 7.
5. *Ibid.* II, 807-809.
6. *Ibid.* II, 701.
7. *Ibid.* I, 524; II, 666-69.
8. Ch. V, p. 189.
9. See Ch. III, p. 97, and nos 34-36.
10. Nos 1, 2.
11. Nos 12, 32, 38-40.
12. See Ch. V, p. 184.
13. Ch. IV, pp. 146, 148-49.
14. See below, Ch. II, IV.
15. *Reg.* I, 294.
16. McKisack, p. 171.

John de Grandisson fined 200 marks for contempt in not admitting a clerk presented by the king to Suthill Church. *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward III, A.D. 1349-1354* (London, 1906), IX, 423.

Another instance of controversy: 'Mandate by Peter, cardinal priest of the title of St. Praxedis, and Bertrand, cardinal deacon of St Mary in Aquiro, to the bishop of Exeter for the payment of all sums remaining unpaid of their procurations for the current year. . . , 26 May 1338, Ind. VI, a. 4 Bened. XII'; *ibid.*, no. 2224, p. 78. Grandisson resisted payment of procurations, at least during this year.

'Mandate of the official of the court of Canterbury to bishop John, requiring him to annul the collation of John de Northwode, 27 Jan. 1329/30'; HMC Appendix to *Various Collections IV* (London, 1876-1938), no. 2206, p. 77. Grandisson had appointed his nephew to a canonry which was beyond the statutory number.

17. C. R. Cheney, 'Notes and Documents: Richard de Bury, Borrower of Books', *Speculum*, 48 (April 1973), 325-28; p. 325.
18. E. C. Thomas, trans., *The Love of Books Being the Philobiblon of Richard de Bury* (Oxford, 1903; rev. by M. Maclagan, 1960; repr. 1970), ch. xiv, p. 133; Intro., p. xxvii. N. Denholm-Young, 'Richard de Bury (1287-1345)' *TRHS*, 4th series XX (1937), 135-68, esp. 148-49.
19. Cheney, p. 325; Emden, *BRUO*, 325.
20. Information concerning the bishops is taken only from *HBC*, and from Emden, *BRUO*, *BRUC*. Spelling of proper names is as given in *HBC*, and dates begin with the date of consecration. *HBC*, p. 233 (Canterbury) and Emden, *BRUO*, pp. 2057-59; 2040-41; 1095-97, resp.
21. The list of bishops is arranged alphabetically for convenience. Page nos follow the book title, and for *HBC* are respective to the order of the bishop's translation to another diocese.

Thomas Arundel, *HBC* 244; *BRUO* 51-53
 Ralph Baldock, *HBC* 258; *BRUO* (Appendix) 2147-49
 William Bateman, *HBC* 244; *BRUC* 44
 Lewis Charleton, *HBC* 250; *BRUO* 391-92
 Thomas Cobhan, *HBC* 279; *BRUO* 450-51
 William Courtenay, *HBC* 250, 258, 233; *BRUO* 502-04
 Simon of Ghent, *HBC* 270; *BRUO* 759-60
 Richard Gravesend, *HBC* 257; *BRUO* 804-05
 Stephen Gravesend, *HBC* 258; *BRUO* 805-06
 William Greenfield, *HBC* 282; *BRUO* 820-21
 Roger Martival, *HBC* 270; *BRUO* 1232-33
 Simon Meopham, *HBC* 233; *BRUO* 1261
 Richard Newport, *HBC* 258; *BRUO* 1357-58
 Michael Northburgh, *HBC* 258; *BRUO* 1368-70
 William Reade, *HBC* 239; *BRUO* 1556-60
 John Sheppey, *HBC* 267; *BRUO* 1683-84
 Ralph of Shrewsbury, *HBC* 228; *BRUO* 1698-99
 Walter Skirlaw, *HBC* 253, 228, 242; *BRUO* 1708-10

John Stratford, *HBC* 277, 233; *BRUO* 1796-98
 John Thoresby, *HBC* 297, 279, 282; *BRUO* 1864-65
 Thomas Trillek, *HBC* 267; *BRUO* 1906-08

22. *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford, 1931). William Reade's career is summarized on pp. 28-32. See Powicke also for the following: Simon of Ghent, p. 236; Richard Gravesend, p. 211; Stephen Gravesend, pp. 2, 111; Roger Martival, p. 109; John Sheppey, pp. 29-31, 171; Thomas Trillek, pp. 29, 31, 174-80.
23. *Reg.* II, 113 and n2.
24. Kettlebergh, Emden, *BRUO*, 1043, died 1358; Lutterell, Emden, *BRUO*, 1181-82, died early, 1335.
25. Pantin, *Engl. Church*, pp. 11-14.
26. Among those associated with St. George's Chapel, Windsor, are Peter Courtenay (1476-77), Emden *BRUO*, 499; John Arundel (1479-1496), Emden, *BRUO*, 51; and Oliver King (1492-1496), Emden, *BRUC*, 343.
27. *HBC*, 'Exeter', 246-47; Emden, *BRUO*, Foxe, 715-19; Oldham, 1396-97.
28. Edwards, *Engl. Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 186-87; 204-5. There is no evidence of such organized instruction in Grandisson's time. As K. Edwards points out, 'The rise of the universities and of the theological schools of the friars preacher naturally had a depressing effect on the teaching provided at the cathedrals in theology and law', p. 204.
29. *Reg.* II, 910-11.
30. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 281.
31. Information about Grosseteste summarized from F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste: Bishop of Lincoln* (London, 1899). He was highly praised for acuity by Leland and Geraldus Cambrensis (pp. 7-8; 12-13), although the details of his early education are murky. Grosseteste was 'magister' at Oxford by 1199 (p. 8); he spent some years in Paris, taking the degree of Master there, and returned to Oxford to complete a degree in divinity (pp. 17-18), eventually becoming chancellor of the University between 1214-1232 (p. 29). See also D. A. Callus, *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop* (Oxford, 1955) pp. xv, 1-69.

The details of Grandisson's early tutelage are similarly obscure (Emden, *BRUO*, 800-801). He began the study of civil law at an early age, but was studying in Paris by 1314 under Jacques Fournier. It is likely that he took advantage of opportunities for study at Avignon later (from 1320 or so), but there is no record of his taking a degree.

On the classification of learning, Stevenson, pp. 20, 49. On the importance of the cure of souls, Grosseteste's Letter 128; Grandisson's Letter 248, *Reg.* I, 292: 'Et nescimus quando in cura animarum proficiet qui iam seipsum spiritualiter non curet'. Concerning liberties of the Church, Grosseteste's Letter 128; Grandisson: *Reg.* II, 914-16, 1199.

32. Information about Gascoigne summarized from W. Pronger, 'Thomas Gascoigne', *EHR*, vol. LIII (1938), 606-26; *EHR*, vol. LIV (1939), 20-37.
33. *Philobiblon* (note 18, above), chapter XI, pp. 116-21. Civil law: 'useful only as the scorpion in treacle', p. 119.
34. Pantin, *Engl. Church*, p. 139.

CHAPTER II--GRANDISSON'S PERSONAL BOOKS

The number of Grandisson's personal books which survive is substantial, for he began to acquire books as a student and continued to acquire them as a lifelong habit. He purchased some (nos 5 and 8), commissioned a few (nos 6 and 11), compiled a collection of Anselm's letters (no. 16), borrowed and annotated others which he later returned (no. 17). This chapter will identify Grandisson's personal books.

In the books he owned, Grandisson inscribed 'Ego Johannes de Grandissono', or in more abbreviated form, 'J. de G.'. His Exeter connection after he became bishop was signified by 'J. de G. Exon' or 'J. Ex.'. Many of his personal books can also be identified because he recorded the fact that he gave them away, either specifying them as bequests in his Will or inscribing the record of his donation, for example: 'Do ecclesie Exoniensis manu propria' (Plate 4). A few manuscripts bear his heraldic arms, 'paly of six argent and azure, a bend gules, charged with a mitre between two eaglets displayed, or'. One identifies other Grandisson books by the presence of his handwriting in inscriptions and glosses, by his symbols, and by his apparatus. His hand is found repeatedly throughout his personal books.

Grandisson's handwriting belongs to the category of experiments to adapt the engrossing hand for use in books which appear at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹ He modified his handwriting for different purposes, but three versions may be identified.

1. The first is the version which Grandisson used for his glosses. It contains a mixture of cursive forms (*f* and *s* with descenders, long-tailed *r*, round-backed *d* in which the ascender was formed by means of a double

curve, and the Anglicana form of short final-s), with letters where the treatment of ascenders is derived from the smaller Textura hands found in academic contexts. The identity of this hand is attested by the presence of his autograph in an entry in this hand on f. 106 of Lambeth MS 203 (Plate 1). Another example, more carefully written, appears on f. 118v (Plate 2).

Grandisson used a larger, slightly more formal treatment of this version when he copied a text in Exeter Cathedral MS 3549B (Plate 3) which contains two of Grandisson's ownership inscriptions. The treatment here is more closely based on the earlier smaller Textura hands. He adopted short-*r* to replace the long-tailed form, *f* and *s* without descenders, and replaced the cursive final-s form with the 'capital' form more common in book hands. He also completed the minim strokes with more prominent feet.

Other distinguishing features of the glossing hand are the 'belted' *a*, made with a looped stroke (with feet curved to the right) followed by a cross-bar (but see Plate 5, where the *a* is sometimes made with three strokes). Though this shape of *a* is most frequent, Grandisson used the 'tall' *a*, the two-compartment *a* (the latter replaced the belted *a* in later years), and the 'headless' *a* with his Nota signs. The letter *e* is characteristically tipped backwards and often larger or more pronounced than surrounding letters (Plate 7). The tongue of letter *e* is extended into a finishing stroke (omitted if space is cramped, exaggerated in other instances). I have found the highly current, so-called 'reversed' *e* used alongside the other kind of *e* in samples of Grandisson's writing. It appeared in hands of Grandisson's *Register* as early as 1328 (Plate 6).

Grandisson's *i*'s almost invariably have a hairline curved to the right over them, and he added this to texts to help distinguish *i* from other letters formed with minims. (Legibility is much improved by this feature.) In the early glossing hand, *h*, *l*, and *b* have split ascenders; this early hand was flourished with approach strokes and hairlines which became less frequent

over time. The letters *h* and initial *m* have finishing strokes that curve under the letter to the left; *x*'s finishing stroke curves left then right. Sometimes an earlier form of *d* appears, with single slanted ascender, slightly curved (Plate 5, line 6, 'ad'). In capital forms, letters *A* and *I* have approach strokes, *D* is open at the top, and *E* is round with a tongue that sometimes extends beyond the letter, and with a vertical bar coming from the top, which may intersect the tongue. The Tironian (7-shaped) form of *et* is made with a curve or wave in the upper stroke, and the finishing stroke (cross-bar) slanted downwards to the left.

In 1929 Frances Rose-Troup called attention to the entry on f. 106 of Lambeth MS 203, and others have recognized this hand when it is found in conjunction with his autograph or his more easily recognized display script.² In the example cited the hand is somewhat larger than in notes elsewhere in the manuscript.

2. Grandisson used a large Anglicana formata as a 'display script' (Plates 4, 5), attested by his use of it for inscriptions of ownership.³ In its largest size, the letters were traced separately and do not flow. This hand did not change much throughout his life. As the word 'display' connotes, he seems to have used it to attract attention (his own or others'); it therefore appears in Cathedral books (or books he gave to the Cathedral) more than in his own personal collection.

In these two versions, entries in Grandisson's hand have a certain consistency, but inevitably over a span of more than forty years, some changes took place. Grandisson's early hand used 'long-tailed' *r*'s and *s*'s (descenders going below the line), with pronounced shoulder to the *r*--the throat grew narrower as the years progressed, and when space was limited. (He often used the 2-shaped *r* medially in the word.) He adopted the cursive form of *s* very early, at first in conjunction with the long-tailed form (Plate 1), and regularly in current handwriting (Plate 7). He also used the capital form of *s*, especially in initial or final position and in display script (Plate 5, 'Scolastice', 'Similiter').

The letter *g* is the most variable of all. He used a small figure 8 form, without a finishing stroke at the top. He also used a somewhat larger form and 'capped' the upper lobe with a straight finishing stroke, either parallel with the line or tipping down slightly. The lower bowl had differing degrees of roundness, and for a time a sharp point to the left was a feature. One could find several shapes of *g* in just a few lines of contiguous text (Plate 5).

Grandisson varied his script for calligraphic effects. Probably the roundness of the aspect and the flourishes depended somewhat on mood and whether he was in a hurry, for it appears that he liked to embellish his writing. A general characteristic of Grandisson's handwriting is its evenness, especially with his medium-sized glossing hand, (Larger writing showed less consistency.) He was concerned for legibility; therefore, any kind of 'scrawl' suggests illness or some other loss of control. His handwriting did not materially deteriorate with age, although he tended to use more display script in later years, and his glossing hand became larger. He seems not to have lost his sight appreciably, for his hand in the *Speculum historiale* (post-1362) is still capable of writing fairly small.⁴

The chief differences between Grandisson's earlier hands and his later ones are that he regularly used the 'two-compartment' *a* where he formerly had used the 'belted' *a*; *h* and *l* have a loop or hook instead of split ascenders as formerly; *e* has lost the tongue (except in final position). Ligatures in the writing are more common, and *de* is consistently 'bitten', but the flow is broken in those words containing the two-compartment *a*, and they tend to have discrete letters. Grandisson's ink scripts, whether formal or flourished, seemed intended to endure, because they were in ink, and correspondingly, were written carefully. It may be that he also wrote more temporary notes in crayon or pencil which, being in a different medium, are often harder to identify. Some of the crayon or pencil subject

headings and glosses may be identified as Grandisson's because the nature of their content and the accompanying text harmonize with Grandisson's interests shown by his certainly identified ink glosses.

3. Grandisson also used a *fere-textura* for correcting texts. This appears in Augustine's *Confessiones* in Lambeth MS 203 which he says he 'laboured to correct'. As he claims twice to have corrected the copy of the *Confessiones* himself, I believe that all of the corrections in that work are in his hand. However, elsewhere this version of his hand varies considerably according to the context in which it appears, but it does occur in manuscripts with Grandisson's inscriptions and glossing hand. It cannot be identified with certainty where there is no other evidence of Grandisson's correction of the text, or where he seeks to imitate the hand of the original scribe (Plate 6). I have chosen to call this 'book' hand (Plate 11). Sometimes space required that the hand be very small. Grandisson omitted extra strokes (*r* and *s* were cut off at the line, and the finishing strokes on *h*, *x*, *m* were foreshortened, as well as the descenders on *p* and *q*). Grandisson used a straight, rather than a slanted, pen, and the letters appear square. When Grandisson used this script, one has to examine letter forms, accompanying apparatus, and the content of the gloss in its context. The uncertainty arises in the lack of consistency in this hand, and in qualities of imitation which make this an artificial style.

In manuscripts in which Grandisson's handwriting appears, he also used several symbols. First, his headings are almost invariably preceded by a 'star' or asterisk, and he completed his headings with a version of the *positura* (denoted '.;.').⁵ Secondly, most of his marginal notes are preceded by a monogram Nota symbol. He used two forms (Plates 13, 14) and one rounded *littera notabilia* N followed by o with suprascript a (Plate 8). He used the words 'Nota bene' (Plate 8) or 'Nota, Nota, Nota' to indicate degrees of emphasis. He tended to use certain symbols throughout a particular text, but one of the Nota (square-shaped) monograms appears so much more frequently than the others that it may be regarded as a hallmark (Plate 13). The second was used throughout the Cathedral copy of Augustine's *De*

civitate Dei (no. 32), especially on f. 23rb, where it appears with Grandisson's distinctive pointing hand (Plate 14).

The figure of a graceful pointing hand is a most important Grandisson symbol. It is long and narrow, with abnormally elongated second finger, with joints and fingernail defined and with other fingers curved under (Plate 1). The hand (hereafter referred to as 'pointing' or 'index finger' to avoid confusion with scribal 'hand') almost always has a cuff, and usually buttons, as well. Grandisson's first known use of an index pointing finger in his copy of the *Confessiones* in 1314 is early for the appearance of such index fingers which became commonplace later in the century.⁶ He used this figure in virtually every manuscript on which he worked.

Grandisson used a 'floral' symbol (*signe de renvoi*, Plate 11) to draw attention to an omission of material which could be found in another place beside a similar symbol: thus in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, he used this sign on f. 40v to connect an account of St Oswald with nine lessons inserted at the end of the codex (f. 99v). In one or two instances, however, he used a cross with dots () for this purpose which he says, in MS no. 36, f. 22vb, signifies the form of the cross of Christ.⁷

Grandisson's brackets are distinctive in two cases: the straight-line or barred bracket with a Nota sign on top, and the other Nota monogram, elongated for the extent of the text he wishes to bracket (Plates 10, 14). Grandisson also used simple straight-line brackets, sometimes broken with bars or tiny circles. He used wavy-line brackets topped by three dots in triangle, and a few times he apparently used brackets broken by three 'knobs' here and there. These last two kinds cannot exclusively be identified as his, and must be taken together with glosses and other kinds of evidence, such as colours of ink and the content of the text.

Grandisson added apparatus to make books easier to read. The proliferation of his marks (in lighter ink than the text) leads one to think that he read with pen in hand. In any given section he was prone to separate words, to change the shape of particular letters for easier recognition, to add or change punctuation, to distinguish minims by putting hairlines over the *i*'s, to add hyphens, and to provide alternate spellings for words.⁸ He separated the *sententiae* with paraph marks (**C**) and emphasized important passages by *paragraphus* marks (**P**). He rewrote proper names in the margin, to draw attention to their position in the text, and he made comments on difficult sentences to clarify meaning. He supplied full titles where they were missing, tables of contents, running-titles, chapter divisions, foliation, colophons. Where available, he took index topics prepared for another codex and added apparatus (numbers and letters) to make it workable for his own text.⁹

Grandisson's Early Acquisitions

1. **London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 203**--s.xiii-xiv, is Grandisson's earliest surviving acquisition, and a book in which he showed intense interest by glossing it heavily. The codex is made up of two main sections, as follows:

I. (ff. 1-118v)

(ff. 7-106) Augustine *Confessiones*--s.xii, preceded by a *tabula* added by Grandisson (ff. 1-4, 5-6 blank)
 (ff. 106v-118) Ambrose *Pastorale (De dignitate sacerdotalis)* and *Planctus (De excessu mortis beati Satyri)*--s.xii
 (f. 118v) Isidore *Synonyma*, an extract copied by Grandisson himself¹⁰ (f. 119 blank)

II. (ff. 120-194v)

ff. 124-193) Gregory I, *Flores* from the *Moralia in Job*--s.xiv, preceded by a *tabula* added by Grandisson (ff.120-123, f. 123v blank)

(ff. 193v-194v) Robert Grosseteste Letter--s.xiv
(number 128, beginning 'Noverit discrecio')

The colophon to the *Confessiones* (f. 106) establishes Grandisson's ownership of the work and the circumstances surrounding its acquisition (underlined):

Hucusque, ego, J. de Grandissono correxi et non ultra,
secundum librum hugonis de Sancto Victore. ab eo ut
di-|cebatur correctum, dum studerem parisiis. Anno
domini | .M^oCCC^o.XIII^o. quando templarii combusti sunt,
proximo | Anno post concilium viennense, 11

The *Pastorale* begins on the verso of the last page of the *Confessiones*, and the *Planctus* at the foot of f. 110, where the *Pastorale* ends. All three works were written in the same text hand, on the same quality of parchment which was ruled throughout in the same pattern with thirty-four lines of text.¹² Style of decoration and colour of ink are similar. By *hucusque. . . correxi et non ultra*, Grandisson indicated that he did not correct the Ambrose texts against an exemplar; in fact, words, and occasionally sentences, had been added or omitted in the text in both the *Pastorale* and the *Planctus*.¹³ Grandisson supplied display-script headings for the Ambrose works. He copied his excerpt from the *Synonyma* onto the verso of the last page of the *Planctus*, and it is followed by a blank leaf (f. 119). He wrote at the top of the page: '*Ex Synonomis beati ysidori hyspalensis episcopi, manu .J. de G.' and in the upper left-hand corner: '*Ego J. de G. scripsi hec | dum studerem parisiis' (Plate 2). Thus the whole of the first section is bounded by works which assert Grandisson's student use.

An early-fourteenth-century subject index for use with the *Confessiones*, is now bound at the beginning of the manuscript. The index begins abruptly (f. 1) in section *f* with *De fletu* and ends on f. 4v with *y, litera est in litera .i.;* and *De z. litera nichil est. Explicit.;* The index is alphabetized to the third letter. Each subject category has been underlined in the index,

and the subject headings have been rewritten in the margin beside the entry. For *mater Augustini* and for *materia prima*, for example, there are several references. The first surviving entry is **De fletu Augustini pro se et pro morte matris 8.12.b*. The reader is referred to Book VIII, ch. xii, section *b*; the letter *b* in the index indicates the second section of a seven-part chapter division, designated *a* through *g*. However, there are no section divisions on the pages of the text: one divides them by eye.

The pattern of this index was developed in the mid-thirteenth century by a group of Dominicans at the convent of St Jacques in Paris, under the direction of, or assisted by, Hugh of St Cher (his exact contribution is uncertain).¹⁴ The first appearance of the St Jacques concordance is in 1247 when a copy was made at Jumièges: another copy was bequeathed to Jumièges in 1249. These compilers first established the practice of dividing the page into seven parts, labeled *a-g*. Indexing procedure was carried further c.1252 by three English Dominicans at St Jacques who developed the so-called *Concordantiae Anglicanae*, which kept in the *tabulae* the context in which the word was to be found, but the entries were too long and made the *Concordantiae* cumbersome. When modified to eliminate unessential words, the concordance became a useful tool. Robert Kilwardby later adopted this procedure in his *tabulae*, and Grandisson followed his technique.¹⁵ (See Plate 17.)

To facilitate the use of the index which he appended to the *Confessiones*, Grandisson provided the text with running titles made up of the book numbers, and an abbreviation for *Confessiones* in the corner of each recto. He wrote roman chapter numbers in the margins in ink which matches the titles (the divisions a thirteenth-century rediscovery also by the friars).¹⁶ In the text itself at the beginning of each new chapter, Grandisson used a red *paragraphus* (sometimes obscuring the preceding punctuation) and touched the initial with red. He did not alter the

rubricated headings for each book (for example, 'Incipit Liber Septimus'), nor colophons written by the original scribe in hybrid capitals in the same ink as the text.

All of the works in this section have been heavily annotated by Grandisson; in the *Confessiones* alone there are 128 marginal entries in his hand excluding Nota signs. Grandisson, like other readers, identified with Augustine's accounts of his own life, but in the last three non-biographical books, he also found much to comment upon.¹⁷ He considered Augustine's complex analysis of time to be so important that he wrote a memorandum for himself on f. 6v: De tempore libro .xi. capitulo .xxvii.

De dignitate sacerdotalis (ff. 106v-110) is principally about good and bad bishops. Although widely attributed in the Middle Ages to Ambrose, the tract has now been identified as a work of Gilbert Silvester (Gerbert of Aurillac), an early-eleventh-century pope (999-1003).¹⁸ The text is a commentary on the 'Regula episcopi secundum apostolum', I Tim. III, in which St Paul instructs Timothy (then bishop of Ephesus) in the duties of a bishop. The treatise of Gerbert shows the honour due to bishops and cautions that their actions should be worthy of the name.¹⁹ Besides display-script headings, Grandisson supplied paraps and *paragraphus* marks, Notae, brackets, and several glosses to this work.

Ambrose's *Planctus* (ff. 110-118) is a formal lament, probably delivered as a funeral oration at the time of the death of his brother Satyrus, who had served him as suffragan and confidant, relieving him of details of administration (such as bookkeeping) in a most self-effacing manner. Those outside Ambrose's circle at Milan (including Grandisson) might not have known of their blood relationship. Grandisson read the work attentively, as he indicated by his headings, *paragraphus* marks, brackets in the margins, and an occasional comment. At f. 110v he noted that he did not understand

the text or that it was corrupt: '*Aut. error est scriptoris.' vel difficultas dictantis. aut ignorancia legentis . Ego (*suprascript* I. Ex.) inscius.' non bene intelligo.; (underlined)' At f. 118 (where the text breaks off abruptly at 'Quem species corporis denegaret'), he wrote 'Deficit'.²⁰

Grandisson's forty-two line extract from Isidore's *Synonyma* is written in his glossing hand with light brown ink. Below the title Grandisson wrote '* Nota bene'. The text begins as follows:

Transeunt ecce omnia seculi huius.' nec permanent.
Omne quod uenit.' stare non potest. Nichil est | diu,

It ends with an exhortation:

Examina te. Loquatur <tibi> cor tuum considera meritum
tuum. Iuste flagelleris.' iusto dei iudicio iudi |
caris,²¹

'Examine yourself; let your heart speak to you. Consider your worth-- you will be justly chastised. You will be judged by the righteous judgment of God'. Thus he articulated a practice of self-examination often observed in other books that he selected and annotated, and he indicated how he read the preceding works, especially the *Confessiones*.

The second section of Lambeth Palace Library MS 203 contains Grandisson's copy of *Flores Gregorii* (ff. 120-193) and a copy of a letter written by Robert Grosseteste when he was Bishop of Lincoln (ff. 193v-194v), protesting against papal abuse of *plenitudo potestatis*.

In the *Flores* all thirty-five books of the *Moralia* have been excerpted in turn, as Grandisson has indicated in his heading to the *tabula* (f. 120): 'Ista tabula seruit operi sequenti quod vocatur. 'P Flores Gregorii super libros moralium' (*infra* '.xxxv libri;.')'

Grandisson wrote (perhaps later) a large heading '*Superbia' at the

beginning of the *tabula*, f. 120, but the running-titles for the *tabula* are in his smaller hand: 'C contra superbiam', 'contra ypocritas', 'contra auariciam', followed in the same manner by inuidia, luxuria, and gula.²² (Grandisson also placed Nota signs against nine of the twenty-one or more topics listed under auaricia.) These vices appear to be the only items indexed but, since Gregory returned to each one many times, there are multiple entries in the *tabula*. Grandisson's headings recall Isidore's program of self-examination.

In the left-hand marginal column of the *tabula* are the numerals and letters which indicate where in the text the topics can be found; for example, '.1.7.g; .1.3.d; .7.8.c'. As in the *tabula* to the *Confessiones* the first number corresponds to that of a book, the second to a chapter, and the letter to a part of the page where the exact words contained in the *tabula* are located in the text. These alphabetical section marks, *a-g*, are reproduced on the text page. The *tabula* to the *Flores* is thus more efficient than the one used for the *Confessiones*.

The text was written by more than one hand, with descenders that end in a point (and they are unusually long). The letters *b*, *h*, and *l* have split ascenders, and the stem of the letter *d* has a slight curve (ð). There are approach strokes and flourished initials. A different hand is responsible for the *tabula*: there are no abnormally long and pointed descenders; the ascenders of letters *b*, *h*, and *l* hook to the right, and the stem of letter *d* has a loop.

On f. 124 at the head of the text Grandisson repeated the title: '*Flores Gregorii extracti .xxxv. libris moralium suorum super Job', and on f. 193, wrote '*Expliciunt Flores (*suprascript* moralium XXXV) beati Gregorii'. The first words of the text are 'Neque enim ualde (*suprascript* laudabile est) bonum esse cum bonis sed bonum esse cum malis'. The extensive list of *florilegia* given by H.-M. Rochais, does not reveal the

compiler of this collection, a work which does not seem to belong to any of the earlier and popular extracts from the *Moralia*, nor to those in the *Glossa Ordinaria*.²³ It is possible that this is a copy of a *florilegium* which Gregory of Lucca, O.E.S.A., is known to have completed for Pope John XXII at Avignon in December 1321, at a time when Grandisson, as papal chaplain, might have had access to it, but no copy of Gregory of Lucca's *florilegium* has been identified.²⁴ Grandisson supplied a number of glosses and subject headings throughout the *Flores*, as well as *Notae* and pointing fingers.

The final item in Lambeth MS 203 (ff. 193v-194v) is a fourteenth-century copy of Bishop Grosseteste's letter of 1253, printed as 'no. 128' in the Rolls Series edition of Grosseteste's letters by H. R. Luard.²⁵ The letter was addressed to two papal provisors and gives reasons for Grosseteste's refusal to accept Pope Innocent IV's provision of the Pope's unqualified nephew, Federico da Lavagna, to a Lincoln canonry and prebend.²⁶ The letter opens 'Salutem. Nouerit discrecio uestra quod mandatis apostolicis affeccione filiali deuote et reuerenter obedio.'²⁷ It was written in a hand using sharpened quill to make descenders that end in a point and swing to the left.

Grandisson's heading in dark brown ink is: 'Epistola venerabilis patris domini Roberti Grossteste (*suprascript in lighter ink* quondam) Lincoln' Episcopi'. At the left in the same hand and dark ink is 'C Contra prouisiones apostolicas'. In lighter ink than the heading, and therefore on a different occasion, Grandisson wrote: 'C Missa quibusdam Cardinalibus amicis suis', and at the top of the page, 'X' 'Corrupte nimis scripte'. Grandisson's hand in this section appears more mature than in the *Confessiones*; perhaps he had had the letter copied onto blank folios later.²⁸

The text of this letter agrees with that reproduced by Matthew Paris in his abbreviated version of the *Chronica Maiora* called *Historia*

Anglorum.²⁹ On f. 194 additional information from Matthew's *Abbreviatio Chronicorum Anglie* concerning Grosseteste's final days, includes an account of bells being heard in London to signal his death.³⁰

Grandisson divided the letter into paragraphs according to the stages of the argument: he placed I and II in the margins followed by 'Responsio', for Grosseteste's direct response to the provision; then, a little further on, 'III', and finally he bracketed together what he labelled as Conclusio, to 'finalis' to indicate the clinching argument.³¹ He wrote 'militante' after 'ecclesia' in line five, and Nota non obstante beside a clause in the first paragraph. There are few corrections (f.193v, lines 4, 7; f. 194, penultimate line), but on f. 193v at line 7 where the text of the letter reads, 'Contra ipsum autem nec est nec esse potest apostolice sedis sanctitas divinissima', Grandisson wrote 'Diff transi'. He added 'mors eiusdem' to the description of the death of Grosseteste which follows the letter, and 'diffiniens heresym' (f. 194v) where a definition of heresy is given in the text.

2. **Exeter Cathedral MS 3549B**--s.xiii *med.*, contains Grandisson's early glossing hand and therefore appears to be another early acquisition. Richard Rouse suggested that Grandisson acquired this manuscript in Paris or Avignon.³² The present manuscript includes the following works:

- (ff. 25-135v) Isidore *Libri etymologiarum*, preceded by an index (ff. 1-23v)--added, s.xiv, and (f. 24) copies of five letters exchanged between Isidore and Braulio
- (ff. 135v-136v) Greek word list, beginning 'Lotium est urina' and ending 'Dicitur enim absolute arte (sic) conclusio'
- (ff. 136v-137v) Fulgentius *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*³³
- (ff. 138-69) Isidore *Libri sententiarum*, with tables of chapters
- (f. 169rv) Augustine *Sermo*, copied by Grandisson³⁴
- (f. 169v-174) Isidore *De differentiis rerum* (part of Book 2)
- (f. 175rv) Jerome *De viris illustribus* (extract);
fourteen letters between Paul and Seneca; epitaph of Seneca
- (ff. 175v-221) Seneca eighty-eight letters to Lucilius
- (ff. 221-247v) Seneca *De beneficiis*...
- (ff. 247v-252v) Seneca *De clementia*
- (ff. 252v-256) Seneca *De copia uerborum*
- (ff. 256-57) Seneca *De remediis fortuitorum malorum*
- (ff. 257-59) Seneca *De morte claudii cesaris*

- (ff. 259-62) Seneca *Proverbia* (two alphabetical collections)
- (f. 262) Seneca (the elder) *De memoria* (excerpt from *Controversiae*)
- (ff. 262-290) Seneca *De naturalibus questionibus*
- (ff. 290v-294) Seneca *Octavia*
- (f. 294) Seneca *De tragiis* (extracts)
- (ff. 294-95) Seneca *Letter 102*

On f. 137vb is Grandisson's inscription in his 'student' hand, 'Liber .j. de Grandissono', at the end of the works by Fulgentius. He signed in the same way on f. 174rb after Isidore's *De differentiis rerum*, in a space as if left for it at the end of a column, followed by a blank page. The form of these two inscriptions, the presence of his small script and other paleographical evidence, contributes to the conclusion that he acquired some of these works as he did the *Confessiones*, before he became bishop. However, 'J. ex.' is on the top right margin of f. 2, and on f. 24 is a more formal 'Iste liber est <.....> de grandissono Episcopi Exon', erased, but recovered by Neil Ker. These various inscriptions, together with his notes in different colours of ink, suggest that he returned to the manuscript from time to time.

The index to the *Libri etymologiarum*, ff. 1-23v, with its accompanying key, appears to be in Grandisson's own hand in light brown ink. The system is that which Grandisson used for indexes to other manuscripts: 'Primus numerus istius tabule significat librum. secundus uero significat capitulum. tercius distinctiones capitulorum', except that the 'tercius' signification in other *tabulae* was for a section of the page.³⁵ The index is arranged according to *ab* order, sometimes *abc* order, and was copied on different parchment from that used for the text.

Grandisson numbered the distinctions in the margins of the text from f. 25 (thus, 'd.i., d.ii., d.iii.'), and he wrote 'Distinctio' above the first notations which he had added. On f. 52r, column *b*, he added hyphens, and hairlines over the *i*'s throughout; he converted the punctuation from *punctus* to *punctus elevatus* (lines 21 and 22, from the foot), and added a paraph mark at line 20. I believe he took such care because the text at this point, Book

VI, was entitled 'De libris et officiis ecclesiasticis', and therefore, it had to be correct. He collated this copy with another, since on f. 45v, he noted, 'Hic deficit capitulum de vnguentis', and on f. 57va, he corrected a source. Both the *Libri etymologiarum* (f. 25) and the *Libri sententiarum* (f. 138) of Isidore have been heavily annotated by Grandisson. He used a different Nota sign () touched with red, exclusively in this book.

To summarize thus far: These two manuscripts give a fair impression of the breadth of Grandisson's early interests and of some of the habits which persisted for the remainder of his life. He used the works in Lambeth MS 203 to increase his self-knowledge; he considered various implications and responsibilities of the life of a bishop; he was exposed to Augustinian doctrine.

Grandisson's collection of works in Exeter MS 3549B illustrates his continuing effort at self-education, particularly in philosophy and natural science. One has only to scan the subject titles of Seneca's eighty-five letters to Lucilius, or the index of the *Libri etymologiarum*, to see how wide-ranging Grandisson's interests were.

Given this great variety of subjects, the necessity for finding-techniques in the books--*statim invenire*--becomes obvious. According to Richard and Mary Rouse, who have studied the subject, finding-techniques had been developed and used from the middle of the twelfth century; 'the needs of the intellectual community determined the shape of their scholarly tools'.³⁶ Grandisson appropriated these tools for his own use: indexes, running titles, chapter or *distinctio* designations, and subject headings. It will be observed that Grandisson's marks, no matter how small (such as the highlighting of the first letter of the *sententia*), were aimed at quick apprehension. In addition he emphasized those matters he felt were important with Nota monograms, pointing fingers, and brackets. His comments on the text, which will be discussed below, were perhaps aides-

memoire for himself, but these comments were intended to serve subsequent readers as well. Grandisson's concern for accuracy, later to be a hallmark of his scholarship, is reflected in his 'labouring' to correct the *Confessiones*, in his comment on an obscurity in the *Planctus* and noting of the 'deficit', and in his caption 'Corrupte nimis scripte' for the Grosseteste letter.

Finally, Grandisson's glossing hand is consistent enough in its small size and idiosyncratic features to be recognized, even though he modified some of its letter forms and used his display script more as time went on.

Grandisson's Hebrew Books

Grandisson's study of Hebrew early in his life shows that he understood that, when interpreting Holy Scripture, one must turn to the sources (*Veritas in radice*), and especially to the literal sense for, as Nicholas of Lyra pointed out (following Aquinas), 'only from the literal sense, and not from the mystical, can an argument be adduced for proof'.³⁷ Grandisson was influenced by Nicholas of Lyra and Nicholas Trevet, both of whom emphasized the *sensus literalis*: they were lecturing in Paris while he was a student.³⁸ On the facing page to f. 1 of manuscript no. 6, Grandisson noted that he 'knew' both Nicholas Trevet and Nicholas of Lyra.

3. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. Or. 135 (SC 3086)**-- s.xiii², is Grandisson's Hebrew Grammar. This book was apparently written in France: the French glosses on ff. 232v-237v (pencil foliation) have been identified as being in a North Champagne dialect, and Grandisson probably acquired this book in Paris or Avignon.³⁹ The manuscript includes the following (listed in the Neubauer catalogue):

- (ff. 1-5v) Grammatical treatise by Abraham hab-Babhli
- (ff. 6-10v) Hebrew part of French translation of synonymous words⁴⁰
- (f. 11 *et seq.*) Grammar and dictionary
- (f. 232 *et seq.*) Hebrew-French dictionary of synonymous words

(f. 255 *et seq.*) Agadic legends
 (f. 292 *et seq.*) Bidpai's fables⁴¹

At the foot of the first page of text (reading back to front) is Grandisson's autograph: 'Johannes Exoniensis Episcopi', and again on the last page of the codex (f. 363v), he wrote '*Liber .J. Exoniensis Episcopus'. On f. 1 is 'Ibn S. Maza', probably the name of a former owner. Just below is 'hic incipit' (rubbed), also in Grandisson's hand.

Grandisson added 'Alfabetum hebreum' in his glossing hand as a title at the top right of f. 6, and similarly on f. 9, 'Item Alfabetii ebreum', as a heading for the end-rhymes of the second book which begin on that page. He added the names of the Hebrew letters (such as, 'Gymel, Vaue, Ioth') in roman characters in the margins of the glossary, ff. 6-10v.⁴² (Grandisson also added these names of alphabetical letters, which have mystical significance, in the margins of Lamentations in the Bible which he used, manuscript no. 7, in which they also accompany the parts of Psalm CXVIII, 'Beati immaculati'.) Latin notes in Grandisson's glossing hand appear in the margins of MS Or. 135 on ff. 55v, 57, 61, 64, 93, 115, 116v, 130v, 132, 135v, 166v. Pages have been cropped, removing part of his notes on ff. 55v and 57. On ff. 232-237v, interlinear Latin translations to the Hebrew-French dictionary of synonymous words appear to be his. Grandisson added arabic folio numbers to one hundred, and roman numbers beyond that to cclxxxiiij. Folios 11, 12, 20 (ink foliation) are missing. After pencil foliation 237, Grandisson again numbered the folios from 1-cxxvi, using the same pattern as before.⁴³

4. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. Or. 621 (Newbauer Catalogue 112, Uri 61)-- s.xiii *med.*, is a Hebrew Psalter containing Latin and French glosses.

Although Grandisson's name does not appear, the hand which wrote

Latin numerals and identifications of the Psalms in light brown ink in the lower margins appears to be his. This hand has annotated almost every page. There are annotations in several other hands, including a note and the signature of Oxford scholar 'T. Gascoyne' at the foot of f. i verso. On f. 48 is 'Liber Ro. Talbot'.⁴⁴

5. **London, Westminster Abbey MS 1**--s.xiii, is a copy of the Torah, which Grandisson bought for three florins. M. R. James identified the Latin text at the end of the manuscript as an extract from Jerome, *Ad Rusticum*, beginning: 'Dum essem iuuenis et insolitudinis--dulces fructus capio' (s.xiv).⁴⁵

On the first original fly-leaf is Grandisson's autograph 'Johannes de Grandissono' and a statement of contents in his glossing hand. The form of the inscription suggests that Grandisson acquired the book before he became bishop. On the same page he wrote '(+) Primum volumen', and below, in a later (larger) hand with somewhat lighter ink and broader quill, 'Pentathucum id est v. libri Moysi'. He added 'Precii .iii. flor'' at the foot of the page. This manuscript was given to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1565 (f. 1), by Richard Bruarn (DNB: Bruerne), Regius Professor of Hebrew.

Grandisson supplied running-titles of the names of the five books and the chapters (for example, 'C.I.' on f. 1 with 'Genesis' on the opposite verso). He inserted roman numerals for the chapters, below the original arabic numerals.

In the 1327 Inventory of gifts of books to Exeter Cathedral is the entry: 'Due parve libre [sic] de Actibus, cum litera Ebraica, de dono dicti Episcopi Johannis'. Nothing else is known about these books at present.⁴⁶

Grandisson's Biblical Texts

6. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 738 (SC 2731)**-- s.xiv¹, is a copy of

the Psalms with commentary by Nicholas Trevet, and a rare copy of the dedicatory letter which Trevet wrote to John of Bristol (provincial 1317-1327).⁴⁷ It is the survivor of two copies of the Psalms, one with a commentary by Trevet, the other by Nicholas of Lyra. Although both books are listed in the 1506 Inventory of Exeter Cathedral and appear in Oliver's list of Exeter benefactions to the Bodleian Library (1602) as 'Nicholaus de Trineth (sic) et Nicholaus de Lyra super Psalterium', only the Trevet manuscript came to the Bodleian Library. The Lyra manuscript has not survived.

Grandisson's ownership is established by the inscription in his hand, Liber J. de G. Exoniensis Episcopus quem damus ipsi ecclesie on f. 1, and by his autograph account of the manuscript on f. iv verso:

Hunc librum cum alio. super psalterium;. | *Scilicet
 Nicholai Tryueth: et alium. | Nicholai de Lyra. damus
 capitulo nostro | Exoniensi;. manu mea Johannes de
 Grandissono Exoniensis;. | Anno Domini .M^oCCC^oLX^oV^o. et
 officii mei .XXX^oIX^o. | et etatis .L^oXXIII^oJ^o.:
 (*infra* Septuagesimo III^oJ^o.) | *Et attende quod secundum
 interpretacioni LXX. | exponitur non iuxta textum
 nostrum;. | *Ego Johannes de Grandissono Exoniensis.
 nouim. utrumque. | Nota Nicholaum <de lira.
 minorem <et tryueth predicatorum> fratres.;

Grandisson showed his interest in the exposition by highlighting topics in the margins: for example, 'parabola', f. 27; 'historia' and 'Judicia legis', f. 37v. He used two kinds of Notae (ff. 31, 42va); brackets (ff. 45, 103v); pointing fingers (ff. 87v, 111v); and display script for titles of particular psalms. He indicated the days of the week on which the psalms were sung, and attached string tags to the pages containing the first psalm in the daily series.

On f. 250v, the last page of the text, is a statement probably ordered by Grandisson:

Explicit litteralis expositionis fratris Nicholai
 Treueth ordinis predicatorum super psall terium
 translatum abeato (sic) Ieronimo inl mediate de hebraico
 in latinum.

(As Grandisson explained, Trevet used the Septuagint version for his literal exposition, but also had at hand the 'intermediate' version of Jerome.⁴⁸)

Grandisson's intention for these books was expressed in his Will:

Ita, tamen, quod Scripta Nicholai de Lira et Nicholai
 Tryvethe super Spalterium (sic), una cum melioribus
 originalibus que non habentur in libraria Ecclesie
 Exoniensis, remaneant ibidem in Archivis.⁴⁹

7. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct.D.1.18 (SC 2056)--s.xiii/xiv, is a Bible which Grandisson obtained from an unknown source. It does not appear to be listed in the 1327 Inventory of Cathedral books, nor does it bear Grandisson's inscription claiming ownership.

On f. ii recto is an inscription in a current Anglicana hand: 'Iste liber est armarii beati petri Exoniensis' (possibly added later by Grandisson or at his order). The codex is large (420 x 280 mm), written in England c.1300; it might have come from the estate of Walter Stapeldon.⁵⁰ It contains prefaces of Jerome, Isidore, and other authors.

On f. iv Grandisson wrote at the top in his early glossing hand: 'C Incipit epistola sancti Jeronimi presbiteri ad paulinum de omnibus domini historie libris'. He added a few cues to the *tabula* (ff. v-ix), such as '.x. plage' and '.x. precepta', which he numbered and bracketed; he also pointed out a defect (f. vii verso): 'Hic deficiunt .ii. foliis ut videtur' (the stubs remain). Folio x is blank, and the text of Genesis follows, f. 1.

Grandisson numbered the chapters in roman numerals (brown ink) to correspond with contemporary chapter numbering--that used for the citations in his Ordinal. However, another hand divided the chapters into smaller sections, numbering them with arabic numerals in red, and crossing out Grandisson's numbers, but abandoning the practice in the latter part of the codex.

Grandisson treated this book as his own, and his many notes appear to be for his own benefit rather than for the instruction of his canons. Evidence of Grandisson's interest is greatest in the Pentateuch, the historical books and Isaiah. There are a few glosses in Ieremias, Ezechiel, Osea, Iob. In the Psalms he glossed the first two leaves only. At the end of the Psalms is a rare Latin translation from the Septuagint, of Psalm 151.⁵¹ Grandisson made a few corrections in Esther and Iudith. In Matthew there are many marginal references, especially to a *tabula* found on f. 243rv. There are no other notes at all in the *Novum Testamentum*.

Other Originalia

Grandisson continued to expand his collection of *originalia* of the Fathers: a letter to Master Richard de Ratforde gives insight to this activity:

Greetings, with benediction of the right hand of the Saviour. We thank you for the book of sermons of the blessed Augustine which you kept for us as Master Richard FitzRalph asked you to do on our behalf, and you have indicated to us the terms and the price of the same. And because we would like to have this book, we have delivered over sixty *solidos* sterling for the book to Master John de Sovenaisse, Master of Scholars of our city of Exeter, so that you may send it to us as soon as security is brought by messenger. You might also seek out for our use original theological books, especially old and rare, and antique sermons, even without divisions of theme, writing to us the terms and price of the same. And we will be prepared to deal with you as suits your place and times. Your health. Dated at Chudleigh, fifth day of December (1329).⁵²

Ratforde and FitzRalph had been Masters of Arts at Balliol College and were affected by the chancellor's ruling of July 25, 1325, that students in the higher faculties could not remain in the College.⁵³ FitzRalph left Oxford and went to Paris as tutor for Grandisson's nephew. Ratforde, having become master and regent by 1321, went on to University College, and then became first provost of Queens College, where he remained until 1343.

8. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 132 (SC 1893)**--s.xiii², contains a collection of short works of Augustine (tracts, sermons, and letters) and on ff. 123v-124v, 'sententia eusebii emeseni et ambrosii de sacramento altaris', (a *catena* of extracts taken from the *Liber de mysteriis* of Ambrose and from the treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini* now known to be by Paschasius Radbertus).⁵⁴ On f. 124v is an 'Epistola beati ieronomi de duodecim lectoribus', an excerpt from *Liber de viris inlustribus*, II.⁵⁵

The manuscript was copied by a former lay brother of a Cistercian abbey in Robertsbridge, Sussex, as asserted in a colophon, f. 228:⁵⁶

Hunc librum scripsit frater| Willelmus de
Wodecherche laicus| quondam conversus Pontis
Roberti| cuius (*suprascript* anima) in| pace requiescat. Amen
Liber sancti Marie de Pon|te Roberti Qui eum
abstulerit. | Aut uendiderit. uel quolibet modo | ab
hac domo alienauerit. uel quamlibet| eius partem|
absciderit. Sit Ana|thema. Maranatha. Amen

Below this Grandisson wrote:

C Ego Johannes Exoniensis episcopus. nescio vbi
est| domus predicta • nec hunc librum abstuli •
sed modo| legitimo adquisiui.;.

Half-erased *cautiones* show the book was in the Cista Universitatis, Oxford, on December 22, 1321, on March 16, 1323/24, and again on Feb. 1, 1332/33.⁵⁷ If Ratforde acted as Grandisson's 'agent' in the 1330s, this is

the kind of book Grandisson could have purchased through him as an unredeemed pledge.

A title on the back outside cover is in Grandisson's hand, dark-brown ink: 'liber Augustini' preceded by a Grandisson 'star'; below that is another star and 'Augustini' followed by a number (probably 'xxvi') of which only 'xx' is visible, indicating the number of works in the codex. Grandisson added to a synoptic table of contents on f. iii verso, though the full list is not in his hand: above Augustine's name in the heading Grandisson wrote 'non omnia eius'. Each work was numbered in the production. Grandisson wrote 'Sermo' in the margin beside eight of the works and gave each 'Epistola' its supposedly authorial number. It is probable that the line-fillers of fish and other small decoration are his. He placed a cross and a large Nota sign before the 'X. Sermo de temptationibus. ad iuuenes' and wrote 'non est Augustini' above it. He also called attention with Nota signs to the two other non-Augustinian works: 'XV, Sentencie eusebii. . . et ambrosii' and 'XXVI, De ordine rerum' for which Augustine himself said 'xenobi est consequi ac tenere'.

At the foot of f. iii verso is an explanation of the running titles, written in a fine engrossing hand: 'Libri Tractatus vel sermones. XXVI, in hoc libro continentur. prout in numero posito in sinistra parte libri in medio inter duas columnas superius continetur'. A number in red placed at the top between the two columns on the left-hand page identifies the treatise.⁵⁸

The first work, *De fide ad petrum dyaconum*, was copied with *Intenciones* (f. 1), which are probably by Robert Kilwardby.⁵⁹ The content of the whole work as far as chapter XL was given in outline in the first paragraph, and each chapter was prefaced by a brief statement of its subject, according to Kilwardby's pattern (ff. 1-2v).⁶⁰ Grandisson underlined the heading of the first *Intencio* statement in light brown ink and numbered and underlined four of the chapter headings which followed. He

then underlined and marked with *paragraphus* most, but not all, of the *incipits* in order to distinguish the chapters (f. 2v). Grandisson's 'de fide' in *suprascript* added to the title of the first line (f. 1), his square Notae and the typical shapes of his roman numerals illustrate his involvement with the text.

Grandisson's customary glossing hand appears on f. 132v: at the top, 'De civitate Dei', etc. (underlined); and below, 'Nota. tria hominum genera saluam dor"', and 'Nota Noe, Daniel, Iob'. His Nota signs are on ff. 1rb, 132v, along with pointing fingers (ff. 11rv, 80, 93v, 133), and paraps (ff. 132v, 133va with his 'Exemplum de Job'). Brackets mainly consist of single or broken lines topped by a Grandisson-type Nota (ff. 12v, 17). They proliferate, in chocolate-brown ink touched with red and finished with a decoration.

Grandisson did not seem to doubt the authorship of *De fide ad petrum dyaconum* which modern scholarship has attributed to Fulgentius of Ruspe. He thought that *De excidio urbis rome* was the source for Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.⁶¹ 'De oratione dominica Cipriani' (f. 182v), written in his display script, marks an excerpt from *De dono perseuerantie* to be read for the feast day of St Cyprian, September 26. He wrote 'nomen proprium est' in the margin of f. 203v to point out 'xenobi' in the text.

Most glosses to this manuscript are set forth in shields in formal script. On f. 18v the note in a shield says, 'hoc symbolum apostolorum est. *quod in hoc libro tinctatur*' (emphasis mine). The Notae brackets and 'Retractions' which proliferate are also very formal. All are tinged with red, but only to f. 58. There are comments in English, not found in other Grandisson manuscripts: on f. 11, 'a god red'; but see also ff. 6, 10, 11v, 12, where other admonitions, such as 'Loke wel', 'do wel', appear.

9. **London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 141**--s.xiii, is a copy of Augustine's

De trinitate, (ff. 1v-133v) with *Retractatio* (f. 1) and *Epistola Augustini ad Aurelium Papam* (f. 1).⁶² The codex also contains a copy of St Bernard's *De planctu gloriose virginis marie* with prologue (ff. 133vb-135), which Grandisson did not annotate. The books of *De trinitate* are indicated by six-line decorated initials and rubricated titles or *incipits*, for which space had been planned in the production.

'Augustinus de trinitate' is written in Grandisson's hand at the top of f. 1, and 'J. Exon. Episcopus', erased but recovered (by M. R. James). The title of the Retraction has been rubricated by the scribe in the same script as the text: 'Sentencia beati Augustini doctoris eximii de libro retractationum', to which Grandisson has added above, 'super libris trinitatis'. A few chapters or sections have been indicated by initials, and Grandisson added some *paraphi* (as on ff. 4ra, 19) to indicate changes of subject, but they rarely coincide with chapter divisions found in other copies. There are Grandisson Nota signs and pointing fingers, and many marginal notes in the small glossing hand of the *Confessiones*, suggesting that he may have obtained this book early in his career.⁶³ He wrote headings (f. 9, 'Nota quales nos amat deus'); marked *questiones/responsiones* (ff. 18-19); and pointed out *exempla* (ff. 27va, 45va).

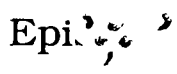
There are many notes in a tiny non-current hand which appear to indicate that the book was prepared for teaching purposes or disputation, for example, 'Quare non aliud est deo esse ex persona esse' (Lib. VII, f. 61vb); 'Quid sit sapientia quid scientia' (Lib. XII, f. 94)--the answers are to be found in the text adjacent to the question. Grandisson's notes, larger than the other notes and underlined as the other notes are not, relate to doctrinal issues of wider scope: 'Nota--Mea doctrina non est mea, quomodo intelligitur' (f. 15r) or 'Contra arrianos' (f. 15v). (Arians are not specifically mentioned in the text, but Grandisson identifies them from their argument against the equality of the Trinity.) Throughout the book a special *nota* sign

is used (somewhat like a scorpion, ). As it does not occur in other Grandisson books, it is unlikely that he used it.

This manuscript belongs to a category mentioned in Grandisson's Will in which he stipulates,

I forbid that my ecclesiastical or theological books should be exposed for sale. . . . But the theological books of moderate value are to be distributed among poor scholars reading theology, and to Stapeldon Hall in Oxford. . . .⁶⁴

This book apparently reached Stapeldon Hall, since later Oxford *cautiones* on the endleaves show that William Penbugyll and William Andrew 'exposita in antiqua cista universitatis in festo translatio^{nis}s. benedicti pro xiiis. iiijd... anno domini .M.CCCC nono' (altered to *undecimo*).⁶⁵ Subsequently the book came into the possession of Richard Calne, canon of Lanthony near Gloucester.

10. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 150 (SC 1924)**--s.xiii ex., is also a collection of short works by Augustine. Grandisson's ownership is established by his *Ex libris* at the top of f. 1r, '*J. Exon'  (which he outlined in red) 'manu manu propria'. A remnant of a synoptic table of contents is pasted on ff. ii recto-i verso (inverted). The visible parts of the table are as follows:

. . . or.  quod ego J. Ex. non  posui extra scripta.;. |
 (i)ste inapreciabilis  est in multis.;.
 . . . Augustinus floruit.
 . . . aruit...
 . . . a originalia eiusdem (underlined in red)

 . . . bus (probably *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*)
 . . . (p)nie In fine.  Penitentes. penitentes. penitentes. et cetera
 (probably *De utilitate agende penitencie*)

 . . . enda.

 . . . = Augustinus
 . . . >Hugo de S. Victor 

. . . Questiones et responsiones ~~die~~bus rebus.;.
 . . . i(o) Difficillimi sunt

Dividitur in decem tractatus

The last five items are additions by Grandisson, as are 'floruit', 'eiusdem', and 'In fine.' 'Penitentes. penitentes. penitentes, et cetera.' The first entry seems to apply to indexing symbols of the kind which appear in some of the tracts, especially the *Enchiridion*, and to indicate that Grandisson himself does not use them.⁶⁶ Such comments as 'Difficillimi sunt' show that Grandisson intended to give the reader more information than was apparent from the title alone.

Grandisson's apparatus and glosses vary from one tract to another and reflect the importance he attached to each. It is apparent that he returned to the manuscript a number of times, from the variations in his handwriting and colours of ink. I suggest that he labelled the work of Hugo of St Victor and wrote 'De Orosius' in yellow ink to identify these texts when he first leafed through the manuscript to see what it contained. There are very few of these orange annotations. Some works have no running-titles beyond the first one (an indication of Grandisson's lack of involvement with that text). To others he added running-titles in the centre or cues in the corners for quick-finding, so that running-titles appear on every recto. His hand can be distinguished in the running-titles of the following folios, where its presence also indicates that these were among the works he valued most:

'*Contra mendacium', f. 40; 'Ad Orosium', ^{Augustinus} f. 103v; 'De musice' (vith liber), f. 121; '*Contra academicos', f. 161v; 'Dyalogus inter Augustinum et Adeodatum. . .', f. 175; 'De agone cristiano', f. 200v; and 'Ad Donatum.' de fide Trinitatis', f. 253v.

Grandisson's Nota brackets (Plate 13) appear, as on ff. 137v and 153. A third bracket, ladder-shaped (f. 119va, similar to Plate 10), is topped by his square Nota followed by 'diligenter' in his hand. His pointing fingers

appear on ff. 39v, 111, 196, 196v, 206v, 237; paraps and *paraphi* on f. 34. He numbered the tracts of the *Epistola Sancti Johannis ad Parthos* in roman numerals. For the dialogue with Orosius, Grandisson commented (f. 103v), Dubitatur, utrum sit Augustini. Ad Orosium. propter aliqua intermixta, and on f. 117ra (where Augustine spoke of himself in third person), Grandisson wrote, 'hic apparet quod Augustinus non composuit hunc librum'. Grandisson treated the spurious *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* and *Hypomnesticon* as authentic, and annotated them, as also the *Dialogus ad Orosius*, in spite of what he said about it.⁶⁷

Most of Grandisson's notes are in the medium-sized glossing script of his younger years (typically, Nota dyalogam inter phantasia^m et phantasma^m, f. 126v heading); but the 'Narratio .Nota.' on f. 37 looks to be in an older hand, and his headings *Cura pro mortuis in the upper right-hand corner of f. 34, and *Yponosticon on f. 69 in display script, are typical of his later hand, larger to be seen easily from a distance, and often used at the corners for quick-finding.

A variety of other hands besides Grandisson's have written notations in this manuscript: the 'scratchy' crayon hand on f. 115 and elsewhere bears no resemblance to Grandisson's. Chocolate-brown glosses, such as those on f. 114v, though similar, are not his. Yet another hand has written the glosses on f. 101. One of these hands wrote notes accompanying the indexing symbols in the *Enchiridion*, for example, at the foot of f. 28rb. Grandisson's writing is rarely so small as the specimens on ff. 101 and 28; his small script approximates one mm letters expanded to three or four with ascenders/descenders. Grandisson's concern for legibility led him to use discrete letters, illustrated in the example on ff. 135-135v, where he recopied in *fere-textura* the text which was difficult to read because the page had been damaged by water. The letters are square without flourishes except for the 'dotted' *i*s.

The contrast between Grandisson's square Nota sign and those similar to his on ff. 28, 28v, 29, can be seen in his 'Nota hic de resurreccione' at the foot of f. 28v. Grandisson has fewer flourishes and only one loop near the o of Nota.

11. **Oxford, Merton College MS E.1.6 (Coxe, 256B)**-- s.xiv, is a copy of commentaries on Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, by Nicholas Trevet and Thomas Waleys.⁶⁸ On f. 2v is this inscription:

Exposicio fratris Nicholai Tryueth.'| super Augustinum
de civitate dei, et postea. Fratris Thome Waleys eiusdem
ordinis| Iste liber quondam Johannis Episcopi Exoniensis.'
assignatur alicui| pauperi scolari Oxoniensis in
theologia studenti.' in eius| memoriam cuius erat. et eo
promoto uel decedente| aliis sic studentibus relinquatur.'
in Aula de Mer-lton' ad usum huius ex tunc perpetuo
remansurus.

Dr. Malcolm Parkes has examined this inscription and confirmed that only the first two sentences: 'Exposicio fratris Nicholai Tryveth.'| super Augustinum de civitate dei,' were written by Grandisson; the inscription from 'et postea' was written by another hand, perhaps that of a Merton librarian or of J. Gardener himself, if he wrote the notice at the foot of the page.

I believe that this book originally came to Stapeldon Hall along with Grandisson's 'other theological books of moderate value'.⁶⁹ At the foot of f. 2v is the notation 'Traditur (sic) J. Gardener. socio dicte aule illuc deferendus'--'Handed over by J. Gardener, fellow of the said Hall (Merton), to be taken there'. Gardener (fellow in 1382 and second bursar in 1392-93), was from Exeter diocese and had previously been a fellow of Stapeldon Hall c.1378, nearly ten years after Grandisson's death.⁷⁰ Merton's strict rules would require that the book be left there in the College's possession.⁷¹

The copy of Waleys's commentary was written in about the last quarter of the fourteenth century from a defective exemplar.⁷² There is no evidence that it belonged to Grandisson, and it was probably added to the codex subsequently, although the same decoration appears throughout the manuscript.

Grandisson corrected Trevet's text against another copy and supplied words where the scribe had left them out (ff. 8-9, 11). He corrected 'adicitur' to 'addiscitur' (f. 5rb), wrote '=penates' to clarify 'penatos' in the text (f. 5va), corrected the proper name 'Wollco' to 'Wisco' (f. 7rb), and added a few glosses. All that can be deduced from this activity is that he read the text and was concerned about its accuracy. The commentary explains an important, but difficult, work of Augustine, and its approach is literal-historical, rather than philosophical, in agreement with Grandisson's own literal-historical predilections.⁷³

The Following Works Owned by Grandisson Served Both for his Own *Lectio Divina* and during his Preparation for Liturgical Reform

12. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 230 (SC 2123*)**--s.xii, is a copy of the *Libri Dialogi* of St Gregory the Great which Grandisson acquired as his personal book.⁷⁴ He wrote on f. 1: 'C Dyalogorum beati Gregorii. pape. libri quattuor. .J. Exoniensis episcopus*' and, in a later hand with different ink, 'Damus ecclesie Exoniensis'.

On f. iv verso is an explanation of the contents, written in a typical example of Grandisson's display script.⁷⁵ Grandisson stated that this work, and similarly the 'Pastorale', was suitable for the readings in Chapter during Lent (Plate 5). He also specified the *Libri Dialogi* in his Lectionary where the rubric for Feria II of *Quadragesima* says:

Ab hac die usque ad cenam domini, exceptis dominicis, ante completorium immediate, legatur ad collacionem de omeliis propriis feriarum, uel de libro dyalogorum beati gregorii pape, uel de vitis patrum, uel de sermonibus sanctorum doctorum. . . .

Dialogus II contained what had become the standard account of St Benedict of Nursia, which frequently circulated separately. In this copy, after Book IV, another twelfth-century hand had added an account of the last days of St Benedict (ff. 109v-114v) known as *Historia Translationis Sancti Benedicti* and attributed to Adrevald, a monk of Fleury, writing sometime before AD 879.⁷⁶ It begins 'Cum diu gens Langobardorum'. This addition was already in the book when it came into Grandisson's hands.

Grandisson acquired this book as a well-planned codex which needed little attention from him. He made some changes for faulty word separation, undoubtedly *his own*, on f. 109v by adding the diastole; on f. 111, in the penultimate line, 'digna|rependis'; and twelve lines from the foot, 'Nam si|delatoris me|tutam. He used a Nota monogram as bracket in this manuscript, as on ff. 105rv (Plate 13). He marked 'Questio' on f. 103. In Dialogus II Grandisson supplied a subject heading (f. 24) with Nota : De etate ordinandorum (in the time of Moses); another on f. 31v, 'Nota de clerico demoniaco' and a third on f. 32, '*Contra clericos indigne ordinatos .;.' In the final part Grandisson wrote in display-script the title, 'De translacione beati benedicti et sancte scolastice', and several subject headings; he occasionally underlined words in the text and sometimes changed the shape of a letter (ff. 109v, 110) to facilitate reading aloud. He used paraphs to indicate change of subject of the text (ff. 109-110), and the *paragraphus* to divide this part into nine sections, as for *ix lecciones*, of from nineteen to forty-one lines.

13. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 732 (SC 3711)**--s.xii ex., is Grandisson's copy of Bede's commentary on Luke and Mark. Bound with the commentary are several lives of saints, arranged chronologically according to their feast days.

On f. ii verso is a table of contents in Grandisson's display script:

		C <u>In hoc libro continentur ista.</u>
(ff. 1-168)		Beda super lucam, diuisus in .vj. libros,
(ff. 170-238v)		Idem ipse, super Marcum, diuisus in .iiij. ^{or}
(ff. 238v-244)	* <u>Nota</u>	Item. Vita Sancti Remigii, episcopi et confessoris.
(ff. 244-247)		Ac Sancti Tenebaldi
(ff. 248-252)		Passio beati Leodegarii, episcopi et martiris.
(ff. 252v-256)	. <u>Nota</u>	Item. passio Sancti Dionisii, sociorum quod eius,
(ff. 256v-262)		Item. Sanctorum Martirum Crispini et Crispiniani.
(ff. 263-266v)		Item. Apostolorum Symonis et Jude,
(ff. 267-276)		Item. Vita beate Cecilie virginis et martiris

Grandisson added the title *Beda super Lucam on f. iii verso, along with *Epistola Acce episcopi ad Bedam as heading for the letter prefaced to the text, in which Acca asked Bede to undertake this commentary. On the same page is Grandisson's '*J. de .G. Exoniensis' and Damus capitulo Exoniensi, manu propria. He repeated 'J. Exon' Epu^s in the upper right-hand corner. Some apparatus had been present in this book when Grandisson acquired it--diple (two parallel s-shaped symbols) in the margins to mark the lemmata, for example, and an occasional *d.m.* (*dicta memorabilia or dignum memoriae*).

The preface of 'Beda super Lucam' begins on f. iv, 'Mira vere est', and ff. v-vii contain brief summaries of the chapters as Bede divided them. Grandisson adapted the codex so that items could be found quickly and read easily. He changed the *ordinatio* of Bede's six books into twenty-four chapters to conform with contemporary divisions in the biblical text, and modified the *tabulae* accordingly with large roman numerals. He wrote these new chapter numbers in black ink in the margins and again in the upper right-hand corner of each recto. He did not alter rubricated running titles which were for Bede's divisions (such as, 'Liber Primus'), nor alter Bede's chapter indications, some of which were elaborately decorated (as on f. 22rb). The two-line versals in alternating red and green colours are

probably also original.

The parchment and ink of the second work ('Beda super marcum') are of poorer quality than the first, and the columns are of thirty-nine lines instead of thirty-six. Quire signatures which had appeared in roman numerals at the foot of the page do not continue, but there are catchwords in at least one instance. Although there are no blank leaves between the first book and Grandisson's heading 'Beda super marcum' (f. 169), Grandisson added 'J. Exoniensis Episcopus' on this page, which seems to indicate that the two works had once been separate. The colour of ink of the first work is lighter than that in the others, and its leaves have been cropped to conform to the size of the rest of the codex.⁷⁷ A second list of the contents appears on the penultimate endleaf of the codex (f. 278), and all items are in Grandisson's hand; the first, 'Beda super lucam', is in faded black ink, whereas the others are in dark brown. The title of the 'Vita beate Cecilie' appears also to have been added later. In the final section Grandisson numbered the lives of saints individually in the upper right-hand corners with small roman numerals (ff. 239-269), except for the substitute folios of St Cecilia.

Grandisson used paraphs (f. 135v) and brackets (ff. 54, 166, 194) to indicate important content. He added subject headings, commentary with pointing fingers (ff. 51, 95) and Nota signs (ff. 9, 146v, 180). Some of the glosses to Bede are in Grandisson's early hand, but most headings are in display script of a later date. *Paragraphus* marks abound as section divisions, and there are other Grandisson cues up to f. 261v (St Crispin); after that there are only occasional *paragraphus* marks and no other symbols. The manuscript shows much sign of use.⁷⁸

14. **Exeter Cathedral MS 3511**--s.xiv, is a copy of *Sermones dominicales et festivales* by Jacob de Voragine (James of Genoa, c.1230-c.1298)⁷⁹

Among several extant collections of sermons assembled by Bishop Bartholomew and others, this is the only set annotated by Grandisson to any great extent. He obviously preferred this work to the homiliary of Paul the Deacon. The sermons are more up-to-date than the others, both in content and format, and there are alphabetical tables which help *statim invenire*. There are no inscriptions, but all of Grandisson's customary marks are found in great proliferation.

Sunday sermons are preceded by an alphabetical table which begins abruptly. Grandisson not only numbered each sermon (i-clix) but also added subject headings in the margins (such as, f. 20, 'virginitas'), and drew attention to important sections with two kinds of monogram Nota signs (Plate 13).⁸⁰ He separated words with the diastole, added *paragraphus* marks, hairlines to *i*'s; and sometimes enhanced *e*'s to distinguish them from *c*'s--all to make the text more legible.⁸¹ He used paraph marks and pointing fingers. His marginal notes frequently laid out arguments as *distinctiones* in diagrammatic form; for example, in Sermo lxxiii (John X:3-4),

cognoscunt
Pastores< audiunt
post eum uadunt

and again, in Sermo lxxix,

intima purgacio
Interpreta mandacio< profunda humiliacio
tranquilla habitacio'.⁸²

A red silk tab marks the end of the first section (ff. 9-193v, unnumbered).

Sermons for feast days are preceded by a table of pericopes which

Grandisson labeled 'Tabula de sanctis'; and he headed f. 196 with Tabula de sermonibus de sanctis. These are numbered i-cclxxxv. The ink of the headings is a different colour from Grandisson's other headings, and he used a different Nota sign in this section. He noted missing leaves on f. 230 and again at Sermo ccli. His apparatus is as full and as varied as in the previous set--numbering, sectioning, labelling, commenting.

15. **London, British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra C.XI**-- s.xiii/xiv, is a copy of a miscellaneous collection catalogued as the 'De similitudinibus' of Anselm (ff. 2-106). Grandisson wrote 'Liber abbat<h>ie de Dore' and 'J. Exoniensis' at the head of f. 2. A good description of the manuscript is given by H. L. D. Ward, as follows (with *incipits* added to assist the reader):⁸³

Vellum; early xiiith cent. small quarto; ff. 121, in double columns of 32-38 lines. The volume is written in different hands, but the first three articles at least originally belonged to the same manuscript (that is, to f. 78). It contains:--

- (1) Liber de Sancte Anselmi Similitudinibus by Eadmer. . . with initials in red and green, and a few miniatures, f. 2, *inc.*, 'Voluntas tripliciter intelligitur'.
- (2) f. 49 (*Vision of the Monk of Eynsham*), *inc.*, 'Usu notissimum habitur quod diem tertie sole post tenebras'.
- (3) Treatise on the faculties of the mind, and on sciences, etc., f. 70, *inc.*, 'Videns igitur summe bonus artifer participacione'.
- (4) Treatise on cloistral life, f. 78, *inc.*, 'Locuturus karissime dehisque ab edificacionem claustris malis pertinent'.
- (5, 6) Sermons on Ecclesiasticus XXVI:23, and without a text, ff. 106, 110b-121b *inc.*, 'Columpne (columnae) auree super bases argenteas Et pedes firmi super plantas stabilis mulieris'.

The *Liber de similitudinibus*, as it eventually came to be called from the first work of the collection is the only section that Grandisson annotated. It consists of sayings of Anselm recorded by his disciples, and short works gathered together into an expanded form more than a century after his death. Richard Southern and F. S. Schmitt have printed much of

the corpus of accumulated sayings in *Memorials of St Anselm* (London, 1969). Some parts of the 'De similitudinibus' became very popular; it was quoted by St Thomas, according to Richard Southern, 'almost as often as the *Cur Deus homo*'.⁸⁴

The texts in the manuscript are preceded by inadequate and inaccurate tables of contents (ff. i-ii verso; f. iii is blank except for a press mark). (Another *tabula* in a late hand is on f. 1.) The first work (ff. 4-48v), entitled in the manuscript 'liber anselmi qui dicitur apologeticum', is not the work printed under that name, 'Liber Apologeticus contra Gaulionem Respondentem pro insipiente', but is rather the work printed as 'De S. Anselmi similitudinibus' (*PL* CLIX, cols 605 *et seq.*) which begins, as the manuscript does, with a description of three kinds of will: 'Voluntas tripliciter intelligitur'. The manuscript 'De similitudinibus' breaks off abruptly after two leaves, and then begins anew (on f. 3, with the former misleading title). 'De similitudinibus' continues from f. 3 as presented in the *Patrologia Latina*, with some variation, but not so much as in Southern's and Schmitt's *Memorials*, which has substantial differences from Grandisson's copy (and the *Patrologia Latina* text).

The manuscript has rubricated headings for most of the sections. At f. 28v, Grandisson wrote 'Edificans' for 'De edificante domum', which is followed by the section 'De monte humilitatis et septem gradibus eius', (different altogether in kind from the preceding *similitudines*) beginning 'Non est in altum elevata superbia' (as in *PL* col. 664, under another title, but different in text in *Memorials*, p. 80, sect. 99). The section 'Humilitas autem mons magnus est' is contained in the manuscript text (*PL* col. 665), which continues with heading 'Primus humilitatis gradus'. Then follow 'De septem donis spiritus sancti', set off with headings, f. 35rv, but 'Quam supra' is substituted for headings on ff. 43, 44ra, and 'De similitudinibus' effectively ends with the section 'De verbis defuncti' and 'Aliter de eodem', f. 46. ('De similitudo militis' (*PL* col. 702) and 'De similitudo cellerarii'

(*PL* cols 707-708) are not included in the manuscript.) On f. 48v are excerpts from 'Ambrosius in libro de misteriis' (so labelled), *incipit* 'Dubitauerunt angeli cum resurgeret cristus'; and 'Item in eodem', *incipit* 'Forte dicas. Aliud iudeo. quomodo tu mihi asseris. . .' The ending, col. b, is 'Quid hic queris nature ordinem in cristi corpore cum preter naturam sit ipse dominus ihesu natus de uirgine. '

The main corpus of 'De similitudinibus' in its generally received form seems to be here, with the 'seven grades of humility' (as separately printed in *Memorials*, pp. 80-82) incorporated more or less in the middle. The manuscript section which begins on f. 44v with 'Cum quietum silentium tenerent omnia. et nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet. opere sermo tuus de celo a regalibus sedibus durus debellat', I have not identified, as it is not, apparently, included either in *PL* or the *Memorials* with other *dicta*. However, the tract 'De scientia, uoluntate et usu' (*Memorials*, p. 118), appears at f. 38, with Grandisson heading 'Nota hic incipe de ecclesia'.

In 1328 Grandisson had written to the Abbot (John, 1298-1330) asking for ecclesiastical vestments and ornaments which he had apparently inherited, and with which he would furnish his impoverished Church.⁸⁵ Books may have been among the items, but possibly the Abbot sent this codex to Grandisson as a gift. It has many fine illustrations, and is now a 'select' book in the British Library.⁸⁶ Dore Abbey had been founded by Grandisson's ancestors on his mother's side, the Ewyas family, and Grandisson received permission for his mother to go there for retreats. In 1330 Richard Straddel, perhaps a distant relative of Grandisson, was elected abbot.

Grandisson glossed only the first section where he numbered the folios in arabic and added subject headings in the margins. Grandisson may have kept the book because he valued works of Anselm, but it is difficult to see that a book so highly cenobitic would have much relevance to him or to

his clergy, encouraged as they were in the current religious climate, to undertake active life in the community. It may be that the short tracts and the miniatures stimulated thought, even if one disagreed with the *sententiae*.

16. **London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius A. XI**--s.xiv, is a copy of a collection of Anselm's letters compiled by or for Grandisson.⁸⁷

Grandisson must have been collecting these letters over a long period, as there are 416 of them, the largest number in any single surviving collection. He arranged the letters chronologically, with rubricated headings for each section in the following order:

- 1) Letters before Anselm's abbacy;
- 2) Letters of his abbacy;
- 3) Letters after his promotion to archbishop;
- 4) Letters after his consecration;
- 5) Letters after he received the pallium;
- 6) Letters after his exile.

Wilmart has thus characterized the collection:

L'évêque d'Exeter, John Grandisson, a compilé le registre le plus complet, en somme, qui nous soit parvenu.... Il est clair que Grandisson a mis en oeuvre divers recueils, plus ou moins fidèles au type primitif, s'attachant sans doute aux plus récents.⁸⁸

Grandisson may have been able to acquire some of the letters while in Paris, since at the Abbey of St Victor there was a manuscript (now Paris Bibliothèque nationale MS lat.14762) of which Wilmart says, 'on reconnaît aisément un exemplaire partiel des séries compilées par Grandisson'. This is an early-thirteenth-century copy, containing 293 letters in the same order as those in Grandisson's manuscript, including seven letters which were duplicated in both collections.⁸⁹

Dom André Wilmart's 'le grande registre officiel', a collection of 386 letters, was assembled at Christ Church, Canterbury, c. 1120, soon after Anselm's death (now London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 59).⁹⁰ The collection of letters for Anselm's archiepiscopal years in this manuscript differs greatly from Grandisson's, both in content and order.⁹¹

On f. 9 Grandisson wrote: *Epistole beati Anselmi.:. Liber Johannes Exoniensis episcopi. Near this inscription is the autograph signature of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, 1532-1553. The index, ff. 2-7, is complete, and probably organized by Grandisson, with the name of the recipient, a brief account of the content, and opening words underlined. Grandisson put his Nota symbols in the index beside entries for particular letters: he differentiated those relating to the pope, and used pointing fingers for those he thought were most important. The *Expliciunt* of the index is in his hand.

Grandisson inserted (or ordered) numbers in the margins alongside the text to correspond with his index, and put the number of the letter in the lower right-hand corner of each recto in roman numerals to CXLVI, perhaps to keep the order of the folios while the book was being assembled. He highlighted in red the initial letter of each sentence so that letters could be skimmed. Comments in his hand are in the margins of the text.⁹²

Grandisson's interest, for a variety of reasons, is in the period after Anselm received the pallium as archbishop of Canterbury. Toward the end of his life Grandisson gave away this book, 'that he might be remembered'. He sent it to Archbishop Simon Islip on April 9, 1364, and recorded the donation on f. 8:

* Registrum Epistole beati Anselmi. | beati Anselmi Cantuar' archiepiscopi > | * Do et lego (*suprascript* J. de G. Exon') cuicumque archiepiscopo Cantuariensis. vt memor sit miseri Johannis | de Grandissono. Exoniensis. | qui hoc manu sua scripsit.:. | * hic (*suprascript* infra) potest videri

status tam Ecclesie quam Regni Anglie. | Vtinam renouetur,
 per christum dominum nostrum. Qui viuit et regnat. rex |
 regum et summus sacerdos et pon- | tifex in eternum.
 Amen. Amen.;. .Anno domini .M^o.CCC^o.LX^oIII^o. | Et etatis
 mee .LX^oXIII^o. | Et officii mei .XXX^oVIII^o. mense Aprili (sic)
 die nono.⁹³

The Curia at Canterbury misunderstood Grandisson's intention and returned the book to him after Islip's death in April 1366. A further note added by Grandisson at the foot of f. 8 shows that he sent it back ('Item postea, ⁹tercio anno sequente innouauit').

Grandisson's Strong Interest in History

Grandisson's interest in history manifested itself early and lasted all his life. In the inscription to Augustine's *Confessiones* (no. 1), he documented events taking place around him: 'in the year the Templars were burned and the year after the Council of Vienne'. In 1330 he instructed his archdeacons to write down the histories of their local (Celtic) saints, lest the information be lost.⁹⁴ In 1360 he wrote to the Abbot of Glastonbury to request that the monk John Seen, 'the most experienced person in the realm in histories and chronicles,' should come to confer with him on some ancient books of annals which the Church of Exeter possessed.⁹⁵ In 1362-63 he acquired the *Speculum historiale* as a gift (no. 22), and his annotations give evidence that he read all of its 300-plus folios. Grandisson's notes to historical works are extensive and assiduous; even in his Bible he favoured the lives of patriarchs and kings, and drew parallels between biblical times and his own.

There was a tradition of keeping chronicles at Exeter, which Grandisson perpetuated. Three copies of an 'Exeter Chronicle' survive (see manuscript no. 44); it purports to be 'universal' and has been continued to 1394, but the early part was abbreviated to emphasize matters pertinent to the Church of Exeter. Grandisson also kept up the annals of *Flores*

Historiarum, no. 19, when they were at Exeter.⁹⁶

Although Grandisson's hand appears here and there in the *Flores historiarum*, no doubt he encouraged the writing of annals by others. Adam Murimuth, canon of Exeter from 1318-1337, (precentor from 1328), stated that he 'found' at Exeter a chronicle continued to 1302 and another at Westminster continued to 1305, both of which presumably he used as sources for his *Continuatio Chronicarum*.⁹⁷

Grandisson's historical interest is reflected by the following manuscripts:

17. **Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 727**--s.xiii, is William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* which Grandisson borrowed.⁹⁸ His account of the transaction, in his own hand but in rare current script, is on f. iii verso:

Istum librum recepit mutuo dominus. J. Exoniensis
Episcopus ab abbate malmisberi' Anno domini
.M.^oCCC.XXXIJ. prima die Julii. Et restituit eumdem
priori de pyltone anno sequenti. prima die maii.;.⁹⁹

There are a few marginal notes in Grandisson's hand: one long one on f. 9 concerns the deposition of Archbishop Stigand, but most consist of his square Nota sign or pointing finger, at times accompanied by a remark or a subject heading in his hand (for example, that on f. 16v, Nota de potestate beati petri et Romanorum pontificum.;. , where the argument concerns whether Peter's power is transferable or not). Among those historical figures whom he singles out as worthy of note are Tatwine, Anselmus, Willelmus de Warelwast et Balduinus, Birinus, Witunus (Swithinus), Byrnstanus, Ethelwoldus, Denewulf, Oswaldus, Wulstanus. The pages have been cropped, and some running-titles have been damaged or lost.

18. **London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 104**--s.xiv, contains a copy of the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden. An erased inscription in Grandisson's

hand was read by Neil Ker under ultra-violet light (f. 1; all references are to the modern pencil foliation): 'Ecclesie et capitulo nostro Exon'. Ker recovered part of another inscription (s.xv) on f. 5v: '... dedit| ... cathenandum| ... si quis| ... anathema habeat dei omnipotentis beate ann[e]l', and conjectured that it might have recorded a gift of the book to St Anne's Chapel at Exeter.¹⁰⁰ The value of the book at that time is given (on f. 5v) as '3li vi^s viii^d'.

Higden's Chronicle is preceded by a 'liber provincialis' of the City of Rome (f. 1), to which Grandisson supplied paraph marks for sections, in brown ink if they had been missed in red, and he underlined headings to make them stand out (ff. 3v-5). He wrote a Nota for 'Vrgulen' on f. 2v in a section 'Historia super mare'; he also wrote 'Aquitania' and 'Vastonia' (f. 3); 'In Sardinia' and 'Explicit' (f. 4). The 'liber provincialis' is followed by a list of the archbishops of Canterbury (f. 5r only) to John Stratford (1333-1348), continued by a later hand to Simon Sudbury (1375-1381). Grandisson did not annotate this list. Grandisson also did not annotate any of the texts following f. 160, which are of later date than the *Polychronicon*.

On f. 6r, at the beginning of the index, which is complete (Aaron-Vxor) is '* Tabula operis sequentis' in Grandisson's large hand.¹⁰¹ He supplied indications for alphabetical divisions where they had been missed. He indicated his interest in selected subjects by headings or Notae: concerning Anselm's deposition of symoniacal prelates, and Anselm's discovery of the qualities of 'balsamo diuinitus'; concerning the amount of money for which Anglia was obligated to the Roman curia; concerning the institution of first tonsure of clerks, and the foundation of the Cistercian order by Robert. These notes in the index are revealing, but they do not correspond with the text, either because this index belongs to a later recension, or because the relevant text folios have been excised (discussed below).

Grandisson may have drawn or commissioned the illustration of the Wheel of Fortune opposite f. 15, since the headings are in his hand, and the underlined 'Cronice Anglicane compilate a fratre Randulpho hykedoun monacho Cestrie' is in his display script.

Grandisson's text is that of the 'short' version of the chronicle (1327) with additions down to 1338, a date Grandisson wrote as running-title on f. 156: *Anno domini M^oCC^oCXXXVIIJ. The text is arranged in seven books which correspond with the author's arrangement in his earliest version; it does not contain the chapter divisions introduced by Higden at a later stage. Furthermore, it begins with 'In historico namque contextu', whereas later manuscripts had the *incipit*: 'Post preclaros artium scriptores'.¹⁰²

Grandisson's first surviving textual annotation is the subject heading 'Nota de Cantuariensi et Eboracensi' on f. 38, and the margins have other underlined headings in his display script, especially from Book V concerning King Arthur (f. 114v), to 'Inter Cantuariensem et Eboracensem' (f. 148v).

Many leaves have been excised from this manuscript, as one can see by M. R. James's collation. The excisions do not appear to be sectarian, for there is an account of Thomas Becket's consecration as chancellor by Archbishop Theobald (f. 146rb), with Grandisson's marginal note Sanctus Thomas Martyrus, and there are no papal or other similar deletions. The 'gaps' occur where excisions and other changes were made by Higden himself in his later recensions, and I believe that the excisions in this manuscript were made by Grandisson with intention to bring his text up to date. For example, most quires of this manuscript are missing three to five leaves, but the first section, concerning the geography of the world, lacks ten, which would accommodate Higden's major revision in that section.

V. H. Galbraith considers that Higden had rewritten his chronicle in 1340, making further changes in it up to 1352. The dates 1340-1352 are quite early enough for Grandisson to have been aware of Higden's changes, but for some reason, he did not incorporate these revisions.¹⁰³ Even with the excisions, there are many important annotations of material not found in Grandisson's other histories. The annotations are discussed in more detail below in Chapter IV.

Grandisson annotated the continuations after the *Polychronicon* with square Notae. A note concerning 'domini Rogeri de mortuo mari' with pointing finger is at the head of f. 150, and he headed f. 151v with **C** M^oCC^oCXX^oXIIJ^o. et Iohannis .XXII. pape. Anno X^oVI^oIJ. et regnus E(dwardi) tercii anno gracie .VIJ^o. He wrote out the title of Edward (the Black Prince) at the time of the latter's birth, and he marked a reference to William Montacute (his brother-in-law) by a red 'Hic' (f. 152). He may have owned also the two short works which follow the *Polychronicon*, the 'Vita Secundi' (pencilled f. 157v) and the excerpt from Seneca 'De Morte' (f. 159), for the subjects would be of interest to him.

Several other folios which were formerly bound with this copy of the *Polychronicon* are now Lambeth Palace MS 188, ff. 158-64 (pencilled).¹⁰⁴ They contain miscellaneous historical information and lists. Annotations in Grandisson's hand are found on pencilled ff. 158 and 160v of Lambeth MS 188.

19. **London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1106--s.xiv** (ff. 1-110v), is a copy of the so-called *Flores Historiarum* compiled by a monk of St Albans, with continuations, including those from 1309-1341 known as 'Annales Paulini' which present 'an entirely new and original set of annals'.¹⁰⁵ Henry Wharton alleged that Adam Murimuth was the author of this particular set, but the evidence is not conclusive.¹⁰⁶ A work known as the annals of Elias

of Trickingham (ff. 111-120v) is now bound in with the *Flores*, but Grandisson did not annotate it.¹⁰⁷

The annals of Lambeth MS 1106 include information about events not recorded in Grandisson's other collections, such as details of the excommunication of Bishop Stapeldon's murderers (f. 106) and their subsequent acts of penance and absolution (ff. 106v-107). Following this account (which Grandisson annotated) the annals from 1332-1337 record events especially pertaining to Grandisson's episcopate. Stubbs says, 'After a blank quarter page and an apparently new beginning, but in the same hand to the year 1337, our Annals contain large paragraphs common to the annals of Adam Murimuth'.¹⁰⁸ This part begins 'Anno Domini M^oCCC^oXXXII^o tenuit dominus rex sollempniter Natale apud Welles usque Epiphaniam, ubi fiebant multa mirabilia sumptuosa', and subsequently records Grandisson's successful resistance of Archbishop Meopham's visitation in 1332 (f. 108).¹⁰⁹

Grandisson's hand appears exclusively in subject headings on ff. 2v-3r. On f. 3r a Grandisson index finger points toward his 'Nota de insula albion que nuntiunt anglia dicitur'; Grandisson placed a paraph mark in the text to show where the passage begins. Below, 'Gigantes in Anglia' is also in his hand. According to Luard, the fable to which these notes allude occurs as an event contemporaneous with the history of Moses, and its narration is unique to this manuscript of the *Flores*.¹¹⁰ Grandisson wrote subject headings for Roman emperors, ff. 8-10, and on f. 10ra, 'Invencio contra judeos'. Several of his headings are accompanied by his distinctive pointing finger. On f. 48ra he calls attention to 'Anselmus Cantuariensis consecrata' and 'visio Anselmi de beato Albano et de morte W. Rufi Regis'; these are among his longer annotations. Grandisson added headings passim up to f. 107v.

Two other manuscripts of historical texts which belonged to John Grandisson are in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh.¹¹¹

20. **Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.5.1**--s.xiv, is a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum*, identified as an Exeter book, since it is listed in the 1506 Inventory.¹¹² The signature of John Parker (son of Archbishop Matthew Parker) appears on f. 1r in red crayon.

Grandisson wrote the title '**P** Gestus Anglorum, Beda' (sic) on f. 1r and the heading 'Prologus'. On f. 5r (top right-hand edge) is his 'Hic incipit legenda nostra del sancto Antonino'. He wrote roman chapter numbers and numerous marginal notes (mainly underlined) throughout the codex; both his display script and his glossing hand appear, although notes have been cropped. He used pointing fingers (typical on f. 9v), Notae (Plate 13), paraphs (ff. 25v, 56v), and *paragraphi* (ff. 48v, 88). He used wavy-line brackets (f. 42) and barred-line brackets (f. 97), both topped by Notae. Foliation, in roman numerals in the right-hand corner at the foot of the recto, is in his hand. He marked some of the sections for lections on saints' days: see Chapter V, below, pp. 199, 201. The final '*Explicit Beda de Gestis Anglorum' is in his hand.

21. **Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 33.5.4**--s.xiv, is a copy of the third recension of the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon which appeared in 1139, with a narrative of events down to the end of 1138.¹¹³ The original plan of the work had been adhered to, but Book VII was enlarged by a few pages to include an account of the consecration of Archbishop Theobald, January 1139, which was afterwards to become the opening portion of Book VIII. The Advocates manuscript does not contain the books *De summitatibus* and *De miraculis* (which were included later) and the Epilogue.¹¹⁴

An *Ex libris* showing that the book had belonged to Grandisson appears on f. 1: 'Liber venerabilis patris domini Johannis Exoniensis episcopi. qui eum celauerit. anathema sit'. Grandisson annotated this book from the beginning, which, given the dependency of the text on that of Bede, suggests that he might have acquired this book before his copy of the Bede. However, the heading in Grandisson's hand above the *Ex libris* inscription, and repeated in the margin, suggests another reason for his heavy annotation: **C** Cronica Anglorum optime (sic) et breuiata.; henrici huntindonie archidiaconi. Following this is *Prologus in display script, light brown ink, and opposite it, 'folium .j.' also in his hand. On f. 2r is Grandisson's display script: *Ista Cronica diuiditur in .vii. libros.; and, Cap .j. libri. I in .xi. foliis: he was making the text more accessible.

Grandisson added many more marginal notes in this than in the Bede manuscript; most are underlined and preceded by a Nota or *paragraphus*. His pointing fingers are typical (f. 1v), though few. Brackets are chiefly with bars topped by Nota. From f. 3 Grandisson supplied running titles, and from f. 5 he began to write folio numbers in arabic rather than roman. He seems to have edited as he went along, putting hairlines over double *i*'s and embellishing initial letters (f. 1v) and Notae (ff. 69, 70v). The evidence of his close-reading and of his enthusiasm emanates from every page.

22. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 287 (SC 2435)**-- s.xiv, is a copy of part of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. It consists of an introduction and fifteen of the thirty-two books, the introduction being number one. Two short extracts from chronicles are appended on f. 306rv. This book is not listed in the 1506 Inventory, but it came to the Bodleian Library in the donation of 1603.¹¹⁵ Each book is preceded by a list of chapters. The history begins with the divisions of the world, then the divisions of the tribes or people, followed by the 'times' of Jacob, Joseph,

Moses, through prominent rulers of the world to 'Hystoria Zosime'. Grandisson (and others) did not annotate much beyond the birth of Christ, not even in the times of the apostles. Grandisson did not comment on those parts of the history which he had annotated in other books.

Grandisson acquired the book late from the estate of Robert Hereward, a former canon of Exeter who died in 1362. Grandisson's heading is on f. v verso: 'Prima pars speculi historialis Ex legato magistri Roberto Hereward quondam Canonici Exoniensis'.¹¹⁶ He put 'Lib' with an appropriate number in the upper right-hand corner as running titles, sometimes adding descriptive material below as well. He made a few corrections with symbols (f. 86, 'venenum'; f. 168v, 'obliquans'). Many pointing fingers appear in the manuscript, but it is impossible to say that all of them are Grandisson's. Those on ff. 117rb, 119v are certainly his. He made several cross-references, one to clarify which 'Darius' was being described, f. 49va; another on f. 86rb to Lib. XI, cap. cxxxix in *Speculum naturale* 'in versibus macri'.

Brackets in this manuscript are chiefly straight-line with circles or 'knobs' at intervals, in clumps (rather like brussels sprouts on one side of a stalk); Grandisson used this kind on f. 60, with his notes; and on f. 97 with his 'Nota deus est animus ut dicit cato'. The straight-line brackets with rings and bars which appear on ff. 71v-72, were not made by Grandisson. There are a number of brackets in facial profile which are not possible to identify as Grandisson's.

Grandisson used three colours of ink in his headings and notes: orange-brown, chocolate brown, and 'washed' black. His hand appears principally in subject headings, such as 'Europa' (f. 17v); de ortu ydolatrie (f. 22vb); 'Hercules' (heading f. 37ra); 'Nabugodonosor inferus ad manum' (f. 47); 'Galienus medicus' (f. 195v); 'zelus' (f. 211, with bracket and pointing

finger). He has some longer notes, such as, 'Homo gerit ymaginem dei. non angelus aut mulier' (f. 12v, Lib. II, cap. xli); and 'vide quid fecit Moyses in monte sinay xl diebus' (f. 30, Lib. III, cap. xiii).

23. **Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 0.10.23**--s.xii in., is a copy of the *Liber Miraculorum* of Gregory of Tours.¹¹⁷ The subjects of the book of miracles are 'The Glory of the Blessed Martyrs' (f. 1 *et seq.*); 'The Lives of the Fathers' (f. 32 *et seq.*); and 'The Glory of the Confessors' (f. 65v *et seq.*).

Richard Rouse attributes the hand of the prologue and list of chapters (numbered ff. i-vi) to a French scribe of the early fourteenth century.¹¹⁸ Grandisson's autograph appears at the top of f. i above the *tabula*: '*Gregorius Thuronensis.;. .J. Exoniensis.;. | Qui vix inuenitur:' (and in a smaller script, possibly added after he had time to find out the errors) 'vnde male scribitur. nec potest corrigi;.' On the verso of the second original fly-leaf is a similar judgment in Grandisson's headline hand: '*non fuit bonus grammaticus. ut ipsemet testatur.;. | in prologo libri tercii, vide ibi exterius signati.' On f. vi verso Grandisson reveals in display script his evaluation of the worth of the book in spite of its errors: '*Talis nunc liber rarissime inuenitur.;. *Ideo damus capitulo Exoniensis *Manu .J. Exoniensis.;. *Male et corrupte scribitur | nec exemplar inuenitur.;. Nota .Videat lector peritus. et intelligens. quantum valet.;. Excusat se. in prologo libri tercii'. On f. 65v top margin he wrote in display script: Iste Gregorius Turonensis | non curavit de | grammatica sicut | beatus gregorius doctor. And below, commenting on Gregory's prologue to *libri tertia*, he said: '**P** Excusat se de | congruitate scribendi secundum regulas gramma- | ticas quas non didicit,' Authorities agree in attributing the irregularities of style to Gregory and not to a copyist.¹¹⁹

Grandisson marked the *tabula* (ff. i-vi recto) with Notae, paraphs and *paragraphi*, and subject headings in the margins. There are three books divided into short chapters: 106 in the first, 20 in the second, 107 in the

third. (There is a discrepancy between the actual number of chapters and those listed.) He wrote notes (underlined) in the margins to highlight those subjects in the text that interested him; he indicated the beginnings of books with his headings, and he separated words or 'dotted' *i*'s to make the script easier to read. It is possible that Grandisson acquired this book in France before he came to Exeter, and subsequently used it when preparing the *Legendary* for his Cathedral.

The Judge Ordinary

The following canon law books may have belonged to Grandisson, though they bear no inscriptions. They were listed in the 1506 Inventory of books belonging to Exeter Cathedral, but not in the 1327 Inventory. Grandisson owned a 'Magnum Decretum et Decretales' which he bequeathed to his grand-nephew, Philipp Beauchamp, but which has not survived.¹²⁰

24. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 290 (SC 2441)**--s.xiv¹, is a copy of Gratian's *Concordantia discordantium canonum*, with gloss by Johannes Teutonicus.¹²¹ Marks in this manuscript cannot certainly be identified as Grandisson's. Those there are correspond to subject matter he has marked elsewhere, such as the rules of the various orders of the priesthood, and matters to do with women and marriage. There are a few Notae and pointing fingers which could be his (ff. 34r, 183v, 203v), but no inscriptions and glosses. This cannot have been Grandisson's personal reference book.

25. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 293 (SC 2448)**--s.xiv¹, is a copy of the *Summa Summarum (Speculum Iuris Canonici ac Reportorium (sic))* of William of Pagula, composed between 1321-1332.¹²²

A note on f. 1rb says, 'Nota que continentur. Et hanc summam habens, reportorium W. duranti non (in)diget, quia totum illud in hac

continetur'. Leonard Boyle has reproduced the text of the Prologue and the Index from this manuscript (ff. 1r-2r).¹²³ Original apparatus included running-titles, rubrics of the decretals in the text listed numerically to correspond to the *Decretals* collection, and *questiones* marked in the margins.

There are no Grandisson inscriptions nor display script, but two leaves at the beginning and two at the end have been excised which might have held inscriptions. Grandisson's Nota signs and pointing fingers with cuffs, buttons and finger joints are on ff. 167, 168, and 234v. Since Grandisson wrote the Nota sign near the foot of f. 123vb, he presumably added the bracket adjacent to it. He made corrections on ff. 46rb, 70va, 73rb, 78va, and elsewhere. He put numbers at the heads of folios to coordinate text with *tabula*: both the pencilled arabic numbers and the later roman ones in ink are in his hand (see ff. 10-11). On f. 219rb he identified a lacuna with *signe de renvoi*, accompanied by directions as to where to find the missing material (one and one-half columns which had been added in a text hand on ff. 250rb-250va after the *Explicit*).¹²⁴ He supplied material at the foot of f. 193v, where he had written, 'Deficit columpna'. These emendations imply that he had checked the manuscript against another copy.

The forms for taking oaths of office ('forma de appellacionibus'), ff. 102r-103r, were perhaps ordered by Grandisson, but executed by a scribe. No doubt some of the glosses in this book are Grandisson's, but it is difficult to separate them from the welter of other contemporary glosses; however, the 'Nota hic pro episcopos' on f. 120v is in his hand. He has annotated many of these subjects with more emphasis in other texts. The numerous ugly small faces used in this manuscript as brackets (see ff. 122, 228v) could have been made by anyone. I believe Grandisson acquired this manuscript as a useful tool for his canons and added whatever he saw was

needed as apparatus, without conspicuous personal interest in the work.

Books of Personal Devotion

26. **London, British Library Add. MS 21926**--s.xiii, is a Psalter which Grandisson bequeathed in his Will to Isabella, daughter of Edward III.¹²⁵ On the verso of the first endleaf is an undated memorandum in a modern hand to the effect that the book was probably executed after 1262, because the Kalendar has the feast day of Richard (of Chichester), April 3; but before 1276, since his translation (June 16) is not entered. However, Richard's translation was not celebrated at Exeter and might therefore not have been entered in any case.

On f. 2 is a full-page drawing of an angel tinted in blue and brown, wearing Grandisson's armorial insignia, and an added note records that it was 'Liber Johannis de Grandissono | Episcopus Exoniensis consecratus | anno domini .MCCCXXVII. obit Anno 1369'. Grandisson's obit has been added to the Kalendar for July 15, and his 'Provisio... de episcopata Exon.' for August 12. At the foot of f. 5 the obit of Edward III is recorded (June 1377) and at the foot of f. 6 has been written: '*Anno domini .m.ccc.lxix. obit venerabilis prelatus dominus Johannes de Grandissono Episcopus Exoniensis. Qui istud psalterium legavit nobilissime domine domine Isabelle filie quondam Regis Anglie Edwardi tercii a conquestu.;.' On f. 26 (the Beatus page) is Grandisson's autograph, 'J. de G. Exoniensis' written in tiny letters below the illustration, and his arms with mitre are on the right and the left in coloured bands at the foot of the page.

The Kalendar is ungraded, and has not been adapted to Exeter Use, as indicated by many saints whose feasts were not on Exeter's Kalendar, and whose names Grandisson underlined in red.¹²⁶ By contrast, saints especially celebrated at Exeter, such as Brannock, Kieran (Piran) and Petroc, are not here, nor is Thomas, Grandisson's great uncle, whom he added to his Legendary. Thomas, archbishop and martyr, has been deleted

subsequently. Anne (July 26) and Frideswide ('Fritheswythe', Oct. 19), are among the 'new' saints in this Kalendar. (Grandisson had added Frideswide to his *Legendary*, and had introduced a mass for St Anne, see Chapter V.) After 'S. Augustini episcopi' (May 26) Grandisson had added 'Anglorum', and 'parisiensi' after S. Germani episcopi' (May 28) to avoid ambiguity. Grandisson did not alter the book to Exeter Use because it was a book of personal devotion. It is elaborately decorated and illustrated with much gold and colour, and the parchment is of high quality. It has fourteen illustrations of saints, scenes from the life of Christ, and Psalm illustrations.

Grandisson inserted various headings, such as 'Ad primam' and 'Feria tertia' to indicate when certain Psalms were to be said or sung, and he marked where the Gloria Patri was appropriate. Notation was added, probably at his order.

27. Oxford, All Souls College MS 6-- s.xiii, is a Psalter that came into Grandisson's possession. It is an elaborately illustrated and decorated volume, containing a Kalendar, Psalter, Litany, and Office of the Dead. The decoration has been attributed to an artist working at Salisbury from c.1240-1260.¹²⁷ A suggestion that the manuscript was produced for a member of the Fontevrault Order of Benedictines at Amesbury has recently been questioned by Nigel Morgan. Amesbury was a daughter house of Fontevrault, whose blue over green habit was worn by nuns and monks illustrated in the manuscript; however, Morgan suggests that while the figure kneeling before the Virgin and Child is probably a nun, it could be a widow. A stronger link with Amesbury is that the two feasts (May 6, October 1) of St Mylor, whose relics were at Amesbury, are in the Kalendar with high-colour gradings.¹²⁸ He states further that the Kalendar is 'almost pure Sarum' and resembles the 'proper Amesbury Calendar only in the high grading of the feasts of St Melor'; also, the Litany is not of the Amesbury-Fontevrault type, and the Office of the Dead is non-Sarum,

written over in the fourteenth century. 'The historiated initials of the main liturgical divisions show strong iconographic dependence on those of the early 13th-century Imola Psalter. . . which probably belonged to Amesbury'.

The Kalendar is preceded by four full-page illustrations: Annunciation (f. 3); Virgin and Child with nun (f. 4); Crucifixion (f. 5); Christ in Majesty with nun (f. 6). The *Beatus* page (f. 13) has a Tree of Jesse with biblical scenes in medallions in the borders. The divisions of the psalms are indicated by ten half-page illustrations: Ps. xxvi, Samuel anointing David; Ps. xxxviii, Massacre of the Innocents; Ps. li, Torture of Martyrs (perhaps prompted by the legend of St Mylor)¹²⁹; Ps. lii, Christ tempted by the Devil; Ps. lxxviii, Jonas and the whale; Ps. lxxx, Jacob's Ladder; Ps. xcvi, Annunciation to Shepherds; Ps. ci, the Resurrection; Ps. cix, the Trinity; and Monk confessing at the end of the Psalms, where the intercessory part begins.¹³⁰ Initials of other psalms are three-line, with much use of gold; some are historiated. There are also plant and animal line-fillers and two-line versals in red or blue, alternating.

The Kalendar (ff. 7-12v) contains a few saints not in the Exeter Kalendar nor in Grandisson's *Legendary*: Emerentiana (Jan. 23); Sabina (Jan. 28); Potamion (Jan. 29); Wandrille (July 22). Grandisson added David (Mar. 1); Richard of Chichester (April 3); and Anne (July 26). The feasts which he added to the Kalendar are not graded, and he did not attempt to make the Kalendar conform to Exeter Use. The Kalendar had already been adapted for Sarum Use, and Grandisson did not delete the names which had Amesbury significance (such as Euphemia), nor did he change the grading of the feasts.¹³³

The Psalter (ff. 13-161) is written in large Textura^{prescissa} with a smaller script for the antiphons. The Weekly Canticles (ff. 161-173) are in Sarum order, and the Litany which follows (ff. 175-179) agrees in most respects

with both the Sarum and Exeter Kalendars.

The Office of the Dead (ff. 180-186) has been amended by Grandisson to Sarum/Exeter Use, except that he added a psalm before each *lectio* (Psalms i-ix). The prayers to be used for Vespers and Lauds are placed between the *Placebo* and the *Dirige*. The Office follows Sarum Use in Lauds, but Grandisson gives a choice of 'Exaltabo' or 'Uoce mea', for the final Psalm, and cues for prayers to be said, especially one 'Pro episcopis' and one 'Generalis', a prayer for all souls. He crossed out 'Dominus uobiscum'; the Office ends with 'Requiescant in pace. Amen'. There are other prayers for the dead, and the *Commendatio animarum* ends the manuscript (f. 188v).¹³¹

Grandisson might have acquired the Psalter as a gift or legacy from his sister Katherine. After her husband, the Earl of Salisbury, died on January 30, 1344, Katherine took the veil. She died April 23, 1349, which may be a *terminus post quem* for Grandisson's acquisition of the book.¹³²

In a number of cases the original antiphons and responses have been erased and replaced by those of Sarum/Exeter Use, expanding into the lower margins as necessary.¹³³ There are noted antiphons for thirty-nine Psalms. Grandisson wrote headings for the historical sources of the Canticles, and a lengthy note on the origin of the *Te Deum* (f. 169v):

*Quicquid dicatur de isto ympno. Te deum laudamus. teste cassiodore de institucione sanctarum scripturarum et augustino ad valentinianum. Beatus Nycetius viennensis episcopus. composuit et beatus Ambrosius cum Augustino. eum baptizans decantauit.;.¹³⁴

He made a number of changes to assist in reading, heightening initials in the Kalendar, making corrections, dotting *i*'s, adding hyphens, hairlines to final *e*'s, and brackets where lines had run over.

28. **Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson G. 170 (SC 14893)**--s.xiv, is a Psalter of York Use which Grandisson either owned or borrowed.¹³⁵ The Psalter consists of a Kalendar, Psalter, Weekly Canticles, Litany, Office of the Dead. The Kalendar (ff. 1-8), is not graded, and contains a number of feast days for saints not celebrated at Exeter. The Weekly Canticles (ff. 194-212) are followed by the Litany (ff. 212v-217v). After the Agnus Dei, Kyrie, and Pater noster (f. 217v) are general prayers (ff. 218v-220), among them one for the archbishop. The Office of the Dead ends with the prayer 'Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor' (f. 227v).

Endleaves which might have contained evidence of ownership have been removed, and two lines at the foot of the *Beatus* page (f. 8) which may have been an inscription have been thoroughly erased. To the Kalendar Grandisson added the qualification 'abbatis' after the names of Petroc (June 4) and Botulph (June 17). He wrote 'Taddee' in the margin beside the name of St Thaddeus in the litany (f. 213). His glossing hand appears at the top of f. 212v in light brown ink: 'Ista letania et| que sequuntur sunt| de usu Eboracensi', and in display script at the beginning of the Office of the Dead (f. 220v) he wrote: '*De usu Eboracensi; non Sarisberiensi'. Both headings are underlined in his customary fashion.

Grandisson Manuscripts of Doubtful Ownership

Two manuscripts have the Grandisson coat of arms, but do not have John Grandisson's mitre on the bend of the shield. The English members of the family used 'three eagles displayed' on the bend, but after Grandisson became bishop, he took the mitre in place of the centre eagle. (His uncle Otho, having been a Crusader, was permitted to use three scallops in place of the eagles.)

29. **London, British Library MS Add. 17443**--s.xiii, is a French copy of the *Roman de la Quête de San Graal* and *Roman de la Mort Artur*, which

comprise the third and fourth parts of the *Lancelot du Lac* attributed to Walter Map.¹³⁶

Four folios have been added after f. 127 by a fifteenth-century scribe to complete missing text. There are two miniatures: (f. 1) Arthur and his knights at the Round Table, with Launcelot riding into the room from the left; (f. 62r) Arthur dictating to a scribe.

Grandisson arms are at the foot of f. 1, and the elements of the shield have been painted accurately, except that the figures on the bend ('gules') are smudged and indistinguishable either as eagles or as mitre, having been too crudely drawn or deliberately mutilated. Roman chapter numbers which I believe to be Grandisson's are on the verso of the folios throughout, but there is nothing else in his hand. The roman numerals show that the pages have been cropped up to one quarter- inch at the sides. One parchment endleaf opposite f. 1 contained pencilled notes in a late hand, now illegible.

Grandisson's veneration of Arthur would point to an interest in this text, but in view of the slender evidence, his ownership is uncertain.

30. **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 6299**--s.xiv *in.*, is an illustrated and illuminated copy of Aristotle's *Metaphysica et Metheora*. It contains the arms of England and of Grandisson, and was presumably made for a member of the English branch of the Grandisson family, John or Thomas or both. John and Thomas studied in Paris; Thomas died in Avignon in 1317. By the mid-fourteenth century the book appears to have passed to a member of an Italian family living in Provence.¹³⁷ It does not seem to have been brought back to England, and is not otherwise identified as one of John Grandisson's books. Though I have seen the manuscript, I have not been able to examine it.¹³⁸

Grandisson Refers to Copies of Texts which Have Not Survived

He took subjects from the following for a concordance (no. 31):

Augustine	<i>Super Genesem ad litteram</i> <i>De nuptiis et concupiscentia</i> <i>De Genesem</i> <i>De doctrina cristiana</i> <i>In eucharista</i> <i>Contra achademicos</i>
Prosperus	<i>In sententia</i>

The following works are mentioned in his Will (*Reg.* III, 1550-1556, translated 1513-1519):

Sermons of Bernard, sent to Pope Urban
A large book of prayers of Anselm and Augustine bequeathed to his successors
Nicholas of Lyra on the Psalms bequeathed to the Cathedral
A book of Decrees and Decretals given to Philip de Beauchamp
A Concordance intended for Lewis Charleton
(These above would be most important to find, because of their bearing on Grandisson's work.)

All the works of Thomas Aquinas to the Dominicans of Exeter (we do not know whether 'omnia Scripta Sancta Fratris Thome', p. 1553, means all that Thomas wrote, or all that Grandisson possessed of his writings).

To the Cathedral:
Two antiphonaries, two graduals and two psalters 'majora et meliora de Capella mea'
The Gospel of St John, 'de antiqua litera coopertum argenteo deaurato'

To his successors:
Pontifical books, 'libros meos Episcopales, majorem et minorem, quos egomet compilavi'¹³⁹
Three missals, 'unam. . . preciosum notatum, cum Sequenciis. . . , aliud novum et bonum ejusdem litere sine nota, et tertium portatile'
A book of the Gospels 'prout leguntur per annum, coopertum argenteo (sic) cum ymaginibus Marie et Johannis'
Three portable graduals, 'unum majus pro seipsis'
A Legendary 'in uno volumine de Camera mea'
Bible, 'meliorem'
Two books of homelies 'ad legendum coram ipsis'
Other antiphonaries and psalters, some for the clerks

To Philip Beauchamp, his nephew (most personal of all):
 'Pulchram parvam Bibliam meam' from Robert Hereward
 Breviary and psalter 'camera mee'
 Missal 'parvam et pulchrum'

He mentioned other books which he was aware of:

Ambrose's commentary on Luke: he speaks of it in no. 13, f. iii recto
 not listed either in the *Registrum Anglie* for Exeter, nor in
 the 1327 and 1506 Inventories)

William of Malmesbury's *Chronica*, for Feast of translation of Edward
 the Confessor, October 13, which is actually from *De gestis*
regum Anglorum, Lib. II

Isidore's *De ortu vita et obitu sanctorum* for the Feast of St John
 Baptist, June 24

Miracles of the Virgin for the Nativity of the BVM, September 8 and
 and Exaltation of the Cross, September 14

Jerome *De viris inlustribus* for Feast of Apostles Peter and Paul,
 June 29

William Durand, author of *Speculum Juris* ('quod fuit Guillelmi
 Durandi, Speculatoris') in his Will, III, 1552.

John de Harewell, bishop of Bath and Wells, bought 'a noted missal'
 and a 'Book of Innocents' from Grandisson's executors. He left
 the missal to his clerk, Robert Sloo. (Harewell's Will was
 proved August 20, 1386, and recorded in Abp. Whittlesey's
 Register).

According to R. H. Bartle, 'Walter Skirlaw (SkyreLOWE) bishop of
 Durham (ob. 1405) bequeathed a missal which had once
 belonged to Grandisson to Robert Braybrook, bishop of
 London'.¹⁴⁰

A Text which Survives Only as a Fragment

31. ^{2nd} **Gonville Caius College, Cambridge, MSS 803/807 (40)**-- s.xiv, contain,
 among other items, two half-leaf fragments of a *tabula* which Grandisson
 was in the process of developing as a concordance for fourteen works of the
 Fathers which are listed on the two surviving folios (see Plate 17). This
tabula follows the Kilwardby pattern, as described by D. A. Callus, of
 'grouping the words alphabetically and showing the places where they occur
 in the various works of the same Doctor or of others'.¹⁴¹

The script of the headings is that of Grandisson's early glossing hand,
 indicating that he was doing this work early in his career, before 1335 at

the latest. His inscription 'Liber Johannes' in small letters, occurs above centre 'A' which heads the first page. At a later time and in different ink, Grandisson wrote 'Kylewardeby' in large letters above the first column and 'epi. Exon' in the same hand and ink in the upper right-hand corner. The list of items, in sequence below, reveals that Grandisson was then in possession of several works which do not survive (indicated by +):

Augustine: +Super Genesem ad litteram, De bono coniugali
 Ambrose: In exameron
 Augustine: Liber retractationum
 Prosper: +In sententia
 Augustine: +De nuptiis et concupiscentia, +Super Genesem, +De doctrina cristiana
 Jerome: Contra Iovinianum
 Augustine: +In eucharista, +Contra academicos, De trinitate
De immortalitate anime
 Anselm: De veritate

In summary, the first point to emerge from the surviving books is that Grandisson used them. He read with close attention to details of the texts. He even annotated the texts in the most elaborately illustrated and decorated books (nos 6, 15, 16), including those of a devotional nature (nos 26, 27).

Grandisson's principal interests, as they emerge from his books, are traditional; he studied the Fathers, the Bible, and history, and did not indulge in speculation, so far as one can tell from his notes.¹⁴² He managed to be aware of the great controversies of his time, such as the poverty of Christ and the beatific vision, without having to commit himself. From an early date he acquired *originalia* of the Fathers (no. 1), but his

interests included the works of Isidore and Seneca (no. 2). Like many of his contemporaries (most notably Bradwardine), he evinced an especial interest in Augustine. He may have been influenced by his Cistercian tutor, Jacques Fournier (later Pope Benedict XII), who published a work on Hugh and Richard of St Victor, and would have been likely to introduce Grandisson to Hugh's program of biblical study and his list of recommended authors.¹⁴³

Grandisson kept abreast of trends in the biblical scholarship of his time. Since the thirteenth century (with Aquinas especially) the importance of the literal sense of the Biblical text had been recognized, and Lyra had demonstrated that a knowledge of Hebrew was necessary for the proper understanding of the literal sense (nos 3, 4, 5, 6, 11). Grandisson had known both Nicholas of Lyra and Nicholas Trevet, who no doubt influenced the direction of his studies toward Hebrew and literal exegesis of the Scripture. He gave the commentaries on the Psalms of both Nicholas of Lyra and Nicholas Trevet (no. 6) to his Cathedral Chapter.¹⁴⁴ Lyra had completed his work on the Psalms by 1333, and Trevet by 1324. Trevet died in 1335 and Lyra in 1349.¹⁴⁵ It is likely that Grandisson acquired their works during their lifetimes or soon after.

Grandisson owed much to the friars, especially their work in constructing concordances and *tabulae*. He gave a Concordance to the Cathedral and bequeathed another to Lewis Charlton, bishop of Hereford. Undoubtedly he had found them useful and wanted to share this tool: they were expensive gifts.¹⁴⁶ Grandisson was aware that in the thirteenth century certain works of Augustine were redivided into chapters according to divisions based on the *breviculi* rediscovered in ancient copies.¹⁴⁷ As if following a precedent, he added chapter numbers where appropriate in virtually every text he worked on. He perceived the value of Kilwardby's *Intentiones*, when he could obtain them.¹⁴⁸ He searched out indexes for his books, and appended them, adapting them to suit the text at hand: for

Augustine's *Confessiones* (no. 1) and *De civitate Dei* (no. 32); the *Flores Gregori* (no. 1); Isidore's *Libri etymologiarum* (no. 2) (the index perhaps written in his own hand); and one for the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden (no. 18). Thus he exploited the use of indexes: the earliest books that he possessed had them.

In his own indexes he used *ab* order, or *abc* order in some instances. In this he was advanced for his time, not only in acquiring (or developing) so many indexes, but in trying to refine his alphabetization to the second or third letter. Even fifteenth-century collections often observed only first-letter order, and absolute order was infrequent before the advent of printing.¹⁴⁹ Difficulties arose because spelling had not been standardized. Grandisson's entries in number 31, above, illustrate the problem: 'Abraham, Abimelech, Abyssus, Abstinencia, Abhominacio, Abortiuus, Achademici, Accedere, Actio'.

Grandisson's taste for history was insatiable, most in evidence after he became bishop. He read 'universal' history from the creation to his own time, with especial attention to those early events which affected the island of 'Albion', and to the development of Christianity in England later. He borrowed a copy of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* (no. 17), which he later returned. He then obtained one of the earliest recensions of the *Polychronicon* (no. 18) written by his contemporary, Ranulf Higden, a copy which he obviously valued, to judge by his glosses. He also annotated Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum* (no. 43), Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (no. 20), Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (no. 21), Martin Polonus's *Chronica* (no. 44), the *Flores Historiarum* with its continuations (no. 19). Late in life he annotated Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (no. 22). Grandisson read everything with historical perspective: the letters of Clement in his law books (nos 38, 39) gave a 'presence effect' to the times of the apostles; the letter collections of

Gregory the Great and Anselm (nos 33, 16) brought reality to the acts of those two great men.¹⁵⁰ Even Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (no. 32) is full of history for which Grandisson found parallels in his own time. It appears that while he read for a serious purpose, such as observing God's involvement with mankind, he found these books a source of entertainment as well.

CHAPTER II--NOTES

(For works referred to by abbreviations only, see the list on pp. iv-viii.)

1. Parkes, *ECBH*, p. xvii.
2. MS no. 1, colophon to Augustine's *Confessiones*, cited in *Bishop Grandisson--Student and Art-Lover* (Plymouth, 1929), p. 12. For manuscripts in which Grandisson's hand has previously been recognized, see Manuscripts List, p. 285.
3. As described by Parkes, *ECBH*, pp. xiv-xvii.
4. At any rate, Grandisson could have used spectacles if he had needed them. Bishop Bitton, 1292-1307, had five pairs 'one of which was beautifully ornamented'; J. F. Chanter, *The Bishop's Palace Exeter and its Story* (London, 1932), p. 21.
5. Parkes, *P&E*, p. 306.
6. Grandisson gives the date 1314 in the colophon (f. 106) as the year in which he corrected his copy of the *Confessiones*. Petrarch's 'long-fingered hands' found in London, Brit. Libr. MS Harl. 4927 and Bodl. Libr. MSS Canon Pat. Lat. 210 and 229, probably date from about 1329, according to Professor G. Billanovich (see A. C. de la Mare, "'Sapiens ubique est civis", Petrarch's Copy of the Letters of Ambrose', *Manuscripts at Oxford: R. W. Hunt Memorial Exhibition*, eds A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford, 1980), p. 146.) These are the only early pointing fingers I know of.
7. No. 16, cross-reference sign on f. 93ra with explanatory note to letter on f. 161rb at same sign. No. 36, f. 5v, '*Diligentissime nota ☩'.
8. See no. 37, p. 102.
9. No. 32. See Parkes, *SS&R*, p. 67.
10. *Confessiones*, *PL*, XXXII, cols 659-868; Ambrose *Pastorale*, *PL*, XVII, cols 567-80. Ambrose *Planctus*, *PL*, XVI, cols 1289-1316. See Römer, Band 276, 210.
11. The leaders of the Order, Jacques de Molai and Geoffrey de Charnay were burned at the stake on the Ile des Javiaux in Paris on March 19, 1314. The Council of Vienne took place from Oct. 16, 1311, to May 6, 1312. G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305-1378* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 242; p. xx. Grandisson's uncle Otho de Grandisson, though not a Templar, had been on friendly terms with Jacques de Molai during the Crusades.
12. James, *Mediaeval MSS in Lambeth Palace*, p. 323, gives 31 lines per page for Part I (ff. 1-118v), but midway through 'Liber IX' (ch. iv), the scribe decided to add lines to the page. Folio 62v has 31 lines; f. 63 has 34. The margins have remained the same top and bottom, but

the lines on f. 63 are closer together than those on f. 62v, with a gain of one line for approximately every ten. However, there is no difference in the written space between the two pages. There are 34 lines per page in the remainder of the *Confessiones*, as well as in the *Pastorale* and the *Planctus*.

13. *Pastorale*, PL, XVII, col. 569, line 14, 'suppliciis subdi, timore poenae percussus'; Grandisson text, f. 106v, 'suppliciis dei timorem pro lingue pena percussus'. Col. 569, 8 lines from foot, 'noscatur a nobis, et sic deinde servetur a nobis ut psalmographi'; Grandisson text omits the underlined words.

Planctus, PL, XVI, col. 1296 (18), 'Habeo plane pignus meum'; Grandisson text, f. 112, 'Habeo enim sane pignus meum'. PL, 'utinam ...quoque tuam meum corpus objicere'; Grandisson text omits 'objicere'. PL, col. 1296 (19), 'in meam mentem'; Grandisson text, f. 112, 'in meam mortem'. Occasional dissimilarities show the Grandisson text hasn't been checked against an exemplar (nor is the Migne text infallible), but on the whole, the quality of both *Pastorale* and *Planctus* is good, and the variations probably do not impede understanding.

14. R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974), 5-30 (pp. 6-10). There were three concordances listed among the books at Exeter Cathedral, one given by Grandisson. Rouse says, 'The third concordance (that is, the revised *Concordantiae Anglicanae*) was ... part of the panoply of expensive handbooks owned by those at the papal court in Avignon' (p. 22 and n56): this may have been the route by which Grandisson acquired his (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 359), although Stapeldon also had one (p. 441, item 48). (Master William Roges gave a concordance sometime between 1310-1329--Oliver, p. 309.)
15. See manuscript no. 8, p. 38, and note 59, below. See also no. 32, p. 75.
16. See Rouse, *Statim Invenire*, pp. 201-225, and references cited (p. 201nn2-3). On chapter divisions, see pp. 206-07.
17. A sample of subjects Grandisson commented upon in the latter books of the *Confessiones*: In Book XI, on 'how we are called to God', f. 81v, and on the concept of time and its measurement, f. 86v. In Book XII, on various explanations of Genesis 1:1-2, f. 92v, and how truth is held in common and not the property of a few, f. 94r; that God may reveal many sides of the same truth through various *auctoritates*, at ch. xxx (Grandisson's xxxi). In Book XIII, on understanding the Trinity, ch. xi, f. 98r, and several comments in response to Augustine's description of God's Creation. See also Chapter IV, pp. 146-51.
18. PL, XVII, cols 567-68: in the admonitory preface various titles for this work are listed, and there is a reference to the discovery by Jean Mabillon of the eleventh-century manuscript of Silvester at Limoges. See explanation by G. H. Williams, 'The Golden Priesthood and the Leaden State', *Harvard Theological Review*, 50 (1957), 37-64 (pp. 38-39).

19. See Chapter IV, p. 151. Grandisson took seriously the role of a bishop, as his notes show, and his concern with the content did not lead him to question authorship.
20. *PL*, XVI, cols 1294-1314. The break is at col. 1313, no. 1133, end of section 74. A little over a column remains in the complete version.
21. Isidore's *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis*, II, *PL*, LXXXIII, cols 825-68 (col. 833, sect. 26-835, sect. 34). M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols (Munich, 1911-31), I, 68-70 (p. 68), says 'eine zweite Sammlung Synonyma dem Isidor beigelegt'. Grandisson's extract has several omissions.
22. It is unusual to find Grandisson's display script anywhere in this manuscript. It seems likely that he added 'Superbia' when referring to that particular topic at a later date.
23. 'Contribution à l'histoire des florilèges ascétiques du haut moyen âge latin', *Rev. bénéd.*, 63 (1953), 246-291 (256n1). It is not among the 'exceptiones' of Walter d'Aversa, Odo of Cluny, Alulfus, Paterius, Adalbert of Spalding, nor Taio, to name a few of the better-known.
24. Notitiae ad Ord. FF.EE. S. Augustini spectantes ex libris introitus et exitus Camerae Apostolicae', *Analecta Augustiniana*, (Rome, 1905--) 9 (1921), 82-83; 19 (1944), 143 and references cited. See also L. E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972), p. 168. Emden, *BRUO*, s.n. 'Grandisson', pp. 800-801. P. A. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie à Paris au treizième siècle*, *Études de philosophie médiévale*, XVIII (Paris, 1933-34), no. 407.
25. *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi quondam Lincolniensis Epistolae*, RS [25] (London, 1861), 432-37.
26. L. E. Boyle, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care', *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law--1200-1400*, *Variorum Reprints* (London, 1981), pp. 22-44.
27. Boyle, pp. 24-25. Grandisson uses the usual spelling at this date of *cio* for *tio* (e.g., *discrecio*, *affeccione*) and *e* for diphthong *ae*, but he is not always consistent.
28. Grandisson had been canon and prebendary in Lincoln diocese from 1317. Early in his episcopate he wrote of the problem of papal provision in strong language, and again in 1349; *Reg. I*, 106, 307-8. W. A. Pantin, *Engl. Church*, p. 116n2; he believes this undated letter was written 'probably 1331'.
29. *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum et Abbreviatio Chronicarum Anglie*, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols, RS [44] (London, 1869), III, 140-144. The omissions correspond to Matthew Paris's, and this copy is the only witness that agrees with his version in the reading 'gerarchia' for 'hierarchia' (line 10). I have checked all

of the thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century manuscripts listed by S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 192-4; 212-13, as well as Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Bodley 312, f. 126, and a copy which belonged to Adam Marsh.

30. The post-epistolary matter in Grandisson's manuscript agrees verbatim with the account in Matthew Paris's *Abbreviatio Chronicorum Anglie* (note 25, above), ed. F. Madden, RS [44c] (London, 1869), III, p. 330. The additional material begins 'Cum hec epistola ad noticiam papalem', f. 194. See *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, 'Lincoln Diocese', ed. J. Le Neve, (rev. London, 1962-1967), pp. 68, 108.
31. The essence of the idea, given by Boyle (note 26, above), p. 22, is that papal mandates 'must be in accord with the "most divine sanctity", of the apostolic see, a sanctity which can never contradict Christ's teaching'.
32. R. H. Rouse argues for a Paris source of this and other Grandisson manuscripts of north French origin. See 'The A Text', pp. 97-112. Neil Ker rejected MS 3549B in his list of surviving books at Exeter Cathedral (*MLGB*, p. 85), as it is without evidence of donation. See *MMBL*, II, 841-44 for a detailed description. A letter affixed to the first flyleaf of the manuscript is addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral from Thomas Kerslake (dated 'Wynfrid, Clevedon, Feb. 7th, 1889'). Kerslake states that he had bought the manuscript many years ago and cherished it ever since. He had placed references inside which would show that it was 'entirely' in the hand of Bishop Grandisson. He was giving it to the Cathedral Library so that no harm would come to it. See Supplement, p. 281.

Nicholas Trevet was responsible for re-introducing Seneca's plays in the north of France, and his commentary on them appeared at the papal library at Avignon in 1317, where Grandisson may have learned about them. Other twelfth-century French manuscripts containing the *Octavia* begin with the *Libri etymologiarum* and contain Fulgentius's *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*, namely, Douai, Bibliothèque municipale 318, 319, and 320 (Rouse, pp. 97-98). The extracts from Seneca's ten tragedies were part of the *Flores paradysii* compiled in the thirteenth century 'primarily at the Cistercian house of Villers in Brabant' (*ibid.*).

33. Rouse, *ibid.*, p. 97.
34. *PL*, XXXIX, col. 2284, Sermo App. 285.
35. See manuscript no. 1, pp. 22-23.
36. Rouse, *Statim Invenire*, p. 202.
37. Postilla, second prologue, paragraph 1, from the text printed in *Biblia Sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria... et Postilla Nicolae Lirani...* (Tom I, Antwerp, 1617, 1634). I owe this reference to M. B. Parkes. See discussion by Smalley, *Study*, p. 331, and references cited. *Veritas in radice*: (in printed ed.), *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus*

inedita: opus minus (1266-1267), 3rd ed., J. S. Brewer, RS [15] (London, 1859), p. 332.

38. Trevet was lecturing in Paris in 1313. On Trevet: R. Dean, 'The Life and Works of Nicholas Trevet with Special Reference to his Anglo-Norman Chronicle' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1938), 'Expositio Litteralis super Psalterium', pp. 100-104. John XXII requested a copy of the Psalms commentary in a letter dated Sept. 1, 1324: 'it must have been completed long enough before that time for news of it to have reached Avignon', pp. 2, 102n4. The letter is reproduced *Regist. Vatic.* 112, sect. 2, f. 50v, Epistola 790 (cited in *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, II, AD 1305-1342, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1895), 495). See also A. Kleinhaus, 'Nicolaus Trivet O. P. Psalmorum Interpres', *Angelicum* 20 (1943), 219-36. On Lyra: 'Nicholaus de Lyre frère mineur', ed. C.-V. Langlois in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 36 (1927), 355-400 (pp. 371, 373). Nicholas of Lyre was in Paris for fifteen years from 1309, and from the first had an established reputation in the Faculty of Theology.
39. See M. Beit-Arie, *The Only Dated Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Written in England (1189CE)* (London, 1985), p. 16n10. Professor M. Banitt of Tel-Aviv University, who has studied and edited Old French biblical glossaries in Hebrew transliteration has identified the dialect.
40. D. S. Blondheim, 'Le Glossaire d'Oxford', in *Revue des Études Juives*, LVII, no. 113 (Paris, Jan. 1909), 1-18, says of this manuscript (pp. 1-2):

La nature du glossaire d'Oxford est révélée par la présence dans le manuscrit d'une portion des 'lemmes' hébreux rangés comme dans le manuscrit du *Tagnis*. . .
'lemmes' du glossaire avec les mots en rime dans le chef-d'oeuvre du poète Sephardi.

He says further (p. 1), '...le *Tagnis* était populaire chez les Juifs de langue française, puisque les manuscrits du poème conservés dans les bibliothèques de Munich...et de Hambourg'. (*Tagnis*, or *Tegnīs*, is an Arabic name.) It is a lyrical poem, written 1130-1140, in continuous homonyms. See M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1867), pp. 79-178 (p. 176): Moses Ibn Ezra is 'an eleventh-century authority whose country is unknown' (p. 139). See also M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin, 1852-60), col. 1808, which describes Abraham hab-Babli's essay.

41. A. D. Neubauer, *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in College Libraries of Oxford* (Oxford, 1886), no. 1466, gives a detailed description of the manuscript with references. For the Hebrew-French dictionary of synonymous words, he cites a printed text in *Romanische Studien*, E. Boehmer, ed., Bands 1-6 (Strassburg, 1871-1895), I, 163-196.

Eli Yassif in *Tarbiz* (also *Tarbitz*): *A Quarterly for Jewish Studies*, (Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1929--) vol. 53, no. 3 (April-June,

1984), 409 *et seq.* (text in Hebrew, summaries in English), says (p. v) that this manuscript contains an important collection of sixty-one tales, most of which have never appeared in print.... 'A literary-generic analysis of this collection of tales should open a new view on Jewish folk culture...' and '(it) has had an important influence on the repertoire of Jewish folk tales in modern times.'

M. Beit-Arié, *ibid.*, vol. 54, no. 4 (July-Sept. 1985), 631-34, is reported in summary, p. v. He dates the book in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, 'at the latest in the middle of the century'. He rejects the English provenance of the manuscript on codicological grounds.

42. On symbolic meaning of letters of the alphabet, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2, (Jerusalem, 1971) s.n. 'Alphabet', cols 747-49.
 43. Grandisson seems not to have numbered the folios containing the Hebrew alphabet (6-10).
 44. See Beit-Arie (note 39, above) p. 22n39, for a description of the Psalter script, and Smalley, *Study*, pp. 347-49. Robert Talbot (c.1505-1558) was born at Thorpe Malsover, Northamptonshire. He was elected to a fellowship at New College, Oxford, 1521; BA 1525; MA 1529. He was 'an industrious antiquary; Leland was his intimate friend'. Dr John Caius, Abraham Ortelius and Bale all praised his learning. (No mention of Hebrew scholarship.) *DNB*, s.n. See also 'Gascoigne', p. 9, above.
 45. J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 63-64.
 46. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 317.
 47. R. Dean, note 38 above, p. 102 and references cited. See her description of Trevet's work on the Psalms and this manuscript, pp. 100-104.
 48. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 441, lists a 'Psalterium Ieronimi glossatum per fratrum Nicolaun Trivet, 2 l[ibre]' in the inventory of Bishop Stapeldon's books. His executors were appointed July 25, 1328 (*Reg. I*, 364) and Grandisson's acquittance is recorded, Nov. 19, 1336 (*Reg. II*, 833).
- Pächt and Alexander, III, no. 580, say that the illumination was done by 'one of the hands of Christ Church Oxford MS 92'. The latter MS was produced in 1326 by Walter de Milemete (Millemet) and presented to the king.
49. *Reg. III*, 1553, trans. 1517.
 50. Three Bibles are listed in the inventory of Bishop Stapeldon's effects: 'Una Biblia bone litere, 10 marks'; 'Secunda Biblia, 13s. 4d.'; 'Tertia Biblia, 1 l[ibra]' (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 440). The first one listed approximates most nearly the supposed value of Grandisson's book.

51. See James H. Charlesworth and others, 'Five Apocryphal Syriac Psalms (Five Psalms of David, Psalms 151-155)', *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research, with a Supplement* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976; repr. 1981), pp. 202-209, esp. p. 204. The 151st Psalm was thought to date from the hellenistic period, but according to Professor Leonard Greenspoon (Clemson University) (verbally), 'Fragments of the Psalm 151 have been found in Cave 11 of the Dead Sea Scrolls, implying a Hebrew origin'. The Psalm exists in the Septuagint, and in Grandisson's manuscript has been closely translated from the Greek into Latin, using Greek word order; see *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. Alfred Rahlfs, eighth ed., 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1935; Hergestellt, 1965), II, 163-64. It is a rarity in Grandisson's manuscript. The text follows:

Pusillus eram inter fratres meos et adolescentior in
domo patris mei. Pascebam oues patris mei
manus mee fecerunt organum. Digiti mei aptauerunt
psalterium et quis annuntiauit domino meo. ipse
dominus ipse omnium exaudiet. Ipse misit angelum suum
et tulit me de ouibus patris mei. et unxit me
in misericordia unctionis suae. Fratres mei boni et magni
et non fuit beneplacitum in eis domino. Exiui obuiam
alienigene. et maledixit mihi in simulacris suis.
Ego autem euaginato ab ipso gladio amputaui caput
eius. et abstuli opprobrium de filiis israel.

52. *Reg. I*, 240, Letter 169; Emden, *BRUO*. Text of letter: 'Regraciamur vobis quod Librum Sermonum Beati Augustini pro nobis, prout Magister Ricardus filius Radulphi ex parte nostra vos rogavit, retinuistis, nobisque et condiciones ejusdem significastis et precium. Et, quia ipsum Librum habere volumus, lx solidos sterlingorum Magistro Johanni de Sovenaishe, Magistro Scholarum nostre Civitatis Exoniensis, pro ipso Libro tradi fecimus, ut nobis eundem, quamcuius nuncii securitas affuerit, transmittatis. Libros, eciam, Theologicos originales, veteres saltem et raros, ac Sermones antiquos, eciam sine Divisionibus Thematum, pro nostris usibus, exploretis; scribentes nobis condiciones et precium eorundem. Et parati erimus pro vobis facere prout convenit locis et temporibus. Valete. Data apud Chuddeleghe quinto die mensis Decembris' (1329).
53. *Oxford Deeds of Balliol College*, ed. H. E Salter, OHS 64 (Oxford, 1913), 285.
54. A. Wilmart, 'Un développement patristique sur l'Eucharistie dans la lettre de Pascale Radbert à Fredigard', *Studi e Testi*, 59 (1933), 267-78. The treatise 'De corpore et sanguine Domini' was written by Radbertus (as the letter proves) for the abbey of Corbie c. 831. It is contained in two extant Parisian manuscripts: Bibl. nat. Lat. 2840 (treatise, ff. 1-36v; letter, ff. 36v-46) and Bibl. nat. Lat. 12299 (formerly St-Germain-des-Prés), s.xi, from Corbie (treatise, ff. 1-44v; letter, ff. 49v-59). At the beginning of the treatise in the latter manuscript is the false attribution; as Wilmart says, 'le célèbre sermon eucharistique du cinquième siècle attribue faussement à Eusebe d'Emèse, et retenant ici cet absurde patronage: "Incipit sermo Eusebii Emisseni"' (p. 278). L. V. Delisle, ed., *Inventaire des*

manuscripts latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613 (Paris, 1863-1871; rev. Hildesheim; New York, 1974).

55. *PL*, XXIII, cols 723-26. For list of Augustine works in the manuscript, see Römer, Band 276, 228-29.
56. D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London, 1971), pp. 114, 124.
57. T. H. Aston and R. Faith, 'The Endowments of the University and Colleges to circa 1348' in *HUO*, T. H. Aston, ed. (Oxford, 1984), I, 265-309. See Table 7.1 University Loan Chests, pp. 276-77 and explanation pp. 278-87, drawn from the work of Graham Pollard.
58. For example: 'Aug. de .j. fide' on left-hand page, and 'ad petrum' on the right-hand page. Note that the tract number one (.j.) comes in the centre and divides the title. (There are four 'libri de fide ad petrum' contained here.)
59. (f. 1) 'In libro de fide ad petrum intendit A. instruere ipsum petrum et alios fideles super articulos fidei catholice'. See Callus, *Tabulae* p. 266, and 'New MSS', p. 40.
60. *F. Nicholai Triveti des ordine fratri Praedicatorum annales sex regum Angliae, qui a comitibus Andegavensibus originem traxerunt*, ed. T. Hog, English Historical Society (London, 1845), p. 278, quoted by Callus, *Tabulae*, p. 244: 'Post Ordinis vero ingressum studiosus in divinis Scripturis, originalibusque sanctorum patrum, libros Augustini fere omnes, aliorumque doctorum plurium, per parva distinxit capitula, sententiam singulorum sub brevibus annotando'.
61. Grandisson's display-script heading: 'De civitate dei scripsit beatus Augustinus libros .xxii. ex ista capitula.:', f. 132v.
62. Ep. 174, CSEL 44.650; Römer, Band 276, 208. There is no record of Augustine's *De Trinitate* at Exeter in the *Registrum Anglie* made by the Franciscans, early fourteenth century, nor in the inventories of 1327 and 1506 for Exeter Cathedral. The manuscript is not cited, therefore, for Exeter, in Ker's *MLGB*. See James, *Mediaeval MSS in Lambeth Palace*, Part I, pp. 223-24.
63. The book has been collated with another copy, as indicated by erasures and interlinear corrections with carets.
64. *Reg.* III, 1553; trans. 1517. Compare also manuscript no. 11.
65. Penbugyll was Rector of Stapeldon Hall in 1406-1407, and Andrew had connections with Exeter College (formerly Stapeldon Hall) until 1422. Both were from Cornwall. C. W. Boase, *Register of the Rectors, Fellows, and Other Members on the Foundation of Exeter College, Oxford...*, OHS 27 (Oxford, 1894), 25, 308, 27, 29. See note 57, above, *HUO*, I, p. 285: 'It seems certain that in order to circumvent the regulations of a given chest an individual fellow or officer might

borrow from it in his own name but in fact on behalf of his institution. This certainly happened at Exeter College'.

66. R. W. Hunt cites this manuscript as one of the 'Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste', *BLR* 4 (1953), 241-255. For MS Bodley 150, he lists the works which contain symbols, p. 252. To his list should be added 'De decem cordis' (*sic*) and 'Retractaciones'. Some of the texts have only one or two symbols, repeated; others, like the *Enchiridion*, have many.
67. Römer, Band 276, 230-31. See Chapter IV, *passim*.
68. See F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford, 1931), no. 362, pp. 137-38. The book was alienated sometime after 1437 but was subsequently bought back after 1878. It has been given a Coxe number, 256B: see Ker and Watson, *MLGB, Supplement to the Second Edition* (London, 1987), 659.
69. *Reg.* III, 1553; trans. 1517. See previous account of Grandisson's gift of *De Trinitate*, no. 9.
70. Emden, *BRUO*, s.n. 'Gardynner, John', p. 742.
71. H. W. Garrod, *Merton College Injunctions of Archbishop Kilwardby, 1276* (Oxford, 1929) and 'The Library Regulations of a Medieval College', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VIII, no. 3 (Dec. 1927), 313-335.
72. See description of this manuscript by Smalley, *Friars*, pp. 88-100 (esp. p. 88n3). Dr. Parkes has suggested to me that the hand of the Waleys commentary could be as late as 1400. With regard to a faulty copy: On f. 110ra, for example, about twenty lines are missing (approx. 160 words), present in later copies. The commentary breaks off eighteen lines into Liber VIII with 'illi qui ab eis vocantur'. There are no running titles.
73. Trevet probably wrote his commentary on the *De civitate Dei* between 1320-1334 (d. 1335) (R. Dean, *Medium Aevum* 10 (Oct., 1941), 164). A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c. 1282-1302*, OHS 96 (Oxford, 1934): 'He was already a person of some importance in the (Oxford) convent in 1297' (p. 283). He was in Oxford from 1303-1307; again 1314-1315 (p. 284). He was lector at the London Convent by September 1324; Emden, *BRUO*, s.n. 'Trevet', pp. 1902-1903.

Pantin, *Engl. Church*, pp. 143-46 (p. 143): 'Trivet's interests lie predominantly in historical and grammatical matters'. See also R. Dean, *Medium Aevum*, p. 163, and thesis, note 38, above, p. 142.
74. This work is listed in the 1506 Inventory of Exeter Cathedral (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 367) with secundo folio, 'Quamvis videmus' (*PL XLVII*, cols 149-430).
75. 'Collatio' was so-called from a book read in Chapter, originally Cassian's *Collationes*. The Benedictines established a practice, later

adopted by secular communities, of reading and debate in Chapter on the lives of the Fathers. See W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1898-1901; repr., 1969), I, 212-14: 'Postea immediate (after 'Precis cum collectis') legatur collacio, scilicet Liber pastoralis beati Gregorii pape, qui incipit sic, Pastoralis cure, uel dialogus eiusdem Gregorii de miraculis sanctorum Patrum, qui sic incipit, Quadam die nimiis'. Frere cites a s.xv. manuscript as evidence of this Sarum practice (London, Brit. Lib. MS Harl. 2911, f. 169). (See also Frere, I, 285).

76. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1923), I, 236-37, 237n1. 'Miracula sancti Benedicti' in *Les Miracles de Saint Benoît*, ed. E. de Certain, Société d'Histoire de France (Paris, 1858), pp. 1-14, contains the History of the Translation, which agrees in the main with the transcription in MS Bodley 230 until the last folio where there are some textual variations. E. de Certain explains the confusion of the names Adrevald and Adalbert (pp. xii-xv), but makes a strong case for the authorship of Adrevald.
77. A Grandisson gloss on f. 144 has had two words trimmed off, which means that these pages of 'Bede super lucam' have been cropped by as much as an inch.
78. See below, Chapter V, esp. pp. 197-98.
79. Ker, *MMBL*, II, 818-19.
80. Sermo XXXII has Grandisson's upper monogram of Plate 13; in Sermo LXXXI Grandisson used the other monogram (Plates 13-14) as a bracket.
81. Examples, Sermo XIII (2) and Sermo XXIII.
82. Rouse, *Statim Invenire*, p. 213.
83. *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 493. Ward thought Grandisson's inscription was 'in a hand of about 1520', and therefore attributed it to John Voysey, bishop of Exeter 1519-1551. Other works concerning the vision of the monk of Eynsham are M. Huber, *Romanische Forschungen*, XVI (Erlangen, 1904), 641-733; H. E. Salter, *Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham*, 2 vols, OHS 51, II, (Oxford, 1908), 257-371; H. Thurston, 'Visio monachi de Eynsham', *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXII (Brussels, 1903), 225-319.
84. R. W. Southern, *St Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 390-94; p. 391.
85. *Reg.* I, 174, Letter no. 34: 'pannos aureos et capas ostendatis et cetera ecclesiastica ornamenta, que olim erant Domini Alani Plokenet, et quicquid ad usus nostros idem valletus duxerit eligendum, ipsi, si placet, tradire faciatis'. Grandisson probably received these items by bequest either from Alan himself (who died in 1319 and was buried in Dore Abbey) or from Alan's sister, Joan de Bohun, his heiress, who died in 1327 (*DNB*).

Abbey Dore was founded to the honour of the BVM by Robert de Ewyas (*sic*) as a daughter house of Morimond in Eastern France in the time of King Stephen (Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, 552). John was elected abbot in AD 1298, and Richard Straddel, DD, in AD 1330 (*ibid.*, 553). Grandisson's letter no. 27, (*Reg.* I, 110-11) to Benedict XII, Jan. 1335, affirms that Dore 'a suis progenitoribus fundata'.

86. See C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 6-20 and Plate 4. N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts: A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 1190-1250*, 2 vols (London, 1982), I, no. 60, plate no. 201. Morgan dates the art work 'c.1220-1230', and says the drawings were probably executed at Dore. 'Production of illustrated books at monastic centres was by the 1220s relatively rare, and the Anselm text perhaps provides an interesting document of the sort of work which was specifically designed for a monastic readership', p. 107.
87. Printed text of Anselm's letters in *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1949-1951). The letters are vols 4-5. See also discussion of Letters 123-124 by Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, pp.162-165.
88. 'La Tradition des lettres de S. Anselme', *Rev. bénéd.* 43 (1931), 38-54 (p. 40).
89. Wilmart, p. 41.
90. Wilmart, p. 40.
91. As Grandisson's manuscript contains letters that were missing from the Canterbury collection, G. Gerberon used Grandisson's as the basis for his edition (printed in *PL*, CLIX, 3-4).
92. See below, Chapters IV, VI.
93. Printed in Oliver, *Lives*, p. 86.
94. See above, note 10, on the burning of the Templars. *Reg.* I, 585, concerns records of saints' lives.
95. London, Brit. Libr. MS Arundel 2, f. 42v. I am grateful to James P. Carley for this reference.
96. One copy of the Chronicle is contained in Bodl. Libr. MS Laud Misc. 627, no. 44. The other manuscript copies of the Exeter chronicle are in Exeter Archives MSS 3630C and 3625. For MS 3625 see J. N. Dalton, *Ordinale Exon* I, HBS 37 (London, 1909-1926), xvii *et seq.* and Appendix to HMC Rep. Var. Coll. IV, 41. 'Exoniensis Ecclesiae Chronicon Breve' is also transcribed and translated by J. W. Hewett, *Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society Transactions*, III, pt 3 (1899), 139-46; and *An Old Exeter Manuscript*, ed. by James G. Commin, trans. by O. J. Reichel (Exeter, 1907), pp. 9-15.

97. *Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS [76], 2 vols (London, 1882-83) I, xlii-li (p. lxviii, note 1).
98. Printed as *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi: De gestis pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS [52] (London, 1870)
99. July 1, 1332--May 1, 1333: Grandisson made diocesan visitations during that summer but was at Chudleigh from Oct. 22, 1332, to April 11, 1333 (*Reg.* III, 1526-27). He may have delivered the book himself, since he went north in April via Crediton and Morchard-Bishop to Bishop's Tawton, a few miles south of Pilton Priory near Barnstaple. He was back in Clyst on May 8. The previous summer he probably went to Malmesbury Abbey itself, as he was in Wiltshire during the latter part of June.
100. From Neil Ker's working cards for *MMBL* 'Exeter', on file in the Bodleian Library. See James, *Mediaeval MSS in Lambeth Palace*, pp.172-76, and James's transcriptions; he thought the book might have been bequeathed by Grandisson to the Church of St Mary Ottery. By Ker's time the notes on f. 15 (head and foot) had been entirely destroyed by reagents.
101. Taylor does not mention indexes, but several of the early recensions had them: Oxford, Magdalen Coll. MS 181; London, Brit. Libr. MS Royal 14.C.XIII, Royal 13.C.II; Cott. Nero D.VIII; Harley 1751 (checked against catalogues). St. John's College, Cambridge, MS 12 also has a *tabula* 'Aaron to Vxor'. Grandisson's, approximately datable by his heading on f. 6, must have been one of the earliest. With Grandisson's inscription on it, the *tabula* could not have been produced by John Rochefort in 1406, as indicated by Sancroft (James, note 100, above, p. 173).
102. J. Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 96-102, describes the various recensions: Lambeth MS 104 is described on p. 97. On Higden's recensions, see pp. 102-104. See also V. H. Galbraith, 'An Autograph MS of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 23 (1959), 1-18. Galbraith calls the *Polychronicon* 'a geographical book followed by six others corresponding to the "six ages"', p. 16. He says, 'Much has been added and much removed, especially in the earlier books', p. 2.
103. Exeter Cathedral MS 3509 is a copy of the 'intermediate' version of the *Polychronicon* with entries to 1341. It may be that acquiring this later copy caused Grandisson to stop his emendations. However, of the several hands that annotated MS 3509, Grandisson's can not be certainly identified.
104. Ker, *MMBL*, p. 83. James, pp. 292-95.
105. Stubbs (note 97 above), I, p. xlvi. H. R. Luard has given details of the variations: *Flores historiarum*, RS [95], 3 vols (London, 1890), I, xxvii-xxviii.
106. Stubbs, p. xlvii.

107. The annals of Elias of Trickingham is a thirteenth-century work specifically dealing with the Austin Priory of Huntingdon and the Abbeys of Ramsey and Peterborough. See James, *Mediaeval MSS in Lambeth Palace*, MS 1106, pp. 818-24, (p. 824), who says an Elias de Trykyngham gave 'MS 4, a collection of medical treatises of s.xiv' to Oriel College, Oxford, and he apparently owned Bodl. Libr. MS Digby 37 (signature f. 134), and MS Auct. F.5.28 ('Boethius de disciplina scholarium', etc.; signature f. 145). The latter formerly belonged to Oriel College, as part of the Cobbuldik collection; see 'The fourteenth-century booklist of the Oriel College library', printed by W. J. Courtenay, *Viator* 19 (1988), 283-90. It may be that the medical treatise had been alienated before the date of this list (Courtenay, pp. 288, 290), and there is no mention of Elias's annals. I am grateful to M. B. Parkes for the Courtenay reference and for his comments on the date of the list and surviving books in his chapter, 'The Provision of Books', *HUO*, II, *The Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. I. Catto (Oxford, 1992), p. 409n10; p. 459n254. Emden, *BRUO*, s.n. 'Trekingham', pp. 1905-1906, says Elias had received an MA degree by 1331 and been granted licence to study for one year from April 26, 1332.
108. Stubbs describes Murimuth's *Continuatio Chronicarum* on pp. lxxviii-lxx. See also *Adae Murimuth continuatio chronicarum*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson, RS [93] (London, 1889).
109. See Hingeston-Randolph's discussion of Lambeth MS 1106, *Reg.* III, 1539. I concede that Adam Murimuth must have been a valuable resource for this and other chronicles, no matter who composed the *Flores* entries; see Stubbs, p. lx for details of Murimuth's wide experience. Murimuth left Exeter in 1337 (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 278). The annals of the *Flores* beyond 1341 have only token entries. (Notes in black ink on the first seven folios belong to Bale (James, p. 819)).
110. *Flores*, I, 356-57.
111. They were brought to Scotland by Sir James Balfour, Lord of Denmilne and Kinnaird. He had bought them through the assistance of R. Dodsworth and Sir William Dugdale, between 1628-1631, and they bear his signature, date of purchase, and the Denmilne mark .
112. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 369: 2^o f. 'scripsimus aliter'. See Chap. IV, p. 143.
113. Printed as *Henrici archidiaconi Huntendunensis historia Anglorum from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154* in eight books, ed. Thomas Arnold, RS [74] (London, 1879).
114. *Ibid.*, pp. xii-xiii.
115. Both the 'Speculum Historiale' (in three volumes) and the 'Speculum Naturale' (in two volumes) are listed among the effects of Bishop Stapeldon, whose Will had been proved by 1336, and it is possible that Grandisson could have had their use through this means. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 441; *Reg.* II, 833.

116. I have not been able to identify Robert Hereward's hand, taking into consideration that he was older than Grandisson and probably would have used a hand similar to Grandisson's early hand, with split ascenders (see f. 16, first note, and note at foot of col. a). Possibly he copied the chronicles on the final pages. A number of glosses besides Grandisson's appear, but I suggest that Robert Hereward was not one who systematically annotated books as Grandisson did, for no single hand appears very frequently. Some glossators use the 'reversed' *e*, which was used in Grandisson's registers as early as 1330 or before. If it did not become a part of Grandisson's repertory within the subsequent ten years (as I believe it did not), it seems he would not adopt it later.
117. Listed in Inventory of 1506 (Oliver, *Lives*, 371): 'Gregorii Turonensis, 2^o fo., "Tate"' ('cari-tate'). Ker, *MLGB*, p. 82.
118. 'The A Text', p. 98.
119. W. Arndt and B. Krusch, *Gregorii Turonensis opera*, MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* (Hannover, 1885); M. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890). Cited by W. C. McDermott, *Gregory of Tours, Selections from the Minor Works* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 9-10. McDermott says (p. 10), 'It is interesting to note that Arndt, Krusch, and Bonnet are very conservative in assigning irregularity in the text of Gregory to the fault of the copyist'. Arndt and Krusch did not list Grandisson's manuscript.
120. On Grandisson's bequest to Philipp Beauchamp, see *Reg.* III, 1554, trans. 1518.
121. S. Kuttner, 'Die Glossa Ordinaria des Johannes Teutonicus zum Dekret', *Studi e Testi* 71 (1937), 93-99 (p. 96): 'He wrote the glosses shortly after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215' (p. 93). The gloss is incomplete, ff. 91-106 and ff. 193-236v (*De penitencia*).

From Pächt and Alexander, III, no. 369: 's.xiii2/4 Gratian, Decretum with gloss of Johannes Teutonicus. Fine initial [PL xxxiii] Prov.: Exeter catalogue of 1506. Given by the Dean and Chapter, 1602. S. Kuttner, 'Repertorium der Kanonistik', *Studi e Testi*, LXXI (1937), 96.'
122. See Boyle, 'William of Pagula'. Boyle says in his Preface that William had just begun his *Summa Summarum* in the summer of 1321, when he retired to Winkfield and acted there as parish priest and penitentiary to the end of his life (c. 1332). The *Summa Summarum* is the 'most mature' of his works. See also Pantin, *Engl. Church*, pp. 195-202.
123. Boyle, II, 208-31. Boyle says, further (pp. 423-24), that the *Summa Summarum* is divided into five books: 'iudex, iudicium, clerus, connubia, crimen'. William followed Raymund de Peñafort's distribution of the collection of Decretals which Gregory IX sponsored

in 1234 (182 distinctions) and added 75 of his own choice, many of which were borrowed from the *Reportorium* of William Durant.

124. The subject given by Grandisson is 'Pro quibus peccatis est peccator ad papam mittendus' (V, liiii).
125. *Reg.* III, 1551, 1514 (in English). See Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic MSS, II, (1250-1285)*, no.165 (plates 319, 321-27; fig. 16).
126. Not celebrated at Exeter are Lucianus (Jan. 8); Paul the hermit (Jan. 10); Polycarp, (Jan. 26); Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (Jan. 31); Pope Cletus (Apr. 26); Ferdinand III, king of Spain (May 31); Pamphilius (June 2); Wulstan (translation, June 7); Botulph (June 17); Leufred abbot of Croix-St-Leufroy (Evreux, June 21); Grimbald (July 8); Syle, apostle (July 8); Genesius (Aug. 25); Ordination of Gregory I (Sept. 3); Ewren (?Euryn) (Sept. 7). Female saints are Emerentiana (Jan. 23) and Felicula, sister of Petronilla (June 13). There are no lections for the listed saints in Grandisson's *Legendary*, nor any for the translation of Richard on June 16.
127. See esp. N. Morgan (note 86, above), II, no. 101, p. 60. Also, A. E. J. Hollaender, 'The Sarum Illuminator and His School', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 50 (1944), 230-62. E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century* (Paris, Brussels, 1926) pp. 53-54; Plates 81-83.
128. 'Melorus [Mylor] is found not only on Oct. 1 but also on May 1, as in no other English calendar', *teste* H. M. Bannister, quoted by Hollaender, p. 239. (Mylor's memorial was kept at Exeter October 1.)
129. Mylor was allegedly beheaded by his own brother. This Psalm ('Quid gloriaris in malitia') is usually illustrated by the scene of Cain killing Abel.
130. At 'Confitebor tibi domine quoniam iratus es mihi', f. 159. The kneeling monk is wearing the habit of Fontevrault, but see Morgan, *Early Gothic MSS, II, 1250-1285*, no.101 (plates 21-24, 29, and fig.1) who doubts the Fontevrault association.
133. Except for Sabina (Jan. 28) whose lections he crossed out for that date.
131. The Psalm 'Beati immaculati', which is used elsewhere almost without exception, is not used here.
132. *Reg.* I, 253 (f. 76) for letter 194, dated 1331, addressed to 'Monsire William de Mountagu' in which Grandisson calls him 'trescher et treshonure Frere' and refers to Katherine, saying it will give him joy to receive news from them. Katherine was buried beside her husband at Bisham Priory, Berks., an Augustinian foundation which he had established. Their two sons, William and John, were named in Grandisson's Will.
133. Grandisson may have added the occasional line to the antiphons where a correction or addition was to be made. His hand, while

attempting to imitate the Textura script, but without flourishes, is not so skillful and sure as the text hand, and his ink is a lighter brown.

134. See F. H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St Ambrose*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1935), I, 342, and references cited. Dudden said, 'There is much to be said for ascribing the authorship of the hymn to Niceta of Remesiana'.
135. Grandisson had many relatives and friends with York connections through whom he could have acquired this Psalter. He seems also to have been on good terms with Archbishop Greenfield, who had visitation rights when Grandisson was archdeacon of Nottingham.
136. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 348-49. A. Pauphilet, *La Quête del Saint Graal: Roman du treizième siècle* (Paris, 1967), lists manuscripts containing these works.
137. See F. Avril and P. Stirnemann, *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine insulaire septième-vingtième siècle de la Bibliothèque nationale*, (Paris, 1987), no. 176, and bibliography cited. See also *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, eds J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), p. 467.
138. I have seen the manuscript in a display case at the London exhibit of The Age of Chivalry, Royal Academy 1987. I believe the bend of the shield contains three eagles, not Grandisson's mitre.
139. Brit. Libr. MS Lansdowne 451, s.xv, purports to be a copy of Grandisson's 'Pontifical'. On f. 2, a note by James West, former owner, states that the manuscript formerly belonged to Evesham Abbey. The manuscript bears the language and *ordo* of Grandisson, even though it was copied after his death. For example (f. 1), 'Pontificale requirit officium| nosce primo sanctorum causas omnipotentil dominum: ut cognita origine in|telligenciam eorum misticam ipse| pontifex perfectus consequit|tur', followed by the 'Ordinandus' which contains many admonitions to the ordinands. The information for first tonsure is from 'de verbis magistri hugonis de sancto victore libro de sacramentis'. The litany is sung, and both Roman and Anglian rites are provided for the ordinations and consecrations. There is a detailed *tabula* of contents on f. 247. All of these features are typical of Grandisson's *ordinatio*.

See J. N. Dalton, ed., *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary, the ordinacio et statuta, 1338-1339* (Cambridge, 1917). Canon Dalton says that the Pontifical later owned by Bishop Clifford of London (CCCC MS 79) and Brit. Libr. MS Lansdowne 451 'were transmitted from Grandisson through Braybrook and may be the two left in Grandisson's Will to his successors', p. 158. However, James says (*Medieval Manuscripts in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*. I, 158-64), 'Begun for Bishop Mona of St David's, the book must have been completed after 1407 when Mona died and Clifford was translated to London. . .', p. 164. If either book were contemporary with Grandisson, his hand would be found in it.

140. R. H. Bartle, *A Study of Private Book Collections in England between c. 1200 and the Early Years of the Sixteenth Century*, (unpublished B. Litt. thesis, Oxford Univ., 1957), p. 70.
141. See manuscript no. 8, p. 38, and note 58, above.
142. See Chapter IV, esp. pp. 148-49.
143. P. A. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie à Paris au treizième siècle* (Paris, 1934), XVIII, no. 370, 265-66. See Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, trans. by J. Taylor (New York and London, 1961), Book 4, ch. 2 and ch. 14, on the subject of authentic writings, and Book 5, on how to read Scripture. Grandisson corrected the *Confessiones* (no. 1) by Hugh's copy, and he acquired works of Hugh (no. 10, f. 98v).
144. Three books of Nicholas of Lyra were also chained 'retro stallum Thesaurarii' (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 309). Grandisson's inscription regarding his gift and his statement claiming acquaintance with these two scholars is opposite f. 1r of no. 6.
145. Lyra: See C.-V. Langlois (above, note 38), p. 373: 'En 1326, il en était déjà aux Psaumes, car le commentaire du Psaume XXXII est ainsi date dans le très nombreux manuscrits: "Hoc autem opus fuit scriptum Anno Domini CCCXXVI"'. On the death of Lyra, p. 356.

Trevet: R. Dean, (see above, notes 38, 73).

On the death of Trevet: *Medium Aevum*, 10 (1941), 164: 'It appears... from the contents of Trevet's *Anglo-Norman Chronicle* that he lived until at least 1334, since he mentions therein that John XXII was pope for nineteen years'. (John XXII died Dec. 1334.)

146. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 359: '1 Liber Concordanciarum, 2^of. "24 di consilium eius" ex dono Johannis de Grandissono'. It was chained 'retro stallum Thesaurarii'. Grandisson's Will, *Reg. III*, 1553, trans. 1517. A Concordance given earlier to the Cathedral by Master William Roges between 1310-1327 was valued at four marks (Oliver, p. 309). These books have not survived. The *Summa* of Guilielmus Brito contained over 2500 entries in absolute order: see Oliver, *Lives*, p. 367. See L. W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Brussels, 1967), p. 73.
147. Grandisson's copy of *De Trinitate* (no. 9) had no chapter divisions. (See R. W. Hunt, 'Chapter Headings of Augustine *De Trinitate* Ascribed to Adam Marsh', *BLR* 5 (1956), 63-68 (p. 68).) The chapter and verse divisions of his Bible (no. 7) accord with those set by Stephen Langton. Grandisson's chapter divisions in the *Confessiones* (no. 1) differ from modern ones by as much as a sentence to a paragraph, but in Books XI and XII, there is a discrepancy of one to two chapters. His chapter divisions of *De civitate Dei* (no. 32) more nearly conform to modern divisions. It seems likely that the deviations occurred in recopying. See H. I. Marrou, 'La division en chapitres des livres de *La Cité de Dieu*', *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck*, S.J. (Gembloux, 1951), pp. 235-49.

148. See manuscript no. 31. 'De fide ad Petrum dyaconum' (no. 8, f. 1) has Kilwardby *Intenciones* and *Capitulae*, and *De civitate Dei* (no. 32), an imperfect set.
149. See Daly (note 146, above), p. 71: 'Papias's "dictionary" discusses arrangement in alphabetic order in the preface, but admits difficulties because spelling has not been standardized.' On p. 95 Daly discusses the problems of alphabetizing without slips: parchment was expensive and hard to obtain.
150. C.-V. Langlois, 'Formulaires de lettres du xii^e, du xiii^e et du xiv^e siècles', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 35.2 (1896), 413-14: 'The most precious documents for the history of the Middle Ages are letters, missive letters, both official and private correspondences'.
G. Constable, 'Letters and Letter Collections' in *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge Occidental*, ed. by L. Genicot, Fasc. 17 (Turnhout, 1976), p. 66: 'The very breadth and adaptability of the genre suited it to touch upon almost every possible aspect of life and thought in the Middle Ages'.

CHAPTER III--BOOKS AT EXETER CATHEDRAL 1327-1369

Bishop Grandisson's handwriting also appears in books which are known to have belonged to Exeter Cathedral during the period of his episcopate. His interest in these books is reflected by the amount of his activity in them, from display inscriptions in his large splayed hand to aids to the reader, such as word separation or writing over existing letters. His activity varies from a single inscription to full apparatus and glosses.

When Grandisson used the Cathedral books rather than his own, his focus changed. Though he read some Cathedral books for his own purposes, in most cases he seems to have been considering the convenience of other readers by making texts accessible. This is evidenced by his greater use of display script than previously, with a view to attracting attention or to finding things quickly.¹ He supplied indexes, added or amended tables of contents, added running-titles and chapter or folio indications. He used chapter summaries, Kilwardby's 'intentiones', subject headings, and Notae, so that the reader could find the desired content. Other apparatus (identification of proper names, re-spelling of words, *paragraphus* marks for *sententiae*, glosses) helped to promote clarity.

There is a significant corpus of material that he marked for use when preparing his Ordinal, his *opus magnum* of the early 1330s. He also identified texts which might be appropriate for sermons, by his indication of sources, subjects, and *exempla*, and his writing of proper names in the margins (not displayed in the text). Pencilled excerpt marks (3-<) used in many texts as a means of distinguishing the essential from the less important, might have been useful for sermons or homilies; no collections of these 'flores' have been found. Notes from his own texts were not usually repeated in Cathedral copies, helpful though they might have been, but he gave some of his own books with their valuable apparatus and glosses to the Cathedral.²

Grandisson's marks are most prolific in those works which would have assisted him in his role as bishop: for example, he marked some canon-law books heavily.³ Some subjects were important in the cure of souls: virginity, for instance, as an ideal for his clergy, or with its implications for

marriage and inheritance; and the moral implications of concupiscence, with all its ramifications (as in *gula*, *bigamia*).

The 1327 Inventory of books at Exeter Cathedral lists approximately 230 codices, including missals, antiphonaries and psalters. Moreover, listed among the ornaments were such books as these: 'Septem textus cum asseribus [covers] argenti ornati, unde unus bene ornatus argento et lapidibus emalatus, unde unus fuerat condonatus custodibus per Episcopum et Capitulum'. Grandisson's gifts of such books have not survived.⁴

There is little evidence as to where these Cathedral books were kept; we have no indication that any such place as a 'library' (a room to house books) existed in 1327. There may have been a room for books above the cloister on the south side,⁵ but there are scattered references to books kept behind the high altar, or in the Treasury and the Exchequer Room over St Andrew's chapel.⁶ Since construction work on the Cathedral fabric was taking place during the first half of the fourteenth century, first in the choir and later in the nave,⁷ it is possible that books had to be moved for safety from one area to another, and that some of them, at least, were kept in chests on a movable cart such as Bishop Stapeldon used for his own personal collection.⁸ After 1388 Bishop Brantingham began to arrange for a proper library, and in 1412, a lectrinum or reading-room was built over the east cloister and supplied with benches and desks on the lectern-system.⁹ Before 1506, when another inventory was taken, books of a kind could be kept together; such a classification had its antecedents in the organisation of the 1327 Inventory.

Grandisson must have removed books in order to work on them. Until he added rooms to the Bishop's Palace (conjecturally between 1335-1340) which could accommodate such work, he very likely took Cathedral books to one of his manors close by, Chudleigh or Clyst.¹⁰

If a manuscript is listed in the 1327 Inventory, then Grandisson could have had access to it, but would not necessarily have marked it. There are three obvious reasons for his not marking a text in a Cathedral book: that he did not read it; that the book was so well-ordered and legible that he did not need to add anything, or that the work was so unimportant, out of date, or

the copy so faulty, that to edit it would not be worth his time and effort. No. 23 (Gregory of Tours) provides evidence that Grandisson had no patience with poor workmanship (in this case, faulty grammar), but in a number of cases the flaws are obvious without his comment.¹¹ Grandisson did not mark any books given by his predecessor Leofric except no. 89, which contains the Rule of Chrodegang, and no. 37 (Bede on the Canonical Epistles) which is generally conceded to be number fifty-one in the list of Leofric's gifts to Exeter Cathedral.¹² They may have been hard to read because of their script, or they may have been kept separately as the founder's collection. That Grandisson did not use them suggests that while he respected antiquity, he preferred to use up-to-date texts.

The books described below are in four categories: first, those Grandisson marked heavily with apparatus or annotations, chiefly for his own benefit; second, those he marked with his clergy in mind, principally to aid them in quick-finding or in understanding the text; third, those with inscriptions principally, and finally, those books with few marks of apparatus or comment, and in which^{the identification of} Grandisson's hand is uncertain.

32. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 691 (SC 2740)--s.xii, is a copy of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.¹³ Grandisson wrote in this manuscript as if it had belonged to him. It has fine historiated and other initials, most of which were added in the fourteenth century, probably by Grandisson's order.¹⁴ The illumination on f. 1v is especially significant as it represents the Mater Misericordiae, a subject which was close to Grandisson's heart.¹⁵

A synoptic table of contents in a late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century hand has been appended to the codex, apparently a set of Kilwardby's 'Intenciones' for this text, beginning abruptly with 'Liber III' the first full entry is at chapter xix. Grandisson put paraphs for each entry of the table and wrote chapter numbers in roman numerals in the margins (from f. vi verso he used two small diagonal lines instead of the paraphs). Running titles at the head of each column ('li.' and an arabic number in dark brown ink) indicate the relevant books of the text.¹⁶ He designated books in the columns of the table, preceded by the *paragraphus* to show where the

(crayon) arabic numbers (as, '2^{us} lib'; '3^{us} lib', ff. 26, 38).²⁰ He may have intended to complete these in some elegant way, but the project was left unfinished. Some of these numbers have been erased, as on f. 162v.

Straight-line brackets, pointing hands, square *notae* brackets, and one small face (f. 2v) fill the margins of the first four folios as far as Letter 10, but not after that; because of their 'delicate' aspect (made with a fine point), it seems they belong to the hand that wrote a cross-reference in small script, f. 1. This other annotator appears on ff. 57v, 102, 104v, and elsewhere; his few annotations and *notae* are the only others besides Grandisson's to appear.

Grandisson's large writing in this manuscript is in contrast to the small glosses of his early hand and suggests that he came to use the manuscript some years after his arrival at Exeter. As the material in the letters is of historical value to Grandisson and is instructive principally for bishops, it seems that Grandisson wrote the headings mainly for his own benefit.

34-36. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 289, 272, 273 (SC 2741, 1940, 1941)**-- s.xii, is a copy of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* in three volumes. The opening lines 'Aurelii Augustini . . .super Psalmos' are followed by a tractatus or short sermon. The relevant psalm verses are in red, followed in the same column by Augustine's commentary in black.²¹

Grandisson inscribed each volume of this set in a fine display hand, after this pattern: '*Liber Capituli Exon' *Pars I *Beatus Vir *Usque Dixit insipiens'. In the third volume of the series he added '*Ecclesie Exoniensis; cum aliis duobus precedentibus', reinforcing the evidence of ownership. He added apparatus throughout the three volumes. He used the diastole to separate words in titles and sometimes transcribed the titles into contemporary script.²² He added numerous marks to assist reading aloud: changed *punctus* to *punctus elevatus*, put flourishes over the *i*'s, and supplied hyphens.²³ He traced over the shapes of initial letters to make them stand out.²⁴ He put cues for each psalm in the upper right-hand corner of the recto as running titles, and sometimes also wrote in display script across the head of the page the cues of the most important ones

(no. 34, f. 32v). The 'Tit.' (Titulus) which appears in the margin beside the rubricated titles, and 'Hⁱ' to indicate the beginning of the commentary, may be by his hand completing the work someone else had begun. He wrote topic headings in the margins throughout, such as 'De die iudicii' (no. 34, f. 8), 'de natura lune' (no. 34, f. 21v), accompanied by Nota monograms. He used paraps to call attention to subjects, and brackets with bar lines or circles, topped by his Nota monogram (no. 34, ff. 164, 171, 172). (He may have used wavy-line brackets topped by three dots in triangle, as well, imitating others' earlier practice.) His pointing fingers and Nota monograms appear throughout (no. 34, ff. 8v, 90). 'Nota diligenter' occurs several times (ibid., ff. 5r, 94v). He marked Augustine's commentary with excerpt marks (3-<) in crayon or pencil in all three manuscripts. This is a fundamental text: Grandisson's glosses would have served both himself and his clergy.²⁵

37. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 849 (SC 2602)--is a copy of Bede on the Catholic Epistles, copied by a northern French scribe in AD 818 'ab incarnatione' (f. 168) (apparently the earliest surviving book with this method of dating).²⁶

Grandisson wrote at the top of f. vi verso: 'Beda super epistolas Canonicas'. He probably also wrote the title, now partially obliterated, in display script on one of the front flyleaves, 'P Beda prologus <super> <Ep>istolas Canonicas'. He provided running-titles (such as '.ja.' for 'Jacobus', f. 1); chapter numbers in the margins (as on f. 11v, '.ij. cap^m'; f. 31, '.iiij. cap^m'); with *paragraphus* to indicate where the chapter begins. He added arabic numerals corresponding to the chapters as cues in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos (as on ff. 31, 37). He put Notae where the commentary on each epistle begins. He punctuated the text using *punctus elevatus* (f. 9, line 4; f. 10, line 12). (The scribe used medial points only.) He revised spellings, changing the *t* of *quit* to *d* in 'Atquidiniusti' (f. 4v, line 12); separated words where the text was confusing (word separation was only partially realized); corrected spelling of 'Pythagorus' (f. 9, in line 8), and made other corrections *in rasura* or between the lines, as on f. 44v, four lines from the foot ('denominantur'). He identified *auctoritates* in the margins (f. 62, 'Fulgentius').

Grandisson wrote 'Nota de pacientia' as a subject heading on f. 2, but

most of the glosses, subject headings, and other annotations have been made by a current hand very similar to Grandisson's (as on f. 17), but which introduced most of the notes with 'vide' rather than 'nota', underlined them with a point at the left, and closed the top of initial *D* in contrast to Grandisson's open one (see below, p. 128). This hand annotated almost every page (to f. 115). Quotations from scripture had been indicated by (scribal) 's-shaped' diple in the margins, but key words or *sententia* were also underlined in red; it seems logical that this would be done by the hand that wrote most of the marginal notes. After f. 115v (II John), there are no more notes, but underlining, running titles, and chapter headings continue to the end on f. 168.

Grandisson Educated Himself in Canon Law

Among the books of canon law are several which have Grandisson's apparatus and commentary.

38. Eton College, MS 97 Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and Councils--s.xii, is described in detail by Neil Ker.²⁷

Grandisson did not add a Cathedral *ex libris*, but on f. 137v, he signed a note 'I. Ex.' On f. 226v Grandisson noted that Pope Gregory was the first to style himself 'seruus seruorum dei'.²⁸ He provided summaries and subject headings; added titles in display script and sometimes underlined them to make them stand out (ff. iii recto, 24, 258va); separated words with the diastole in titles (ff. 87v, 237va); added pointing fingers (ff. 5vb, 16, 89va, 110rb); Notae (ff. 6va, 14, 24, 48rb, 86, 110va, 243rb); straight-line brackets with tiny Notae at the top (ff. 13, 14, 63v); paraps (ff. 85vb, 87 in a list, 92va); *paragraphus* (ff. 81va, 203rb, 293va); and made cross-references (f. 29rb). Most of his marks were to facilitate reference or to emphasize important canons, but he wrote numerous glosses as commentary, as well.²⁹ The manuscript was at Eton in the fifteenth century, and is not, therefore, in the 1506 Exeter Inventory.

39. Exeter Cathedral MS 3512, Canon Law--s.xii in., as described by Neil Ker, contains excerpts from the *decreta*, that is papal letters, and the first part of Lanfranc's abbreviation of pseudo-Isidore (ff. 4-214).³⁰ Folios 214-222v have the same content as Eton MS 97, no. 38, ff. 232-236, which

include 'Capitula Angilramni'; decreta of Pope Nicholas following the council of Rome, AD 1059; and the oath of Berengar. An account of contents on ff. 1v-2v is in a fourteenth-century hand, and 'Berengarii retractatio' is added in a fifteenth-century hand. A table of contents on f. 3v is by the scribe of other early-twelfth-century Exeter *tabulae*.³¹

On f. iv verso is '**P** Epistole clementis papae ad iacobum ierosolimorum episcopum' to which Grandisson added: 'Deinceps aliorum summorum pontificum decreta vel epistole usque ad beatum Gregorium primum'. On f. 4 is Grandisson's inscription: *Liber Ecclesie Cathedralis Exoniensi, in display script. As with no. 38, almost every page bears marks of his attention, but his annotations do not duplicate those in no. 38. His subject headings were underlined in red, and appear beside the topics that concerned him, sometimes with brackets (Plate 14): in the letters of Clement, for example, Ad Episcopos (f. 5), Ad Dyaconos (f. 6v), and Predicacio beati petri apostoli (f. 9). He put the names of popes as running-titles in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos and numbered each letter. He added headings in display script on pages of particular importance, such as *Epistola Constantini Imperatoris de conuersione sua (f. 69v). He used pointing fingers (ff. 4v, 220v), and two kinds of Notae for emphasis (see ff. 8, 21v), red paraps to show where to begin in the line (f. 5), and the *paragraphus* (ff. 8, 219) to signal his own observations.³²

40. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 810 (SC 2677)**--s.xii, is the so-called 'Canones Apostolorum', comprising the canons of the great councils of the Church, and is a companion volume to Exeter MS 3512.

Grandisson inscribed 'Liber Ecclesie et Capituli Cathedralis Exoniensis' on f. 1 in a display hand underlined in red and with capitals heightened in red. The book's full title is 'Canones Apostolorum et Canones magni niceni consilii et multos aliorum conciliorum'. To a table of contents on f. iii verso, Grandisson added 'primum magnum' before the entry for Concilium Nicenum, and he bracketed the Councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon together with 'magna'. He emphasized some letters in the *tabula* and called attention to the 'Epistola Formata' (Greek) with a Nota sign.

In the text he numbered each council and used the appropriate council numbers as running-titles. (He stopped numbering the councils with XLVIII, 'Explicit Toletanum Concilium decimum', f. 115.)

Besides running-titles, folio numbers, and numbers added to the *tabula* on f. iii verso, Grandisson added Notae and short glosses throughout (indicating sources and subject headings, as on ff. 24v, 107v), and straight-line brackets with intersecting bars (f. 100v), such as he had used in the *Confessiones* (Plate 10). He made a few corrections (ff. 134, 152). He wrote a heading in display script, preceded by Nota for the section on Greek *Epistola Formata* (f. 24v). His pointing fingers appear on f. 2v, and on ff. 85rv, 86v with notes.

Other Works of the Church Fathers

41. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 237 (SC 1939)**--s.xii, is entitled 'Exceptiones Flori Fratri *Epistolas Pauli de libris Augustini*' (f. iv verso). It is a commentary on the Epistles of Paul compiled by Florus of Lyons, which Grandisson found very useful, as his glosses show.³³ Grandisson added further running titles selectively as needed (such as, 'Secundum ad Corinthios') and topic headings (f. 180, 'ad corinth'). He made further corrections (as on f. 83), and wrote chapter headings. He called attention to the subjects of his interest by Notae and pointing fingers.

42. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 94 (SC 1904) (ff.1-107v)**--s.xii², is a collection of works by Ambrose, with one by Jerome (ff. 109-59), and five letters of Augustine (ff. 159-166). (Grandisson did not annotate the letters of Augustine.) The Ambrose works are

f. 1	<i>De isaac et anima</i>
f. 22	<i>De bono mortis</i>
f. 35v	<i>De fuga seculi</i>
f. 47	<i>De iacob et uita beata, libri ii</i>
f. 65v	<i>De paradiso</i>
f. 84	<i>De consolatione ualentiniani</i>
f. 94	<i>Epistola ambrosii ad vercellenses</i>

Several hands annotated this book; Grandisson's marks can be identified with certainty in Ambrose's 'Epistola ad Vercellensem ecclesiam', although there are some perceptive glosses in book hand in the tract 'De Isaac et anima' (ff. 2v, 7r), concerning subjects Grandisson would have been

interested in.³⁴ It is likely that Grandisson gave alternative *ph* spellings for *f* on f. 6 ('pharao') and f. 15 ('orphanos'). In 'De bono mortis', the cursive 'Mors Triplex', a heading possibly in Grandisson's hand (see also no. 61, below) is accompanied by *paragraphus* marks for each of the three kinds of death, and a bracket with facial profile (f. 22). (See Plate 15.) In 'De consolatione Valentiniani'--a funeral oration on the death of Valentinian--Grandisson probably added the *paragraphus* signs and traced over initials to make them stand out on ff. 86v, 87r.

The letter to the Church of Vercelli concerns the virtues of abstinence and virginity. Grandisson wrote subject headings (as on ff. 95v, 100v, 101); marked sections with index fingers and Nota monograms (ff. 94v, 97, 98v, 99); and indicated *exempla* (f. 97v).

MS Bodley 94 also contains a copy of Jerome's *Contra iouinianum hereticum*--s.xii, (ff. 109-159).³⁵ Grandisson's interest in this text is indicated by his notes, both in display script (f. 135v) and in his glossing hand (f. 142v).³⁶ His pointing fingers and Nota signs appear on ff. 136v, 137rv, 143, 144. He indicated important places in the text by inserting the *paragraphus* (ff. 136-37), and to emphasize content he used a straight-line bracket topped by Nota (f. 137); a bracket in facial profile (f. 155v) is probably his also. He altered structural details; on f. 135v, for example, he substituted a capital *I* for a small letter *i* and punctuated with *punctus elevatus* instead of *punctus* after 'querit' (line 1). Jeronimus *Contra iouinianum* is contained also in MS Bodley 394 and MS Bodley 319, but Grandisson did not annotate it in those manuscripts.

Histories and Chronicles

43. **Exeter Cathedral, MS 3514**--s.xiii *med.*-xiii², contains several histories, two chronicles, and several genealogies, as well as a list of bishops and abbots.³⁷

Grandisson worked through this book, making a variety of marks, changing the shapes of letters and 'dotting' *i*'s, adding *Incipits* with short summaries, and writing subject headings. The table of contents on f. ii appears to be in his hand. As with other histories which he annotated, Grandisson is interested in origins. He wrote headings, 'De adventu

anglorum in Britanniam' (p. 10) and 'primus episcopus londonie' (p. 12); the notes on pages 10-15 relating to these subjects are his. The subjects he omitted are also informative; perhaps he had other copies? He did not annotate any of pages 19-21 concerning Bede's obit and Cuthbert's letter, nor the genealogical tables on pages 21-30, nor any of Bede's 'De ymagine mundi' (pp. 43-52). He wrote a gloss concerning the Great Flood (p. 58) and a heading for the 'Genealogia Regum Francie' (p. 61). The 'Explicit historia Daretis' is in his hand (p. 93). There is a Grandisson pointing finger on page 145, and his Notae and brackets appear throughout.

Grandisson annotated with subject headings and glosses both the *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 94-218) and the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon (pp. 226-450).³⁸ He did not duplicate notes which are in his personal copy of the *Historia Anglorum*, and there are very few of his notes here, but several other hands annotated this last. He entered a number of glosses to the Chronicle of Henry II (pp. 450-504). (See below, Chapter VI.) He may have supplied the title *Cronica de Wallia* on page 507 and a few notes in the final section of that chronicle which ends page 519.

44. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 627 (SC 1411)**--s.xiv-xv is a miscellany of which the chief work is *Chronicon Imperatorum Pontificumque Romanorum* by Martin Strepī, or Polonus, archbishop of Gniezno (d. c.1279).³⁹ This work, with *Incipit* 'Quoniam scire tempora', was listed in the 1327 Exeter Inventory. The manuscript now contains the following works:⁴⁰

- f. 1 *Exempla Epistolarum*, and 'Versus pro tabula ad tumbam
domini Henrici quinti, nuper regis Anglie'
- f. 3 Provinciale Episcopatum Universorum
- f. 9 *Chronicon* Martini Strepī (with continuations).
- f. 6 Summarium capitulorum totius Biblie
- f. 69 Libellus Innocentii papae III, *super Psalmos septem Poenitentiales*
- f. 89 Libellus (of Barnabas) *de conservanda oculorum sanitate*
- f. 92 Eadgari regis synodus et ad clerum oratio de monachatu
propagando
- f. 93v *Chronicon breve* ad ecclesiam Exoniensem pertinens usque
ad 1394 deductum

Grandisson supplied headings in display script (ff. 3, 9, 53v, 61, 89, 91); subject headings (such as, 'tholomeus' on f. 21ra; 'Ciprianus episcopus

Cartagene' on f. 23v; 'Gregorius', f. 24va, 'maximus', f. 53va) and 'De ficto sancto exhumato post .xxxi. annos', f. 53vb; *Explicit*s (f. 88vb) and other annotations for all except the first work and the last two. He added details (for example, the scribe wrote Virgilius, Grandisson wrote moritur; 'de templariis', Grandisson wrote 'combustis'.) His glosses, such as 'Augustinus claruit', appear on f. 28, and 'Nota institutionem misse' on f. 35v. He made interlinear corrections over erasures (f. 15va), and additions with *signes de renvoi* (f. 27va) to coordinate his marginal entries with the text. He wrote, 'Explicit cronica martini| hunc usque scripsit martinus et non ultra' (f. 52) in a small glossing hand, and 'Progressus biblie. Tam ueteris quam noui testamenti' (f. 61) in a large hand. On f. 60v he wrote 'pape deficiunt' and supplied the names of four popes (Benedict XII, Clement VI, Innocent VI, and Urban V) to update the list; he also added dates where needed (see f. 29va).⁴¹

Reginald Bugwell (Boggewille), canon of Exeter and dean from 1353-1364, copied and signed a 'Libellus de conservanda oculorum sanitate' (ff. 89-92), and wrote a colophon for it:⁴²

Finis igitur hoc presens opusculum vobis Domine venerande
ad laudem Dei Omnipotentis et beatissime virginis sub
millesimo cccmo xlo. die prima Aprilis Wenr. Sallariatus
ibidem

And below: 'Explicit libellus de conservanda oculorum sanitate. Reginaldis de Bugwell'. Grandisson's display script (underlined) identified the subject on f. 89, as '*medicinalia quedam particularia', and he provided a running-title *pro oculis, repeated in the margin below, with 'hic' to indicate the beginning of the tract.

Although Grandisson did not annotate the copy of the *Chronicon breve*, other copies of this chronicle circulated at Exeter, and it is probable that at some stage Grandisson knew of the Chronicle and encouraged its production.⁴³

45. London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra MS B.XIII, ff.91-157v--
s.xiii-xiv, contains a compilation of five chronicles, described as 'de regno et gestis Britonum et Anglorum, ad Annum 1305'. This is the only section of

the manuscript that Grandisson annotated, and it appears formerly to have been a separate gathering.

The heading on f. 91 (cropped) '**C** Compilatio de Regno et gestis Brittonum et Anglorum' appears to be his. He added red paraph marks and underlined in red the first word following each paraph. The notes and cross-references are his on f. 91 in red triangle and at the foot of ff. 91v, 92. His Nota monogram appears on ff. 95, 97, 105, and elsewhere, usually preceding his notes which are frequently underlined in red or in red boxes. His pointing finger appears on f. 99. He added at least some of the running titles (see ff. 108v, 121), and possibly folio numbers in the top left hand corner. Dates given in the margins are probably his.

Grandisson's subject headings and glosses appear in a variety^{of} styles and inks, suggesting he had been through this text a number of times. Those on f. 108 are in 'washed black' ink and a very tiny glossing hand, preceded by *paragraphus*. Those underlined or in red boxes tend to be in a more formal hand, as on f. 108v. Some notes appear to be Grandisson's attention-getting comments (ff. 108, 110) or cross-references (f. 98). The long glosses on ff. 107v, 108, 140v, 141, are probably Grandisson's, judging by the letter forms and general aspect, even though many of the *a*'s are two-compartment, a development of his later style. Almost all notes and glosses are incomplete because of cropping.

Scriptural Texts, Glossed Books of the Bible, the Sentences, Sermons and Tracts

46. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 377 (SC 2745)**--s.xiv *in.*, is the first of a two-volume set of the 'Catena aurea' of Thomas Aquinas.⁴⁴

Grandisson wrote the title on f. i verso in display script: 'Euangelia Mathei et Marchi | Glossata per fratrem Thomam Aquinum (corrected from 'Alquinum') | canonizatum (AD 1323) | Johannes et Lucas sunt in alio volumine'. A sample of his other marks are Notae (ff. 27v-28, 44, 54va, 97, 109rb, 119, 138vb); pointing fingers (ff. 49rb, 140vb); headings and glosses (ff. 16r, 46v, 128va, 219); and the brackets in facial profile (ff. 27v, 29, 48va, 49ra, 50rb, 173v) may be his. Grandisson added number 'viiij' to (Matt.) CLV, in the margin and as running title (ff. 69-71), and CIX in the same way,

f. 71v. He gave cues for some chapter designations (ff. 225v, 244). He may have indicated questions and responses in the discussion of the parable of the feeding of the five thousand (Matt. XIV:15-21) on f. 109va, and similarly in other places.

47. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 380 (SC 2733)**--s.xiv *in.*, is the companion volume of no. 46.

Grandisson wrote the title in display script on f. ii verso: 'Johannes et Lucas Glosati per Fratrem Thomam Alquini.;. | habet parem de Matheo et Marcho.;. | Ecclesie Exoniensis.;.'. The quality of parchment and script of this manuscript is better than that of no. 46, but there are many more corrections than in no. 46, some of which were made by Grandisson (as on ff. 68va, 69rb, 76va, 111, 127, 147v-148rb). As in no. 46, Grandisson may have written the cues for chapter numbers (see ff. 123, 200va), which seem to have been added with running-titles after the illumination.

There are fewer Grandisson marks in this codex than in no. 46. His *Notae* are on ff. 18rv, 44va, 48rb, 62va, 63ra, 63va; headings and glosses on ff. 11v, 36; *paragraphus* on f. 44va; a pointing finger on f. 12v; and brackets in facial profile which may be his are on ff. 18rv and 96. There is a Grandisson cross-reference on f. 41va, and he alters a source on f. 91va.

Though Grandisson took care that these books should be accurate and that the most important points should be emphasized, he wrote few glosses. The preponderance of his marks are in Matthew. The codices show little sign of use; the pages are clean and there are few annotations besides his, though some of the small *notae* are by another reader.

48. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 707 (SC 2608)**--s.xi, is Gregory the Great's 'Homeliae in Ezechielem'.⁴⁵ There are two parts: the first contains twelve homilies (ff. 1-91v), the second contains ten (ff. 91v-174v). Gregory comments only on Chapters 1-4 and 40 of Ezechiel; the homilies do not coordinate, therefore, with the *lecciones* which Grandisson specified in his Ordinal for November.

The inscription on f. ii, 'Iste est liber ecclesie Cathedralis Exoniensis',

is not in Grandisson's typical hand, but has some features of his letter forms.⁴⁶ Grandisson added two glosses: 'Nota qualiter regiones terrarum coniunguntur' (that is, in the human heart, and by love) (I, Homily X, f. 71) and 'Nota de Resurreccione hoc capitulo septem' (II, Homily VIII, f. 150). He marked Homily XI (Ezek. III:18) especially, with running-title in the upper right-hand corner of f. 77 and with several (Notabilia N) Notae (ff. 46-47); the homily concerned the duty of priests to warn sinners.

A bracket in facial profile on f. 87 (Homily XII, Ezek. III; 27) is accompanied by Grandisson's Nota. (Two kinds of Notae on f. 87 perhaps indicate reading at different times.) The subject is how the soul is weakened by sin ('Anima enim quae peccat recedit'). On f. 132v Grandisson indicated with pointing finger the subject of St Peter's humility (II, Homily VI): 'esset primus et in humilitate'.

49. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 725 (SC 2654)**--s.xii ex., is a copy of *Epistola Pauli*, with gloss by Peter Lombard. This is a companion volume to Bodleian MS Auct. D.2.8.⁴⁷ It has a prologue and list of chapters, and there are fine historiated and other initials.

Grandisson probably wrote 'Liber ecclesie Cathedralis Exoniensis' in display script with a scratchy pen and black ink at the head of f. 6v. The codex is marked throughout by Grandisson with subject headings, notes of virtues and vices, *exempla*, and Notae. He marked the chapters in Romans with arabic numerals (f. 42), and he made a few corrections with symbols as on ff. 39v, 83v, 88, 150v. He supplied running-titles, and indicated chapter and verse occasionally in ink or in crayon. He wrote glosses on f. 19 ('de viam et iusticia'); f. 24v ('venenum aspidum, et c.'), and on ff. 33v, 38v, 41, 47v, 83, 169v.

Grandisson's Interest Falls off Markedly with the Following Manuscripts (Some Ascriptions Doubtful)

50. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.8 (SC 2337)**--s.xii ex., is a Psalter with gloss by Peter Lombard.⁴⁸

This is a large book in which historiated initials with rubrics make the Psalms easy to locate. Grandisson wrote cues to the Psalms as running titles

in washed black ink in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos. He made a number of corrections (as on ff. 32rv, 247v, 284, 286). He supplied Notae (f. 61, and with pointing finger on f. 85v). He furnished subject headings occasionally (as on f. 281) and in the welter of notes on f. 87v, Grandisson's are the second line of notes below the *lemma*. The book needed little additional apparatus, and Grandisson's marks are few.

51. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 93 (SC 1902)**--s.xii ex., is a collection of Sermons by Augustine. There are twenty-five sermons in the first section (ff. 1-66) and thirty in the second which is entitled 'Homiliae in veteri testamento et novo' (ff. 67-111).⁴⁹

There is a table of contents for each section, one facing the text of f. 1; another on f. 67. The title is in Grandisson's hand on f. ii, 'Sermones beati Augustini, De lapsu mundi et avaritia | sermo primus'. Grandisson wrote the heading for the first table and initial 'D'(e) for each item, as the initials had not been supplied. He wrote Quidam Sermones beati Augustini episcopi on f. 1. Twenty of the twenty-five sermons in the first section of the codex are listed as being at Exeter in the *Registrum Anglie*, a survey of books in English libraries completed by Franciscans in the early fourteenth century.⁵⁰ The listed sermons have essentially the same titles and grouping as the first table of contents on f. 1 of the manuscript, from which, no doubt, the Franciscans copied them. None of the second section is listed, even though the sermons appear to have been added to the end folio of the previous set by the hand which copied the final sermon.

The table of contents on f. 67 is unedited by Grandisson except for a faint '**P** <ser>mone' in light brown ink added beside 'Sancte Rebecce'. A few sermon titles have been added to the text by more than one hand. The 'Omelia de Abraham' on f. 69v and the 'Sermo .s. Aug.' de Abraham et Isaac filio eius', f. 70v, may be in Grandisson's book hand. The 'de penitencia' subject heading on f. 111v, though small, is undoubtedly his.

Grandisson made a few corrections with *signes de renvoi* (ff. 22v, 50v) and marked some sections with excerpt signs (3-<), as on ff. 4v, 61v. Notae are in his hand on ff. 18v, 27v; but some *notae* elsewhere are by other hands. Rubrics begun for these sermons, perhaps at Grandisson's order (see

Sermo VI, f. 20v), were not carried out beyond Sermo VI in the first section, but Grandisson many have added numbers for a few more: 'Sermo .viij^{us}.' appears to be in his hand (f. 28). As Grandisson's interest in the content was eclectic, he did not number throughout nor write running-titles and subject headings for the sermons in his customary fashion.

52. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 201 (SC 1923)**--s.xii, is a composite codex comprising three manuscripts of works of Augustine, designated by the title of the first: *Contra Felicianum Arrianum altercatio*. Other items are as follows: (I) 'De agone cristiano' (preceded by Augustine's Retraction) (f. 10v); 'De cataclismo' (f. 20); 'De cantico noue' (f. 24v); 'Sermones varii', (beginning with 'De misterio crucis') (ff. 28v-63v);⁵¹ (II) 'De cura pro mortuis agenda' (f. 65); (III) 'De symbolo fidei libri quattuor' (f. 75, really 'quintus', to which Grandisson corrected it, on f. 97). 'De oracione dominica' (f. 99v) is the final work, beginning 'Simbolum reddidistis'.⁵² On f. 1 in the margin is a thirteenth-century table of contents, with additions of the first and last titles made in Grandisson's hand.

Grandisson added little to the apparatus of this codex and, judging by his marginal notes, he had a practical interest in only a few of the sermons from which he selected material for particular occasions. The first marginal notes in the manuscript occur on f. 40 beside Sermon 8 (9) 'Excerpta. . . qualiter vera et perfecta dilectio debeat custodiri'. The subject and *exempla* headings on that folio may be Grandisson's, for they are accompanied by his Notae. Grandisson's marks are scarce in the sermons that follow: he sometimes signified with a word the kernel of the *sententia* (for example, 'elemosina' beside the title 'De sancto Helia', f. 44; 'remedia' in a sermon on baptism, f. 62vb).

'De cura pro mortuis agenda' (ff. 65-73v) is a separate work bound into the codex. There are a number of Grandisson's Notae. His notes on ff. 69-71rv identify Augustine's 'narratio' and 'opinio'; on f. 71, they identify *questio/responsio*. Grandisson's own manuscript no. 10 included a copy of 'De cura pro mortuis agenda' at f. 34 and of 'De agone Cristiano' at f. 200v, and his annotations there show much more interest.

The final section of the manuscript was also a separate gathering

(ff. 75-102v).⁵³ Grandisson wrote the heading, 'Augustinus de symbolo apostolorum'. As in the previous work, there are various small annotations of subjects, *exempla*, and square *Notae*.

53. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 335 (SC 2334)**--s.xiii *ex.*, is a copy of the *Libri Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard.

On the inside front cover is 'Liber magistri Thome de Buckynham'.⁵⁴ On f. i recto is 'Istum librum dedit magister Thomas de Bukyngham quondam huius ecclesie Cancellarius'. The hand which added 'ecce' Exon' cath' above the 'dedit' of the inscription is Grandisson's. On f. v verso is 'Istum librum emit Thomas de Buckyngham et fuit librum magistri Roberti de Kynebelle'. Most of the hands which glossed the book are contemporary with Grandisson. The main body of glosses in chocolate brown ink may be by Buckingham.

This book has no Grandisson display script, but some of the glosses in light brown ink appear to be his: on f. 36 'nota proprium modum glosandi'; 'nota hic bene' on ff. 36v, 46v; on f. 135, 'distincio de libertate arbitrium', for example. Besides commenting on the content ('Sabelliam. . .', f. 7v; 'Caritas. . .', f. 35), he suggested cross-references (top of f. 262v) or identified sources: Ambrose on f. 21, top; Hilary, with Grandisson *Nota* bracket, f. 32; and Augustine on f. 144va. He cited Hugo of St Victor, *De sacramentis* several times in Book II (ff. 102 top, 117v, 131rb). He sometimes added *distinctio* numbers as running-titles for important pages, as on ff. 80v and 269v-270. His own glosses generally appeared at the head of the page where he called attention to items in the text ('vide hic', top of f. 10; 'nota hic de simbolis', f. 24v) and he used characteristic *Notae* (f. 13v, top). The pointing fingers which appear in this manuscript (ff. 14, 48v) cannot be attributed to Grandisson. The *arbor consanguinitatis* on f. 332 has many features of Grandisson's script. It is decorated with a simple design and grotesque faces and is unfinished.

54-55. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 683 and 253 (SC 2757) (SC 2123**)**--s.xii, are a set containing all thirty-five books of the *Moralia in Job* by Gregory the Great. They were valued at four pounds in 1327.

Grandisson shows little personal interest in these books.⁵⁵ He used brackets and assorted symbols to call attention to particular subjects, but there is little commentary on the text.

In Bodley MS 683 (Books I-XVI) which is preceded by Pope Gregory's Epistle to Leander and a Prologue, Grandisson wrote a heading, now partially obliterated (f. 1): 'Hic incipit Moralites Iob quod < >'. There is a curious lack of system in the numbering of the books--now roman, now arabic, sometimes both on the same page (ff. 104, 107). Arabic numerals were used for the numbers of books in the running titles (sometimes preceded by 'all' for the allegorical interpretation and 'mor' for the moral. On f. 44v is Grandisson's '**C** allegorice'). Books 3 to 5 were numbered incorrectly; the numbering was finally put right for 5 and 6 but in crayon with arabic numbers. Grandisson seems to have tried to clarify this confusion by erasing the number 4 and substituting 5; there is a *paragraphus* with arabic 4 on f. 69v, and another with 'ca x^m' on f. 166, also a part of this effort of clarification. After Book 6, ch. 6, the running-titles are in crayon.

Other marks of Grandisson's are square Notae and 'Notabilia N' (f. 76v), excerpt marks (3-<) (f. 5), pointing fingers (ff. 12v, 13v, 14v, 17v, 18v), wavy line brackets (ff. 21-44, 129-33, 166-70, 229-34), and brackets with facial profile (f. 106) (one appears with his Nota on f. 189v). There are subject headings in Grandisson's hand (f. 162) 'Britannia conuersa' with pointing finger; (f. 172) 'Quare de uulua'; (f. 222) 'peccatui operis' (in faint pencil).

Bodley MS 253 has many more notes in various hands. It has fewer excerpt marks than MS 683. The book numbers for running titles were correct throughout. Grandisson's notes appear chiefly as subject headings, for example: 'Nota de uera compassione' (f. 65v); 'Nota contra modernos' (f. 109v); 'Nota hic de temptacione' (f. 110); 'Nota condiciones prelati', (f. 124); 'Nota de creacione' (f. 265v). As in the companion manuscript, two kinds of Grandisson Notae appear (ff. 6, 12v, 70, 99, 113, 116-18, 155v); some pointing fingers (ff. 12, 87); and brackets in facial profile (ff. 12-20, 152 with Grandisson's 'Nota bene'). The 'ladder' bracket topped by Nota

(f. 75v) is also Grandisson's with accompanying pointing finger. Grandisson supplied 'Incipit XXXI^{us}' when it had been inadvertently left out by the rubricator (f. 231), and he added initial letters to the verses written on the final folio, 326v. He provided cross-references for all the books summarized on ff. 177-78. As in the previous manuscript, the moral and the allegory are distinguished by 'mor' and 'all' (see ff. 245, 249).

Grandisson's concern in these manuscripts seems to have been to provide accurate text with subject guides for other readers, not for his own use.

56. **Exeter Cathedral, MS 3520**--s.xii in., probably copied in France by several hands according to Neil Ker, contains various works of Anselm (paginated, 1-232). A second section, Ambrose's *De Mysteriis* (pp. 235-253) and *De Sacramentis* (pp. 253-93), is a composite collection of works mainly on the eucharist, probably copied at Exeter. It was bound with the Anselm works after 1327.⁵⁶ The Ambrose texts are followed by 'De corpore et sanguine cristi' (pp. 294-301), identified by Grandisson as a work 'Eusebii emiseni' (p. 294).⁵⁷ The rest of the works in the section, by Lanfranc and Guitmund, were not annotated by Grandisson (pp. 303-477), nor was the third section of later date (s.xii¹) annotated by him (pp. 479-94).

The book contains Anselm's tracts 'De veritate'; 'De libero arbitrio'; 'De casu diaboli'; followed by Epistola 'de incarnatione verbi' (final recension), beginning 'Quoniam divina', and the 'Cur deus homo' in two books with prologue and list of chapters. These are followed (p. 69) by 'Meditatio animae cristianae' and, in twenty-nine chapters, 'De conceptu uirginali et originali peccato'. There is an Epistola 'De sacrificio azimi et fermentati'; an essay 'Quomodo gramaticus sit substantia et qualitas'; and two prayers: one for a bishop or abbot 'ad sanctum sub cuius nomine regit ecclesiam', and the other for monks addressing St Benedict.

This is a book for meditation or perhaps to preach from; there are red silk markers. Grandisson put a few excerpt marks in 'De casu diaboli'; more in 'De incarnatione verbi'; 'Cur deus homo'; and 'De conceptu virginali'. The 'Explicit Epistola de incarnatione verbi' (p. 98) is in his hand. In 'Cur deus homo' he made a cross-reference (p.107) to Augustine's *De Trinitate*, and the

entry is preceded and followed by his Nota monogram. In 'De conceptu virginali' Grandisson added chapter numbers in the margins of p. 177 where the scribe had omitted them. In chapters III and IIII many excerpt marks incorporate whole paragraphs, and to a lesser degree from chapter VI to chapter XI. There is a Grandisson Nota on p. 199. His interest in these works may have been greater than the evidence seems to show. On paleographical grounds I suggest that he marked these works soon after he came to Exeter.

Grandisson supplied the title for 'Ambrosius de Misteriis' (p. 235) and, in small glossing hand, 'Ex' (moralibus) to take the place of an unsupplied initial.⁵⁸ In 'De sacramentis', Grandisson identified a source at the beginning of Book VI (p. 286), but that is all. Grandisson's hand does not appear beyond p. 294.

57. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 239 (SC 2244)**--s.xii, is the *Libri Etymologiarum* of Isidore. The codex includes the whole treatise, prefaced by four letters to Braulio and two from Braulio to Isidore.

As Grandisson had his own copy of the *Libri Etymologiarum*, he left only a few marks in this one:⁵⁹ He probably wrote the book numbers as running-titles in ink at the tops of folios, and he wrote 'sanctas saturitas' in current Anglicana as subject heading on f. 137. A gloss in his hand appears on f. 18v; Notae in his hand are on ff. 59, 77, 114. Brackets in facial profile are on f. 80v; and pointing fingers on f. 80 and on f. 114 with cuff, in the section, 'De argento'. The names of tribes on f. 65 are given by him as subject headings in current Anglicana. There are excerpt signs (3-<) from the beginning; a few are in ink, but many are in crayon. Grandisson may have made the correction with light brown ink on f. 20rb. The correction 'Amphibologia', f. 9v, though small, is probably his, and the faint gloss on f. 18v to clarify a point (partibus) is his (in Book II, ch. xxiii, 'De diffinitione philosophis').

58. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 137 (SC 1903)**--s.xii, contains various works of Ambrose. They are

- (f. 1) Ambrosii *Apologia de David in expositione Psalmi I*, 'Apologiam prophetae David presenti arripuimus'
 (f. 19v) Liber I *De Joseph*, 'Sanctorum vita caeteris'
 (f. 38v) *De patriarchis*, 'Primum omnium quantum'
 (ff. 51, 66v) Libri I, II, Tractatus *De penitentia*, 'Si virtutum finis'; 'Etsi non pauca'
 (ff. 80v, 95v) Libri I, II, *De excessu Satiri fratris sancti Ambrosii episcopi*, 'Deduximus fratres dilectissimi'; 'Superiori libro'

Four letters from Ambrose to Irenaeus (c. AD 387):

- (f. 121v) Epistola 74, 'Audisti fratres hodie lectum'
 (f. 124) Epistola 75, 'Et si sciam'
 (f. 125) Epistola 78, 'Si Abraham credidit'
 (f. 126v) Epistola 80, 'Audisti frater lectionem'

Grandisson's hand appears on f. 101v with a bracket in facial profile, a pointing index finger, and 'Triplex mors' in his hand, which he also marked thus in Bodleian MS Bodley 94. The pointing fingers on ff. 101v, 102, are his. He repunctuated almost all of 'De Joseph' from ff. 19-20 with *punctus elevatus* (see especially ff. 16v, 21v) and two corrections (ff. 32v, 51) appear to be in his hand. The string tags which are on folios 80v and 95v for 'De excessu Satyri', and again on ff. 101v and 105v for particular aspects of death and resurrection, were probably added by him. Grandisson owned a copy of 'De excessu Satiri', but the string tags here suggest these works were prepared *statim invenire* for sermons or homilies.⁶⁰ The 'Salomon sancto' (f. 4) in current Anglicana may be his.

59. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 301 (SC 2739)**--s.xii, is a copy of Augustine's homilies *Super evangelium Johannis*.⁶¹

On f. v is '*Hic incipe .:.' in Grandisson's display script, preceded by an elaborate Nota. There are also excerpt marks (3-<) throughout, which are undoubtedly his, but they do not correspond to the readings he listed in the lectionary. The absence of significant Grandisson marks makes one suspect that he may have had a personal copy which has not survived.

60. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 804 (SC 2663)**--s.xii, contains copies of tracts by Augustine, and formerly, tracts on the Eucharist by Ambrose and Eusebius.

The first work is 'Contra mendacium ad consentium'. A short line

directs the eye to a table of contents crowded into the right hand margin (f. 1), as follows: 'Eiusdem de natura| et origine anime ad| renatum' (f. 36v); 'Idem ad petrum presbiterum| de eadem re' (f. 60);| 'Idem ad uincentium| de eadem re' (f. 78); then 'Ambrosius de sacramentis|'; 'Idem ad vercellenses';| 'Eusebius de corpore domini' (in Grandisson's hand); 'Totius in .xvi. quaternionibus'. After 'Idem ad vincentium', Grandisson wrote 'Hec alibi s<unt>'.⁶²

Grandisson may have added an accent mark to 'hieú' (f. 2v, three lines from the foot, and f. 3, eight lines from the foot). Grandisson's marks in this manuscript are elusive. The excerpt marks on ff. 8, 10, 12, 70, and the square Notae on ff. 38-40 are the only other marks that could be his, for he did not gloss the text. The concept of word separation is only partially realized in this manuscript; it is thus difficult to read, but to have altered the situation would have required much tedious work, and probably Grandisson did not consider it worth the trouble.

61. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 291 (SC 2442)**--s.xii ex. has no title, but is described as *Excerpta ex Decretalibus* (ff. 1-179).⁶³

The original flyleaves are missing, and there is no inscription. Grandisson's hand appears on f. 166 (very faint), 167vb, 168ra, 168vab, 169rb. He added notes in the last section after f. 162, which is marked for lections. There are Grandisson Notae on f. 164vb, 165, 166rb, 167rb, 168rb, and a gloss in Grandisson's hand, 'post primam die (fuit) est in capitulo'. Below on f. 166rb is 'Die martis lec' .1.' in Grandisson's hand; he was marking readings for ferial days. Three entries in red are also his (f. 162vb): a cross accompanying 'Do(minica) prima'; (f. 163) '✠ prima'; and 'P De consecratione', which is the subject of ff. 163-165v.

62. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 190 (SC 2095)**--s.xii, is a copy of the *Libri Dialogi* of Gregory the Great.

Grandisson wrote '*Liber Ecclesie Exoniensis de communi' (that is, 'for general use') on f. 1v. He also wrote 'Nota de predestinacione' (f. 16); 'Nota hic bene de mundis spiritibus, etc.' (f. 20v); 'Nota de monacho qui non poterat stare ad oracionem' (f. 32); 'Nota de fide' (f. 99v); 'Nota de sompniis'

(f. 130); and 'Nota de viro vite venerabilis cassio' (f. 134v). Other notes of his are on f. 96rv. Grandisson's pointing finger is on ff. 13v, 75.

63. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 482 (SC 2046)**--s.xiii, is the only surviving copy of *Dialogus contra Iudeos* written by Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter.⁶⁴

Grandisson wrote in display script on f.iii verso: 'Contra Iudeos.;. Disputatio dyaloga;- Liber Ecclesie Exoniensis Capituli'. On f. 17 he wrote 'Nota Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet' (Isa. VII:14) (in the section rubricated 'De partu virginalis') with an elaborate Nota at the head of the page. The page contains a full discussion of the meaning of 'virgo', drawing from Ezechiel, Job, Isaiah, and Jeremiah.

64. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 148 (SC 1920)**--s.xii, is a copy of Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*, preceded by Augustine's retraction.⁶⁵

Grandisson supplied only an inscription (f. 1): '*Liber Ecclesie Exoniensis de communi.;.' At least one other reader annotated the first forty folios or so of this manuscript, but the notes are now very faint; the hand can be seen distinctly on f. 17v.

65. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 717 (SC 2631)**--s.xii, is a copy of Jerome *Super Ysaia ad Eustochium*.

Grandisson wrote on f. v in display script: 'Liber Ecclesie Exoniensis de communibus'; he also repeated the *ex libris* on f. vi verso, 'Liber Ecclesie Exoniensis'.⁶⁶ Nota signs from ff. 205-211v may be Grandisson's.

66. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 229 (SC 2120)**--s.xi, is a work consisting of sixty-six sermons of Augustine on the sayings of Christ, taken from Matthew, Luke, and John in sequence. The manuscript is listed with other Exeter manuscripts in the *Registrum Anglie*, and in the 1327 and 1506 Inventories.⁶⁷

The sermons are not arranged according to the order of the *tabula*,

and in one instance Grandisson tried to overcome the confusion by a note on f. 68v (Cap. XXIII): 'Secundum ordinem textus euangelii | hic sermo deberet esse post .XXXIII. cap(itulum) facite uobis amicos de mammona inequitatis' (f. 95). Grandisson's wavy-line bracket topped with Nota is on f. 39 in Matt. sermo XII, *incipit* 'Aut facite arborem bonam'. Grandisson wrote 'hic' in pencil on f. 29, and made a few corrections, as on f. 34v 'aut', and on f. 107 in pencil between the lines of text, but there is only sporadic evidence of his interest.

67. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 149 (SC 1922)**--s.xii, is a codex made up of four works of Augustine and one by Anselm:⁶⁸

f. 1	<i>Enchiridion</i>
f. 30	<i>Ypognosticon</i> (Hypomnesticon)
f. 50v	Sermo <i>De oratione dominica</i> , beginning 'Evangelica praecepta'
f. 58v	Tractatus <i>De utilitate penitentie</i> with Sermo beginning 'Penitentes, penitentes, penitentes' (f. 66)
f. 66v	<i>Omelia</i> beginning 'Intrauit Ihesus' (Anselm)

The manuscript was written by several scribes in different inks; it also has a variety of quire signatures. Grandisson had personal copies of all these works of Augustine (no. 10) except 'De oratione dominica'. He added very little to the apparatus in this copy. The sections have rubrics and roman numerals, but Grandisson added arabic numerals in crayon to sections of the *Enchiridion* (see f. 7v); some of the numerals are now missing and all are very faint. They end with '71' on f. 28 (there are 122 in present editions). There is a cross-reference in Grandisson's hand on f. 8v. Grandisson wrote the notes in current Anglicana on ff. 31 and 44v; the correction in *fere textura* with symbol on f. 32 is probably his also. The note at the foot of f. 25r has Grandisson's letter forms but is very small. Excerpt marks (3-<) occur frequently in this manuscript on ff. 8v, 10, 11, 17, 23rv.

In the Hypomnesticon ('the beginnings of knowledge') (f. 30), Grandisson may have identified a source, 'ad Romanos' in the margin on f. 33v. The next work has a title in book hand, possibly supplied by Grandisson, but partially cropped at the top of the page: 'AVGUSTINUS De oratione dominica' (f. 50v). There are no Grandisson marks in the final tracts.

68. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.1.13 (SC 2098)**--s.xii, is a copy of the *Epistolae Pauli*, glossed. The codex has two prologues beginning (f. vi), 'Primum queritur quare', and 'Romani sunt qui ex Iudeiis'. There is also a short tract, beginning 'Per ipsum est tibi omnis honor' (f. ii) followed by a general account of St Paul, beginning 'Saulus dictus' (f. iv). Folio v is blank.

Most of the original running titles have been cropped (see ff. 26v-27, 69v-70), but Grandisson supplied abbreviated running-titles in pencil in the top corners of the rectos (at least from I Corinthians, f. 29), with chapter indications in roman numerals. (See ff. 82, 92.) He put chapter numbers throughout in pencil, probably intending that they should be rewritten in ink, but this was not carried out. On f. 51v, Grandisson added a note, 'Secundus Adam dicitur cristi' (I Cor. XV:45) with a small bracket in facial profile, and he added a *paragraphus* on f. 82v. On f. 145 he stated that the text (ff. 137-44) had been repeated on ff. 145-154: 'Omnia que sunt scripta in istis .ix. foliis sequentibus vacant quia continentur in .viii. foliis proximo precedentibus'. The gloss on f. 21 is probably Grandisson's (it has his 'bitten' *de* and 'dotted' *i*'s). His glosses on ff. 23, 44v in pencil have been written over in ink by another hand, probably at his order (his pencil hand shows through).

69. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 783 (SC 2610)**--s.xi/xii, is a copy of Gregory I's *Regula Pastoralis*, possibly copied in Normandy.⁶⁹ There are no endleaves, and no inscription. The title on f. 1, 'Pastorale Gregorius papae' is not in Grandisson's hand.

There are a few Grandisson notes and subject headings: f. 17 'temptacio', f. 30v 'virga', f. 46v 'de divitibus', f. 87 'de rapina', f. 95v 'caritas', and f. 114v 'moralizatio de Dina'. There is a Grandisson pointing finger at f. 74v (Book II, ch. XIX). He corrected the chapter number on f. 48. His pencil 'Hic' passim on ff. 56rv and again on f. 73v, in each case refers to Solomon. The many excerpt marks (3-<) with bar-lines in the text to show where to begin and end are probably Grandisson's.

70. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.infra 2.9 (SC 2638)**--s.xi, is a copy of the *Apocalypsis*, glossed (ff. 111-140). The book is bound with J. Cassianus *De Institutione Monachorum* and is not identified separately in

the 1327 and 1506 Inventories.

Grandisson's marks are in the *Apocalypsis* only. He may have written the arabic chapter numbers as running-titles, top centre (from f. 117; some have been cropped) and there are selected sections marked by crayon numbers in roman which may be his, as on f. 127v, the beginning of ch. XIV, the calling of the 144,000, and f. 132v, the beginning of ch. XVIII, on the Fall of Babylon.⁷⁰ There is a tiny pointing finger on f. 113r (probably Grandisson's), with accompanying heading '.x. die' (*Apoc.* II:10), for which the text says 'contra aduersa bellantes .x. preceptis decalogi armamini'. Grandisson's square *Notae* are on f. 115 and f. 132v. On f. 115v there is a pointing finger and heading 'modis flagellantur homines', for the gloss to *Apoc.* III:19, 'Ego quos amo arguo et castigo'. On f. 117 there is a faint note in book hand, 'require in sequentibus'. On f. 118 he wrote (also in book hand) '**P** Hic est textus illius exp.' for *Apoc.* V:14. There is another Grandisson pointing finger on f. 128v. Grandisson signs are elusive and show no great interest. The several faint glosses at the foot of pages are not his.

71. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.7 (SC 2104)--s.xiii-xiv, contains copies of *Ecclesiastes*, glossed, with Latin prefaces (ff. 1-12v); the *Homeliae XL in Euangelia* of Gregory the Great, with preface addressed to Secundinus (ff. 13-116v); the *Libri Dialogi* of Gregory the Great (ff. 117-184v); and the *Regula pastoralis* of Gregory the Great (ff. 185-230, s.xiv).

Neil Ker rejected this as an Exeter manuscript on grounds which he states in 'Thomas James's Collation of Gregory, Cyprian, and Ambrose'.⁷¹ However, it appears that Grandisson's hand wrote the 'Pastorali Gregorii' on the back cover; and the six lections for the anniversary of the dedication of a church (f. 230) appear to be in his hand. I believe he did the crayon notes from f. 14 *et seq.* which someone else inked in (see ff. 25-26, 65). Various corrections seem also to be his: f. iv verso 'Gregor', over erasure, and those on ff. 36, 64v. He named a scriptural source on f. 29. He added 'iiii' as running title from ff. 166-184 to identify Book IV of the *Libri Dialogi*.

72. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 318 (SC 2732)--s.xiv, is a *Flores Psalterii* by John Lathbury.⁷²

Grandisson appears to have written the subject heading at the foot of f. 1, pointing out with symbol 'de diuersis expositoribus' in column *a* above. He may have done the rubrication of ff. 1v-2, which does not appear to be professionally done. The 'Explicit prologus' looks to be his. Other possible glosses in his hand are 'nota orandum pro inimicis', f. 57, and 'duo faciunt iustum', preceded by a short wavy line topped by three dots in triangle, f. 67; similarly, 'Nota uotum dup' (f. 120), and 'nota qualiter dicuntur montes' (f. 160). (Grandisson 'dots' his *i*'s; the other annotators do not.) Grandisson may have written the note on the rear pastedown, 'Versus.' de psalmo Octogesimo quarto. prophete dauid. Sequitur.' continuacio. de eodem'. The elaborate 'Notabilia N' Nota on f. 25 is probably his in contrast to the other small *notae* with lower-case *n*; as are the line brackets on f. 17 (with *punctus elevatus* added to the text) and f. 27v, contrasting with the three dots in triangle of another reader. The book was subsequently annotated by a post-1350 hand which imitates Grandisson Notae and pointing fingers (see ff. 132, 170). All notes are in current hands.

73-74. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 734 (SC 2725) and 473 (SC 2213)--s.xiii in., comprise a *Homiliarum* (*Sermones Patrum*) compiled by Paul the Deacon. These are companion volumes of sermons: MS Bodley 473 from Advent to Easter, and MS Bodley 734 from Easter to Advent and Sanctoral. There are no running-titles, but decorated initials and rubrics indicate the sermon divisions and subjects.⁷³

In MS Bodley 734 there are small faces (ff. 3, 3v, 6, 12, 33); many square Notae (ff. 3, 3v, 4v with Grandisson's 'sedere', 28, 55v); *exempla* indications (f. 22v); Question and Response marks (ff. 11v, 12); and a few glosses which may be Grandisson's (ff. 9, 17va, 22v, 32). Sermons have often been divided (using roman numerals) into lections of twelve or six, which suggests monastic use before these came to Grandisson, but on f. 204rv and again on ff. 208v and 209rv, the divisions appear to be made in his hand. Also, the numerous indications by arabic numeral 4 (in brown crayon) may signal that a reading of three lessons has preceded.

In contrast to MS Bodley 734, in MS Bodley 473 Grandisson signs are fewer. There are no small faces, *exempla* marks or Question-Response

indications. There are, however, many crayon or pencil Notae, and subject headings on ff. 134v 'discedice' and 249 'Regnum patris' appear to be his.

There are no inscriptions in either book, but both are listed in the 1327 Inventory. Grandisson could have used these books without adding any apparatus, thus the evidence for his use is slight. It is doubtful whether he used them in preparing his lectionary: such marks as there are do not correspond with designated readings.

Grandisson Scarcely Annotated the Following Manuscripts (Ascriptions Uncertain)

75. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 792 (SC 2640)**--s.xii, is made up of two sections, the second of which contains five treatises of Ambrose *De Virginitate* (ff. 30-84). The first section, the 'Pronosticon' of Julianus Toletanus (ff. 1-29) was not annotated by Grandisson.

There are a few Grandisson marks in the first Ambrose work, ff. 30-45v (a treatise 'De virginibus' in three books). There is a square Nota on f. 39, and again on f. 40v preceding Grandisson's gloss 'Contra deos gentium'. He made some corrections on ff. 42, 51v between the lines of the text. The 'aliter predicatorum' with symbol (f. 59) is probably his. The last sections, ff. 79v-84v, have no Grandisson marks.

76. **Exeter Cathedral, MS 3525**--s.xii *in.*, is a miscellany of theological tracts: excerpts from works of Augustine, which is the reason it is included here, plus a potpourri of other theological works.⁷⁴

Grandisson's one gloss occurs in a work labeled: 'Responsiones prosperi contra Impugnationes hereticorum. quas contra libros beati augustini de predestinatione opposuerunt' (pp. 93-120). On p. 115 Grandisson wrote 'Nota de libero arbitrio hominis', with bracket in facial profile.

77. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.1.12 (SC 2133)**--s.xiii, contains three works: *Actus Apostolorum* (ff. 1-61v, f. 62 blank); *Epistola Catholica* (ff. 63-100); *Apocalypsis* (ff. 101-136), all with gloss.⁷⁵

Grandisson may have supplied the cues for the running-titles and the chapter numbers which were written in pencil or crayon, but in the absence of any other Grandisson glosses or apparatus, it is impossible to say that the final titles and chapter numbers are his. The initial form of A, especially, in the *Apocalypsis*, is not typical.

78. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 92 (SC 1901)**--s.xii, is a copy of Ambrose's *De Officiis*.

Two square Notae on ff. 27v, 28 may be Grandisson's, and the glosses together with full-page facial brackets on ff. 31v, 51v, and 70v, may have been his. Letter forms *x*, *m*, *d*, *g*, and the Tironian *et*, are typical; some *i*'s are 'dotted' but the *a* is headless. The hand most like his is on f. 70v, accompanied by a pointing finger.

79. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 206 (SC 2012)**--s xii is a copy of commentary by Ambrose on the *Hexaemeron*.

Front flyleaves are missing which might have contained Grandisson's inscription recording Exeter Cathedral ownership. One subject heading on f. 34 appears to be in his hand, and his Nota appears on f. 43v, but other Notae passim, and the subject headings on f. 48 *et seq.* appear to be of an earlier date. There are some excerpt marks (3-<) on ff. 42, 43v, 47, probably Grandisson's, with vertical bar lines for the ends of the excerpts.

80. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 808 (SC 2667)**--s.xii contains short works of Jerome (ff. 1-171). It also contains Bede's 'Nomina regnorum locorumque de Actibus Apostolorum' (ff. 171v-176), which Grandisson did not mark.

According to Richard Rouse, the first eight works in this manuscript (ff. 1-102) represent those of 'a lost codex at Gisbourn', No. 166 of the *Registrum Anglie*.⁷⁶ There is some overlapping of content in the two Hieroniman sections of the codex. The titles of the works are as follows:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| f. 1 | Prologus, <i>Questionum hebraicarum</i> |
| f. 41 | <i>De decem temtacionibus in lib. Numeri</i> |

f. 43	<i>De questionibus in libb. Regum</i>
f. 67v	<i>De questionibus in Paralipomenon</i>
f. 91	<i>Canticum Debore</i>
f. 96	<i>Super lamentaciones Ieremie</i>
f. 101	<i>Ad Dardanum de musicis instrumentis</i>
f. 102	<i>De distanciis locorum in VT et evangelis nominatis</i>
f. 103v	<i>De Numeris et Deuteronomio</i>
f. 105v	<i>De libro Iesu</i>
f. 108v	<i>De Iudicum et De Regnorum</i>
f. 136	<i>De nominibus Hebraicis</i> (in order of the books of the Bible including Epistola Barnabae)
f. 171v	Beda, <i>Nomina. . . de actibus apostolorum</i> , incipit 'Acheldeman, ager sanguinis qui hodieque monstratur'

There are no signs that Grandisson worked through this book, and there are no inscriptions of Cathedral ownership. There is a Grandisson subject heading on f. 42v, 'Temptacio .ix.^a' As the poor condition of the manuscript allows it only to be viewed on film, it is impossible to determine whether the Notae on ff. 5v, 6, 9v, 14, 15rv, 16v, 21v, 28, 45v and 76v are Grandisson's, though they are in his style; or whether the Nota bracket on f. 12 is his. It is also not possible to tell who supplied the heavy *paragraphus* marks passim. These are the only possible Grandisson marks.

81. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bib. d.10**--s.xi ex. is a copy of the Gospels of Luke and John.⁷⁷

There are a number of missing leaves, including the original flyleaves.⁷⁸ There are, therefore, no Grandisson inscriptions. Grandisson added chapter numbers throughout, a few paraps on ff. 40v, 63v, 64v, and a *paragraphus* on f. 65, but none of the notes is in his hand.

82. **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 314 (SC 2129)**--s.xii, is a copy of Gregory the Great's *Homeliae XL in Evangelia*, with Prologue.

The 'Liber Sancti Petri Exoniensis' at the foot of folio v recto is probably not Grandisson's. Though it has his letter forms, the *i*'s are not 'dotted'. There are some crayon pointing (index) hands with circles on folios 15-18 (see below), on ff. 69v, 71v with pointing finger, and on f. 72v with 'Notabilia N' Notae, but nothing else that could be his. Although Grandisson used these sermons extensively in his lectionary, this can hardly have been his working copy.

For **Exeter Cathedral MSS 3504, 3505, 3518, 3510** (nos 83-86 respectively); **B.L. MS Harley 863** (no. 87); **Exeter MS 3515** (no. 88); **Exeter MS 1/2 Missale** (fragments, no. 89); and **Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 191** (no. 90), see Chapter V, the Liturgy.

In a number of the Cathedral manuscripts, fat pointing hands (fingers) appear in crayon with a circle above or beside. While these cannot be identified certainly as Grandisson's, they appear in a number of books which he annotated: nos 52, 54, 55 (f. 3); 56 (f. 70); 62 (ff. 21, 22, 73); 63 (ff. 7, 11, 102). They have a quality of impermanence, in contrast to Grandisson's apparatus and notes in ink. Small boyish faces also appear frequently in Cathedral manuscripts; they seem to denote figures of ridicule, and accompany references to the devil or demons. In no. 46, the face on f. 29 is labelled 'pilatus' and that on f. 140va has horns; they appear in nos 52, 54, 55, 70, 73.

Some hands contemporary with Grandisson's used 'reversed' *e*'s. Although it seems that he used this 'reversed' form in no. 45 where it appears together with his more customary *e* in glosses on f. 145 and the last line of f. 144v, he did not adopt the 'reversed' *e* as a permanent feature of his handwriting. A current hand with duct similar to his but using the 'reversed' *e* appears in nos 62 and 72. One persistent characteristic of Grandisson's practice was that he underlined his glosses. Nos 38 and 70 have notes made by a current hand similar to his; however, the notes begin with 'vide' (used infrequently by Grandisson) and are underlined, with a point at the left end. This hand is less rounded than Grandisson's; it uses initial *D* which is closed at the top (Grandisson's is open); *e* is without hairline finishing stroke, and *a* is headless. Grandisson typically puts hairlines over the *i*'s; other annotators do not.

Approximately forty-four Exeter manuscripts listed by Neil Ker in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (pp. 82-86), show no evidence of Grandisson's hand (not including those which appear to have been written after his time).

In summary, Grandisson followed a similar kind of scholarly activity with books of Exeter Cathedral to that he used with his own personal books: he added apparatus to books in which he was interested to make them easier to use, and annotated their content irrespective of ownership.

He marked books for quick reference by supplying indexes, tables of contents, running-titles, and chapter and folio indications. Where indexes were needed, he obtained and appended them to the books: in at least one instance, he developed one himself (no. 31). He supplied tables of contents, and amended existing indexes and tables of contents to make them more complete, exact, and workable. He used chapter summaries, Kilwardby's 'intentiones', subject headings, and *Notae*, so that a reader could have access to the desired content. Chapter numbers and running-titles, often in the upper right-hand corner of the folio, helped him to find material quickly and keep the place. He often retraced initial letters and added *paragraphus* marks to indicate where to begin: other indicators were a vertical bar in the text or 'hic' in the margin. It is probable that the '3-<' diple (used so frequently in the margins of these books) marked *sententiae*. Whether reading for edification, or preparing a sermon, one could proceed from excerpt to excerpt, missing no important points. In the margins, Grandisson isolated proper names from their obscurity in the text, sometimes adding identifying information, or contemporary spelling.

Grandisson was intent on accuracy and clarity: Copied out at the foot of a page in Isidore's *Etymologia* was, 'Augustine says "orthography" is correctness of writing without being flawed by error, as the hand arranges what the tongue composes'. Though it is doubtful whether the gloss is in Grandisson's hand, it expresses thoughts with which he would be in agreement.⁷⁹ He sometimes made corrections in a previously edited text, and marked omissions with 'Deficit', supplying the missing material where possible. He added cross-references, citing other parts of the text or other works. Although he usually did not annotate texts of inferior quality, he made an exception with Gregory of Tours's *Liber miraculorum*, of which he said, 'One will find quickly that from here it is badly written, nor can it be corrected'.⁸⁰ He retained it because of the value of its content, and because

it was a rare book.

Accuracy was often contingent on authority. Grandisson's headings project his bias toward a work and indicate whether an author or a piece of information can be trusted. He showed his admiration for Grosseteste in the title: 'Epistola venerabilis primi domini Roberti Grosseteste quondam Lincolniensis Episcopus' (underlined in red) (no. 1). He added the weight of his endorsement on a front flyleaf of Trevet's commentary on the Psalms: 'Ego Johannes de Grandissono Exoniensis nouim utrumque Nicholaum de Lira Minorem et Nicholaum Tryueth Predicatorem fratres' (no. 6). He found 'ingenium Augustini' (one of his glosses) borne out in that author's works.⁸¹ He assessed books for ease or difficulty of reading, marking the more thought-provoking or meditative ones 'for the community'.

The books Grandisson chose to annotate were of high quality, principally of the twelfth century, with script that was easy to read and apparatus which often included lists of topics and running-titles. Representative among these were the three-volume *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, a theological work of the highest importance which could be used to enlarge basic instruction. Grandisson supplied Trevet's and Lyra's Commentaries on the Psalms, though the latter has not survived.⁸² In these many ways Grandisson used the books of the Cathedral to further his own and his clergy's education and spiritual growth, and to enable them to carry out their duties.

CHAPTER III--NOTES

1. For example, there is almost no display script in his early personal books, Lambeth Palace MS 203 and Exeter MS 3549B (nos 1, 2). See Chap. II, pp. 17, 29.
2. Grandisson's emphases are different in the canon law books, Eton MS 97 and Exeter MS 3512, though both cover much of the same material. The Cathedral copy of Augustine's *Confessiones*, MS Bodley 815, has almost no marks, in contrast with Grandisson's copy, Lambeth MS 203.
3. See Ch. IV, p. 153 *et seq.*
4. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 311; see also p. 323. See article by A. C. de la Mare, 'A Probable Addition to the Bodleian's Holdings of Exeter Cathedral Manuscripts', *BLR* XI (May, 1983), No 2, 79-88 (80-81, and n11).
5. L. J. Lloyd, *The Library of Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter, 1967, repr.1974), pp. 3, 5.
6. Oliver, *Lives*, pp. 175, 202; V. Hope and L. J. Lloyd, *Exeter Cathedral, A Short History and Description*, revised and extended by A. M. Erskine (Exeter, 1988), pp. 20, 46; N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral As It Was, 1050-1550* (Exeter, 1986), p. 30, and references cited from Oliver, *Lives*, pp. 331, 334, 359-60.
7. Conjecturally, 1332-1338; see Erskine (note 6, above), p. 38.
8. Concerning the roof: Erskine, pp. 38-39. But see her recent publication 'The Documentation of Exeter Cathedral: The Archives and their application', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, ed. F. Kelly, British Archaeological Association series, XI (Leeds, 1991), pp. 7-8, in which she argues that the roof vaulting was probably completed by 1342. Bishop Stapledon's 'duo Coffini', Oliver, *Lives*, p. 442.
9. Erskine, (note 6, above), p. 46.
10. J. F. Chanter, *The Bishop's Palace, Exeter, and its Story* (London, 1932), pp. 28-30. Grandisson's addition in the extreme west end had a footage of over 40 ft. and a total depth of 60 ft., with two upper floors. There was an inner parlour (29' x 20'); there were lodging chambers on the first and second floors, and there was a Chapel of St Mary the Virgin (Chanter, chap. v), in which books might be kept. See also C. Tucker, 'Notes on the Bishop's Palace, Exeter', *Archaeological Journal*, V, (1848), 224-25; *The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1279-1353*, ed. A. M. Erskine, 2 pts, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, ns, xxiv, xxvi (1981, 1983) (xxiv, pp. vii-viii).
11. See Ch. II, p. 64.
12. F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal As Used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the Episcopate of its First Bishop, AD 1050-1072* (Oxford, 1883,

repr. 1968), p. xxiii; Drage, 'Bishop Leofric',
pp. 411-12.

13. For manuscript description, see Römer, Band 276, p. 243.
14. Pächt and Alexander, I, no. 449: 'Normandy, s.xi ex. Fine initials ff. 72v, 84v, 92v. The rest of the initials have been painted over or added'; III, no. 639, and references cited. For word separation in titles, MS Bodley 691, f. 1rb, reproduced in *BLR*, p. 83 (cited in note 4, above).
15. Pächt and Alexander, III, No. 639, 's.xiv med... Notes added by John Grandisson... apparently after the completion of the illumination'. Plate LXIV is of the 'Mater misericordiae'. Grandisson refers to the Virgin by this name in an early letter to the dean of the Cathedral (1328), *Reg. I*, 161-2, no. 9; in other letters, and in his epitaph and its subscription in his Will, *Reg. III*, 1557; trans. 1521. On Grandisson's devotion to the BVM, J. Cherry, 'The Ring of Bishop Grandisson', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, ed. F. Kelly, British Archaeological Association series, XI (Leeds, 1991), 205-209. See also, N. Stratford, 'Bishop Grandisson and the Visual Arts', *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, ed. M. Swanton (Exeter, 1991), pp. 147-48 and fig. 213. On the origin of the title, 'Mater misericordiae', see Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, Miracles of the Virgin, pp. 610-11, from MS Cotton Cleopatra C.X., f. 128rv: 'Mater Misericordiae--how the virgin claimed this title when revealing her identity at a deathbed'.
16. Parkes, *SS&R*, p. 67. In this manuscript Grandisson reflects his uncertainty about using arabic numerals. He crossed out arabic '7' and '8', and substituted roman numerals, according to his early practice. Eventually he established a pattern of using arabic numerals for secular subjects such as chronicles, retaining roman numerals for sacred subjects.
17. See A. C. de la Mare, note 4, above, p. 83.
18. See Ch. IV, pp. 147-51; 157; 166; 168; and passim.
19. On the decoration, see Pächt and Alexander, III, no. 67; Plate VII, and references cited.
20. See Ch. IV, pp. 145-46. (*Statim Invenire*, see Chapter II, note 36)
21. See Römer 276, p. 236. The decoration is comparable in style to that of early-twelfth-century Durham manuscripts, with initials of simple design, monochrome red, green, blue, or (in no. 36) purple. See R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 6-9; C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200* (Cambridge, 1954), Appendix I, 117. See also A. C. de la Mare (note 4, above), p. 87n16, n12. Some initials, as on f. 26v, have blobs or globules on the uprights. The z-shaped abbreviation for -bus which is also associated with Durham MSS appears in nos 34 and 35 (see no. 34, f. 16).

22. No. 36, f. 1, and in no. 32 (see above). See A. C. De La Mare, p. 83, fig. 3.
23. No. 35, f. 65va, and no. 36, f. 10.
24. No. 36, f. 1.
25. The Psalms were a 'set text' for beginners, but these volumes provided material for theologians as well.
26. See P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1988), I, p. 7. Unusual features of the manuscript are described by Drage, p. 412: notice of a comet (f. vi) written by Scribe 1; a brown ink drawing of an arm and a bearded head in lower margin, f. 7, and a scribble 'claenn' in upper margin, f. 64.
27. Ker, *MMBL*, II, 708-11; see also Ker's opening comments on no. 39, pp. 819-20, and note to article 4.
28. Ibid., 709; f. 226v, display-script heading '*seruus seruorum dei.;' and below, in display script, 'Iste primus se| uocat. seruus| seruorum dei.;'
29. See Ch. IV, pp. 140-42; 154-56, and passim.
30. Ker, *MMBL*, II, 819-21; articles 2 and 3, p. 820.
31. Ibid., 709, article 8, b-d. Ker lists eleven books in which tables of contents are written by this same scribe. They are MSS Bodley 94, 147, 148, 193, 229, 707, 717, 739, 808, 810, 813 (*Engl. MSS*, p. 24. The list is also in *MMBL*, II, 820, note 1, with '97' in error for '94'.) All of these manuscripts with exception of MS Bodley 229 were written in 'Norman' hands.
32. For his glosses, as above, note 29.
33. Ch. V, p. 198.
34. The notes are on topics Grandisson would probably have annotated were the notes not already there (the definition of 'entelicia' and the three kinds of doctrine in books of Solomon). The notes are in red 'boxes' and imitate the script of the text, therefore they cannot be identified as his.
35. Jovinian aroused Jerome's antagonism with four propositions on which he elaborated: 1) He held that the state of virginity was no more meritorious than the married state. Mary lost her virginity by a true parturition in the birth of Jesus. 2) Christians who received baptism with full adhesion of the faith could not henceforth fall under the dominion of the devil. 3) Christians who fasted were in no way superior to those who ate and drank freely while giving thanks to God. 4) All who had kept the grace of baptism would receive the same reward in heaven, and all sins were equally grave. See Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 181; the arguments are discussed at length, pp. 180-187, and

Pelagius's involvement, p. 311.

36. See Ch. IV, p. 160.
37. For details see Ker, *MMBL*, II, 822-25. He says that the lists of bishops and abbots and the history by Henry of Huntingdon ('Arts. 9,10') are earlier than the rest, which may mean that the earliest writing is of mid-thirteenth-century date and the other works belong to the second half of the century.
38. This manuscript is described in Appendix to HMC *Rep. IV, Var. Coll.*, pp. 30-33. Professor Jacob Hammer has transcribed and printed sections 5-8, 94 and 206 of MS 3514 in 'Remarks on the Textual History of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* with an Excursus on The *Chronica Polonorum* of Wincenty Kadlubek (Magister Vincentius)', *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, II, (1943/44), 501-64; pp. 532-35.
39. About him Pierre Champion, *Chronique Martiniane*, edit. critique (Paris, 1907), says: 'Parmi les chroniques universelles qui eurent au Moyen-Âge le plus de célébrité et furent le plus souvent copiées, il faut mettre au premier rang la compilation de Martin le Polonais'. Richard Rouse says (*Statim Invenire*, p. 204n10): 'Not until the time of Martinus Polonus do we have a subject index to the Decretum'.
40. See Coxe, *Catalogue (Laudian)*, II, cols 452-54.
41. Another hand also supplied dates. Grandisson's ink is light brown: that of the scribe, 'washed' black.
42. Coxe says 'nitide manu Reginaldi de Bugwell partim exaratus', head of col. 452. If the hand had not been Bugwell's, surely Grandisson would have commented as he annotated the text.
43. Copies of this chronicle are found in Exeter Archives MSS 3630C and 3625. These copies are not annotated by Grandisson; they go to 1394, and probably were copied after his death.
44. M. D. Chenu, *Introduction a l'étude de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, 1950), p. 248n26. Neil Ker questioned whether these books were the gift of Dean Lechlade (1303-1309) (*MLGB*, p. 84). Pächt and Alexander (I, no. 567 and Plate XII) consider that the books were written c. 1300 in Paris, and that Grandisson gave them. They were valued at 4 marks, which is in keeping with the price of other high quality books in s.xiv. A Chrysostom 'libellus' is listed in Oliver, *Lives*, p. 307.
45. See note 31, above. Neil Ker says (*Engl. MSS*, p. 24), 'Bodley 147, 707, 739 and 813 are all exactly the same kind of script and may be by the same scribe. . . . Their script is much inferior to that which served as a model at Canterbury'. He says that the MSS may be as early as the time of Bp. Osbern (1072-1103).
46. If Grandisson's, this is a late hand: though the *i*'s are flourished, the *e*'s are 'reversed', a doubtful (because temporary) feature of his writing. However, the forms of initials *I*, *E*, *C* and letter *x* are his. This book is

suitable for *lectio divina* or meditation, small enough to be *avade mecum*. It might suitably have been marked 'De communi', but as the end leaves and other front matter are missing, we do not know whether Grandisson had thus inscribed it.

Ezek. III; 18: 'If, when I say to the wicked, Thou shalt surely die: thou declare it not to him, nor speak to him that he may be converted from his wicked way, and live: the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand.'

Ezek. III; 27: 'But when I shall speak with thee, I will open thy mouth, and thou shalt say to them, Thus saith the Lord God: He that heareth, let him hear, and he that forbeareth, let him forbear: for they are a provoking house.'

47. Pächt and Alexander, III, no. 232 and Plate XXIII. Initials by the same illuminator as Bodl. MS Auct. D.2.8, no. 231. See C. F. R. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1984), pp. 33, 36, 61, and Plate 10, who says the book was written by the second scribe of Auct. D.2.8 from folio 240, probably using a Paris exemplar. See also Parkes, SS&R, pp. 36-37, 49.
48. On the script and illumination, see Pächt and Alexander, III, no. 231, and references cited.
49. F. Madan has given the *Incipits* and sermon numbers in his *Codicum Bodleianorum Catalogus*, Codd. 1-110 (1880-82; unpublished, 1914), pp. 169-73. See also Römer, Band 276, p. 227.
50. *Registrum Anglie*, p. 38, number 178: 'This collection of sermons, called *De lapsu mundi*, has not yet been adequately described' (references cited). Sermons which are not listed in the *Registrum* (p. 285, numbers 178-192) from the first section of MS Bodley 93 are Sermons 38 (f. 8v); 348 (f. 12); 349 (f. 57v); 92 (f. 61v) and 94 (f. 62v).
51. The tracts of I are listed separately in the *Registrum*, p. 285, as items 93, 98, 172, 175, 248, 294. The third manuscript was not bound with the rest until later, (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 302) and is not listed in the *Registrum*. Twenty-one 'sermones eiusdem' are listed with titles in E. Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697), p. 96. (Sermo 13 is divided into two in this manuscript, making a total of twenty-two.) See Römer 276, p. 233.
52. *Miscellanea Agostiniana, Testi et Studi*, ed. G. Morin, 2 vols (Rome, 1930), II, 205-6, no. 175, 'De Symbolo, tractatus tres'; no. 176 and 229b, 'De oratione dominica, tractatus unus'. 'De oratione dominica', *PL* XXXVIII, col. 393, beginning 'Symbolum reddidistis'.
53. It is listed as a separate book in the 1327 Inventory (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 302). *PL* XL, cols 627-667, beginning 'Accipite, filii, regulam fidei quod symbolum dicitur'. Ends 'suo adventu praeparavit'.
54. The book was entered as a *cautio* in the Warham chest of Oxford University in 1327 and again in 1328, when apparently Buckingham

bought it (f. v verso). He was a Merton College fellow from 1324 to 1340, and may have been studying theology at Paris in 1343, when both Grandisson and FitzRalph were at Avignon. He is reported to have engaged in a dispute there with Thomas Bradwardine. He became Chancellor of Exeter on March 25, 1346, and received a canonry and prebend there May 20, 1347. Though the book was used by Thomas Buckingham and by Robert and John Kynebelle (Emden, *BRUO*, 1070), whose names appear as having taken loans against it in 1328, glosses of others could have been added after the book became the property of Exeter Cathedral, c. 1349, or in the years before that, from 1346 when Buckingham was at Exeter. Kynebelle was a fellow of Merton, 1321-1327, granted licence to study at Oxford, August 1335, renewed 1340, 1342, 1345.

On Hugh of St Victor, see Chapter II, p. 76, n143.

55. Grandisson had his own *Flores* of the *Moralia*.. See Ch. II, no. 1.
56. See Ker, *MMBL*, II, 830-32.
57. Ibid., 831, art. 14.
58. Ibid., 831-32. Grandisson also had these tracts on the Eucharist in his personal manuscript, no. 8, f. 124.
59. No. 2.
60. Ch. II, no. 1.
61. See *Registrum Anglie*, p. 285, item 103; Römer 276, p. 236. On the decoration: Pächt and Alexander I, no. 444 and references cited. C. R. Dodwell (note 21, above), p. 117, lists MSS Bodley 301, 707, 783, 813 as having 'the Carilef style'.
62. The works of Augustine are listed in the *Registrum Anglie*, p. 285, items 139, 140, 141. 'Contra mendacium' is the only one of these tracts listed in the 1327 Inventory. Grandisson had another copy of 'Contra mendacium' in his own MS, no. 10. See Römer 276, p. 244.
63. See S. Kuttner, 'Repertorium der Kanonistik', *Studi e Testi*, LXXI (1937), 270-71.
64. A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 164. There is also surviving only a single copy of Bartholomew's sermons, MS Bodley 449. Grandisson did not annotate them.
65. Römer 276, p. 230.
66. I doubt that either of the Jerome *super Isaiah* books described in the 1327 Inventory, p. 302, is this book. One Jerome *super Isaiah* is listed in the *Registrum*, p. 285, item 72. See Pächt and Alexander, I, no. 441, and references cited. The Bodleian *Summary Catalogue* describes the miniatures of Hugo Pictor.

67. *Registrum Anglie*, p. 285, item 103; Römer 276, p. 234. There are two books listed as 'De verbis Domini': MS Bodley 229 begins 'Agite penitentiam' in the 1327 Inventory (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 302) with secundo folio 'numquid vitat' (ibid., p. 372). Drage ('Bishop Leofric', p. 396) says that three scribes copied this book: Scribe I, ff. 1-53v and 93-131v; II, ff. 54-92v; III, ff. 132-80. See her other comments on this manuscript. See also A. C. de la Mare (note 4, above), p. 86n9.
68. Römer 276, p. 230.
69. Pächt and Alexander, I, no. 442. See N. R. Ker, 'Thomas James's Collation of Gregory, Cyprian, and Ambrose', *BLR* IV (1952-53), 16-29; no. 6, concerning the provenance of this MS (p. 24).
70. The content of the chapter on the Fall of Babylon would be appropriate at the time of the plague; otherwise, it is most suitable for penitential seasons.
71. *BLR* IV, 1952-53, 16-29, esp. pp. 24-25.
72. Lathbury was a Franciscan canon and abbot of St Rufus, Reading, who died in 1362. He collected commentary from Augustine, Cassiodorus and others without distinguishing authors. See Smalley, *Friars*, pp. 221-39.
73. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 305, 'Duo volumina Sermonum, quorum unum "Fratres Expurgate" et aliud "Quum adventum Christi" (MS Bodley 734); p. 309, 'Sermones diversorum Doctorum super Epistolis et Evangeliiis, ab Adventu Domini usque Pascha, "Fratres scientes", dimidium marce' (MS Bodley 473).
74. See Ker, *MMBL* II, 834-36 for details. Römer 276, p. 123.
75. This book, along with MS Bodley 494 and MS Auct. D.!.7, was the gift of Hugh de Wilton, Archdeacon of Totnes under Bishop Brewer (1224-1244). On decoration, see Pächt and Alexander, III, 333.
76. *Registrum Anglie*, p. 285, items 79-88 are from this manuscript, but other works in it have been omitted.
77. A. C. de la Mare, (note 4, above) pp. 79-81.
78. Ibid., p. 79.
79. Isidore, *Libri etymologiarum*, MS Bodley 239, f. 22ra: 'Aug' ait ortographia est rectitudo scribendi nullo errore inciata. quando manum dirigeret et linguam componit'.
80. No. 23, f. 15v.
81. No. 1, f. 30; *Confessiones*, IV, ch. xvi.
82. *Reg.* III, p. 1553; trans. p. 1517 : 'that the writings of Nicholas de Lira and of Nicholas de Treyveth on the Psalter... be left there in the Archives'.

CHAPTER IV-GRANDISSON'S GLOSSES

Grandisson was unusual for his time in annotating the books that he used. Scholars wrote commentaries or theological texts, but few of his contemporaries wrote in books as they were reading them. In the books belonging to Exeter Cathedral, his hand is often the only one (except scribal) to make marginal entries. Edmund Lacey (1420-1455) annotated a few books, but in a different manner; neither Thomas Brantingham nor Edmund Stafford (Grandisson's immediate successors who each served for twenty-four years) annotated the Cathedral books. Grandisson's annotations appear in histories, theological works, grammars, law books, bibles and psalters, romances, poetry, drama, and other men's registers. He also annotated books he borrowed. The range of works he annotated is exceptional, and his persistence in this habit over a period of fifty years is also uncommon.

I use the word 'glosses' in a comprehensive sense to mean all of Grandisson's marginal entries: subject headings, short phrases, Nota signs, brackets, and pointing fingers, which constitute his response to the text. Complete sentences were infrequent with him and paragraphs almost non-existent. However, in works he cared about, he wrote subject headings and short phrases, as many as three or four per page, although his Nota marks, brackets, and pointing fingers were usually more numerous than his words. As he did not write commentaries, interpretation has sometimes to be made by inferences drawn in conjunction with the text, or from accumulated evidence.

Two fundamental characteristics are reflected consistently through Grandisson's glosses. The first is a *penchant* for accuracy and precision, which caused him to correct errors wherever he found them. I believe he felt the weight of his moral responsibility not to allow the faithful to be misguided, and since he had an absentee chancellor for many years (whose duty it was to provide sufficient and accurate texts), it may be that he undertook more of the work of correction than would have been necessary otherwise. He analyzed texts sentence by sentence, making corrections and altering punctuation, even when the book had been corrected previously in the process of production. He corrected his own copies of the Epistles and Gospels according to those reputed to have been copied for King Offa from

an exemplar written by St Jerome at Rome. He then sent corrected copies to the collegiate churches in his diocese.¹

In a larger context, he sought *auctoritas* by going back to beginnings, to the establishment of the community of God recorded in the Old Testament, to 'Hebraica veritas', and to *originalia* of the Fathers. He was spurred to learn Hebrew, so that he could read the Pentateuch in its original language.² He also noted variants attributable to the Greek Septuagint.

A second characteristic reflected by Grandisson's glosses is allied to the first: Grandisson was interested in the development of the Church and its progress (especially in Britain), its unity and traditions; and he was concerned to strengthen the Church by his own efforts. If he saw, as I think he did, God's purposes being worked out through the deeds of men, the *raison d'être* behind many of his glosses becomes apparent, but does not account for others glosses which occurred out of curiosity. Even when researching a particular subject, he annotated whatever he discovered along the way, sometimes adding cross-references or drawing together remote associations from previous reading (see below the descriptions of Anglia by Bede and William the Conqueror, p. 144).

Grandisson's Interest in the Early Church and its Laws

Grandisson found in the Scriptures details concerning the establishment of the priesthood under Moses and Aaron. He marked his Bible (no. 7) with Sacerdotes erunt sancti, (f. 26v) and Nota de pontifice (Lev. XXI), headings which incorporated the separateness of the priesthood; and pointing fingers indicated the qualities a high-priest should possess. He took note of biblical precedents for present-day practice on a variety of topics: the kinds of offerings that should be made; the necessity of leaving gleanings for the poor; the sanctification of a year of jubilee. He called attention with pointing fingers to the beginnings of a legal system: that a man should have a year to be free at home after taking a new wife, and that a wrongdoer might be given forty stripes as punishment but no more (Deut. XXIV:5; XXV:3; f. 44). Grandisson glossed: 'Nota quales debent esse condiciones iudicis' (f. 16v), concerning Moses's way of setting up a judiciary for the people (Exodus XVIII:24-27).

Deliberately searching out *originalia* of the Fathers, Grandisson read the letters of St Clement, the second bishop of Rome (nos 38-39).³ There is no earlier authority for the Christian Church except the New Testament itself. Clement's letters acquire *auctoritas* from being addressed to St James, brother of the Lord, and from the incidents described concerning St Peter. Grandisson showed his interest by brackets and marginal headings throughout, beginning with the 'election' of Clement by St Peter to be his successor, whom he invited to sit in the bishop's chair. Peter is reported to have said, 'You whom the people of God placed in the flood, as it were, and tried, should help when you can', and Grandisson commented: 'Opus bonum' (no. 38, f. 5vb).⁴ Grandisson marked with pointing finger the precedent for decretals to become law, set by Peter's words, 'Hoc enim fieri statutum est mihi' which went on to say that one who desires Peter's chair does not need ornate ceremonies and fine words. 'And when he had said this', said Clement, 'in the midst in front of all he placed his hands on me and compelled me, overcome with great shame, to sit in his chair'.⁵ Not only do these words establish the origin for the transference of power through the laying on of hands, but Clement's reluctance set a precedent for declining the high honour of episcopacy, which became codified by Nicene Canon LXXV: 'One *seeking* an election should not be chosen, even if of conspicuous virtue' (emphasis mine). The importance of apostolic succession is signalled by Grandisson with **P** Sub nomine beati Clementis, omnem episcopum voluit petrus significare (no. 39, f. 8). Another gloss has to do with a course of action against enemies of Clement, to which Grandisson added in display script heading with large Nota, '*Si inimicus pro Episcopis'. Isolation would make the enemy 'return to health' (no. 38, f. 7vb).

Grandisson wrote cues to himself concerning the subject matter in Clement's first letter: advice to bishops that they should lead irreproachable lives and work harder than anyone else; to priests that they should be chaste, not behave like young students at a wedding ('studentes adulescentes nuptiis jungant') and then in advanced age forget their youthful sin, 'lest they obtain a place of punishment according to their former adultery'. Clement called deacons 'the bishop's eyes' and urged them to fulfill their ministerial responsibilities. One of Grandisson's largest Notae is reserved for the philosophical statement, 'Nothing is more disagreeable than

someone who believes that he knows what he does not know, and defends as true that which is false'.⁶

Whether or not the letters of Clement are authentic, they represent authentic tradition: a body of belief concerning events in the early days of the Christian Church. Grandisson could have been sceptical of the details of St Clement's accounts without denying their importance; it is noticeable that his notes decrease after the first letter, as 'Clement's' letters become more anachronistic in style.⁷

The partial summary of contents on f. iii recto of no. 38 is in Grandisson's hand:

Melchiadis.⁹ prima de accusationibus. Secunda de ecclesia (*superscript* primitiua) Sequitur. Exemplar constituti Constantini imperatoris.⁹ Ad beatum Siluestrum papam. Ubi.⁹ nota stilum suum. cum cogno-|minibus multis. ubi eciam recitat scilicet per beatum Siluestrum conuersum et alia facta sue ualde notanda, Postea prologus ponitur Niceni concilii. ibi.⁹ Canones generales. cum eodem concilio subsequente. quod incipit Beatissimo Siluestro. et cetera

'First' performers were important to Grandisson, the 'first' prosecutor; the 'primitive' Church, the 'first' successor to St Peter. Grandisson praised Constantine's generosity to the Church, but in his comment 'alia facta sua ualde notanda', is a hint that he had less enthusiasm for some of Constantine's barbaric deeds. The Nicene Councils had 'the magnitude of the four Gospels', as Grandisson marked with Nota monogram in no. 38, f. 2va. (Gregory the Great venerated the first four Ecumenical Councils equally with the four Gospels; namely, of Nice, I Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and Grandisson marked them all 'Magna' in no. 40).⁸

Inserted at the beginning of no. 38 is a list of the eleven regions of the Christian Church, containing 113 provinces.⁹ Grandisson put headings in the margins for each of the eleven and underlined them in the text. For Italy he said, In Italia nec sunt plures. He placed vertical bars in the lines to make the regions stand out from their component cities. In the second column, he supplied paraph marks and underlined the regions in the text, In orient, in ponto, and so on. Next he numbered with roman numerals the descriptions of the provinces which included their principal cities,

beginning the series again for each area (ff. ii verso-1r). By identifying the component parts of the entire Church, he would have points of reference in the accounts of various councils. Such attention to organization and detail is typical of his practice when reading.

Grandisson's purpose in emphasizing the 'Modus Concilii celebrandi' (as he called it), may be indicated by his 'In principio vero voluminis huius qualiter concilium apud nos celebratur posuimus' (f. 1va). 'How a council is celebrated among us' suggests the synods held in London, Grandisson's own ceremonial celebrations, the pomp of three hundred or more priests in procession to their solemn deliberations. (Grandisson emphasized the tract both in no. 38, f. 3, and in no. 40, f. 77, much-thumbed, where it appeared in chronological order with Toletanus IV, AD 633.) A short excerpt from this proclamation will give its tone:

The door where the priests enter will be kept by a doorkeeper. All the bishops will enter and sit according to the time of their ordination. Then when they are all entered, the bishops and confessors will call the priests who have reason to participate. None of them should be deacons. When the priests have entered, then the deacons will come. There will be a ring ['corona'] of leather seats for bishops and priests; the deacons will stand in the sight of the bishops.¹⁰

Acts and Precedents Set by the Church's Great Leaders, Gregory I and Anselm

Grandisson valued the letters of Gregory the Great (no. 33) as an account of the Church in early days and of Gregory's acts, history in the making. Gregory's *Registrum* was probably in the library of the Cathedral when Grandisson arrived, since it is listed in the 1327 Inventory. His annotation of only twenty or so letters of Gregory from the 677 in MS no. 33, does not mean that he neglected the others: those annotated are representative of Gregory's administration and reflect Grandisson's interests. A very important letter for Grandisson was that concerning the controversy over titles, as indicated by his lengthy gloss in display script: '*Iste .j. constantinopolitanus uoluit usurpare nomen nouum Episcopi universalis. Et contra Gregorius Seruus Seruorum dei.--' John, bishop of Constantinople, had assumed the title of 'universal patriarch'. Not only would Grandisson see this as a challenge to Gregory's authority at the time,

but he would be aware that it had repercussions in what was to become the East-West division, a vital issue with which Fitz-Ralph and others became involved at Avignon in the mid-fourteenth-century. Grandisson put a large 'Nota hic' against Gregory's accusation: 'What are you going to say, dear brother, in that terrible examination of the coming judgment, when you desire to be called not only "Father", but "Father General in the World"?'¹¹ On a primary level, Gregory's letter reveals his concern that the elevation of one bishop should not be at the expense of others; he pleads for unity, and fears for the soul of one who, like Lucifer, is exalting his throne above the stars of heaven, to be like the Most High. Grandisson valued humility as a virtue and understood the penalties of pride for the individual, but his large headline on f. 90v suggests that to him the letter had wider implications.

The Progress of the Church in Britain

Grandisson glossed several letters concerning the primitive church under the monarch Brunhilda, queen of the Franks, among whose people tree worship still existed, and where animals were sacrificed and their heads exhibited.¹² He glossed with 'Nota de Augustino Anglorum' (f. 120v), the coming of Augustine and Gregory's patronage of the priest Candidus.¹³ From Henry of Huntingdon's text (no. 21), Grandisson observed that Gregory himself would have liked to come to Britain: '**C** Nota qualiter beatus Gregorius voluit venisse ad conuertendum Anglicanos' (f. 27v).

Grandisson marked with a *paragraphus* and vertical bar the place where Gregory referred to Brunhilda (whom he was trying to train as a Christian ruler) as 'hec dulcissima et excellentissima filia' (f. 225). Brunhilda increased her influence through simony and lay investiture. Grandisson wrote a display script heading, *contra cupidos prelatos (f. 192), and again contra elemosinas dantes episcopis (f. 193), for the content, in which it appeared that simony was so widespread that the bishops of Gaul needed to convene a synod to prohibit it.¹⁴

Grandisson marked two accounts in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (no. 20) which illustrated Gregory's interaction with the primitive Church in Britain. He put a Nota and a pointing finger beside Gregory's advice to Augustine to take the good things from each pagan church and teach the

English how to use them, for 'Things are not to be loved for the sake of their places, but places are to be loved for the sake of their good things' (f. 15v).¹⁵

Again in no. 20, Grandisson wrote 'Nota bene' beside Gregory's advice to Mellitus, the first bishop of London, that in converting pagan shrines into Christian edifices there should be a religious feast at each dedication: 'Thus while some outward rejoicings are preserved, they will be more able to share in inward rejoicings' (f. 21).¹⁶ Similarly, in no. 33, Grandisson put 'Nota de iudeis' alongside Gregory's letter to Peter, Bishop of Terracina, recommending that the Jews' place of gathering among Christians be restored to them. Those who otherwise 'might be driven away by threats and terror could be persuaded to the one true faith by gentle preaching and fear of the coming judgment' (f. 13).¹⁷

Grandisson's headings (all underlined) in the margins of his copy of the *Historia Anglorum* (no. 21) trace the progress of the Church and the nation in a series of 'firsts': 'Hic fuit primus Rex cristianus Britannie que nunc Anglia dicitur'; 'Hic primus imperator cristianus'; 'Primus episcopus Scotorum'; 'De primo adventu Saxoni in Angliam'; 'primi duces Anglorum' (Hengist and Horsa), and 'Concilium Anglie uel Synodus primus', among others. Grandisson showed enthusiasm for every detail, for example, the description of the island by Bede, in no. 20, f. 3 (Grandisson: Nota de natura), and a later description by the Conqueror which Grandisson referred to in no. 21, on f. 74v: 'Nota descripcionem Anglie factam per Regem Willelmum normannum et in libro Domesday conscriptam.' (This may have been ironic, for William's description of the island and its people and property was for the purpose of taxation, a demographic description. See Supplement.) Grandisson was interested in the first inhabitants of the island (the future Cornish people), *Armorici .^o nominant britanni (no. 21, f. 2v). Concerning the early names of tribes (f. 2v), he wrote, Indicabit britanniam cum tribus insulis (such as, Kair ebrauc--Eboracum). (He labeled this paragraph mineres ('sources') in a large script.) A little further on Grandisson wrote, Nota proprietates Anglie (f. 4), and below that, 'Nota quattuor mirabilia Anglie.:' He capped all this by saying, 'What's in a name?' after his author, **P** Nota. contra gloriam nominis. que durare non potest diu (f. 3v).

Grandisson read with an Augustinian perspective: that saints, strengthened the Church, but heretics also strengthened it by testing it.¹⁸ He took particular notice of Stigand, the first archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, whose history William of Malmesbury recounts in great detail (no. 17).¹⁹ Grandisson marked the progress of the story with pointing fingers and Notae, heading the folio with a reference to the final outcome: **P** Nota de Stigando archiepiscopo Cantuariensis deposito per legatum papae. The author had described the 'beluinae rapacitas' with which Stigand had acquired the episcopacy of Winchester and the archiepiscopacy of Canterbury, 'besides many abbacies which he alone possessed, a single one of which should have sufficed any honest man'. Grandisson put a pointing finger against: 'Stigand did not smack his lips over these, but put them up for sale, thinking too little of the health of souls, for he enjoyed so much esteem in the market-place'. He put another pointing finger against the arrival of the papal legate, 'who at the wish of the King called a council and deposed Stigand'. Afterwards, 'with encouraging friends and especially Queen Edith, King Edward's widow, (Stigand declared) that he had not means to feed himself or clothe himself fastidiously'. (Grandisson added Nota.)

Anselm, Defender of the Faith

The branch of the Universal Church founded in Britain under Gregory the Great encountered complex problems of a different kind during the archiepiscopacy of Anselm. Grandisson wrote an inscription to Anselm's letters (no. 16):²⁰ 'Here below can be seen the situation (*status*) of the Church in the Kingdom of England until renewed by our Lord Jesus Christ'. Grandisson's interest was in the Church for whom Anselm was God's instrument, rather than in the events of Anselm's life. He annotated very few of the letters before the section marked 'post acceptum pallium'. In the *tabula*, Grandisson marked thirty-nine letters with Notae and seven with pointing fingers: twenty-seven had to do with the investiture controversy and eleven with the rivalry between Canterbury and York, suggesting that, when Grandisson entered these symbols, he was researching those subjects. (Several other letters have his headings or comments.)²¹

Grandisson wrote beside letters 402 and 403, 'Contra Eboracensem pro Cantuar', and followed the controversy with annotations through letters

402-14 (his numbers).²² Anselm was convinced that to divide the kingdom would be to destroy it (Luke XI:17): 'Ego quoque nullatenus remanerem in Anglia. non enim deberem aut possem pati ut me in ea vivente primatus ecclesiae nostrae destrueretur' (f. 158v).²³ Grandisson wrote, 'Terribilis monicio contra Eboracensem' as a heading and put a Nota monogram bracket at 'Tibi quoque Thome sub eodem anathemate ex parte deo interdico. ut nunquam benedictionem episcopatus eboracensis suscipias'.²⁴

Grandisson's Theological Views Reflected through his Annotation

Grandisson annotated *originalia* of the Fathers, chiefly Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory, whom he admired for their uprightness and as primary sources of the doctrine of the Church.²⁵ Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, no. 32, is a major source of Grandisson's theological views, because it is so comprehensive, and Grandisson responded to it by annotating it heavily (over 150 notes). Issues argued at length in the text were often also issues of Grandisson's time. In no. 32 Grandisson expressed his thinking more often in words, using few Notae. The same subjects appear elsewhere in Augustine's work, particularly in the *Confessiones*, and *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, where Grandisson also glossed them.

There are few indications that Grandisson ever disagreed with the content of what he read. However, where Augustine had presented a lengthy argument that 'all men wish to be happy', Grandisson wrote in the margin 'Nota omnes homines nelle (*sic*) beatitudinem' (no. 1, f. 74; Book X, ch. xxi). Where Augustine rendered part of Proverbs VIII:22-23, as 'quem genuisti coaeternum et creasti in principio uiarum tuarum', Grandisson commented 'Dubitacio propositionem creasti' (no. 1, f. 52v; Book VII, ch. xxi). Customarily however, if Grandisson disagreed with a point of view, he kept silent. Thus, he marked all of Augustine's analyses of the philosophy of Plato (no. 32) as Nota opinionem Platonis de summo deo (f. 132v), and wrote a headline **P** Plato et Porfirius with pointing finger (f. 242va), but in the several chapters given to Varro he made no mark at all. (However, at the foot of the page at the end of Book VII, chap. xxix, f. 71, Grandisson paraphrased from the text: 'Iam incipiamus quam illos qui varias falsosque deos finxerunt. unius veri dei nostri opera ennarare', as though weary with talk of false gods.)²⁶

An example of Grandisson's activity in this copy (no. 32) is his annotation for Book V, chapters ix-x (which he headed De prescincia et libero arbitrio, f. 46r). He bracketed the deliberations of Cicero, who had denied foreknowledge, because, Cicero reasoned, one could not have both God's foreknowledge and man's free will. In a late hand, Grandisson wrote, 'Nota quod nichil fit sine causa' (and added a pointing finger), to which the corollary is that if the causal order is fixed, all events are ordered by destiny (f. 45vb). Augustine had pointed out that there are various causes: hidden causes coming from the will of God or of spirits ('fortuita'), natural causes coming from the Creator, and voluntary causes coming from God, or from angels or men or animals. To this Grandisson wrote, 'Nota tres causas'. Augustine had ended with 'The only efficient causes of events are voluntary causes', proceeding from the 'breath of life', God himself (f. 46v).²⁷ Grandisson added 'Ventus dicitur spiritus' in the margin beside the text.

On the question whether men's wills are under the sway of necessity (chapter x), Grandisson marked with a Nota bracket, 'Neque enim ideo non peccat homo quia deus illum peccatorum esse presciuit'. In no. 38, f. 15, he had also written, 'Note that there is free will for men, and that a man has it in his power to fulfill the commandments of life'.²⁸ In no. 32 Augustine had stated first that God's omnipotence is not negated, even though He does not have the power to die or to be mistaken (Book V, ch. x, f. 47ra). Grandisson headed the column: Nota quod omnipotens deus non potest ea que inpotencie sunt, and there is a Nota (bracket) beside the section, beginning 'Recte quippe omnipotens dicitur' (f. 47), and another Grandisson Nota against: 'Male autem uiuitur. / si de deo non bene creditur.' Grandisson bracketed the final ideas in this chapter: 'Immo ideo non dubitatur ipsum peccare cum peccat. quia ille cuius praescientia falli non potest. non fatum. non fortunam. non aliquid aliud. / sed ipsum peccatum esse praesciuit'.²⁹ Augustine had expressed similar ideas in his commentary on Psalm VII:18 to which Grandisson refers:³⁰ 'Nota contra eos qui contingencia fato tribuerunt. concors P(salmus) .XXXI. v^{us}. pronunciabo (confitebor) aduersum me iniustitiam'; and Psalm XXXI:10, where Grandisson noted: '**P** Isto modo dicit peccator deum esse iniustum. / et seipsum iustum scilicet. sensa. psalmo vii. versus. confitebor domino secundum iusticiam eius'.³¹ Grandisson had written above this, '**P** qui sunt. / qui dicunt peccata sua

aduersus deum', that is, they claimed that God willed their sinful actions (f. 63va).

Grandisson glossed several passages on inertia and ambivalence of the will in the *Confessiones*, Book VIII, chs viii-x. He bracketed a section and added a pointing finger to call attention to it, in which Augustine had written that his body obeyed his mind, but his soul did not obey his will in carrying out its own great desire. Grandisson asked, 'How is it that the members of the body are much more obedient to the mind than the mind is to itself?' (f. 58)³² He quoted Augustine in the margin: 'Nota quod partim uelle partim nolle est (a)egritudo animi', and labelled the accompanying paragraph with 'Nota aliquorum errorem de uelle et nolle', in which Augustine indicated that those who believe that there are two kinds of minds, one good, one evil, are in error (f. 58v).³³

Grandisson marked with a Nota bracket the passage in *De civitate Dei* in which Augustine had argued that good exists in nature, and evil only as a perversion or fault (Book XII, ch. iii, f. 119va). Then he put the idea in the form of *distinctiones* (f. 121rb): 'Cause< efficientes: deficientes>' (having the fault of an evil will is a deficiency; the nature of God cannot be deficient). He wrote, 'Nota utrum deus. semper fuerit dominus', a question Augustine himself could not answer (ch. xvii, f. 124va). Being 'the Lord' meant having someone or something to rule over. Grandisson quoted Augustine: 'Fecit deus hominem rectum (Eccle. VII:30) <ac per hoc> voluntatis <bone>' (f. 142va).³⁴ On f. 150ra he headed the column *Nota vbi et quando et qualiter deo sacrificandum, a discussion of how Cain displeased God (still not universally understood). Grandisson put a Nota sign to signal the various reasons why Cain's offering might not have been accepted (especially because his heart was perverted and not 'upright').³⁵

Grandisson used scholastic terms in his notes with *signes de renvoi*: At 'Quamobrem prosus nec alia causa nec iustior', he wrote 'Nota hic *significationem* verborum saecula saeculorum' (no. 32, f. 226vb); and 'Nota hic pacis *diffinitiones*' (f. 202), with a Nota sign (concerning the peace of body and mind) ending with another Nota sign at 'Pax omnium rerum. tranquillitas ordinis'.³⁶ However, Grandisson avoided being drawn into particular scholastic argument: for example, '**P** Nota quod non est

querendum quomodo pater genuit filium' (no. 38, f. 8va). Beside an account of the Creed recorded at the Nicene Council, Grandisson commented, 'Nota quod non dicitur de celis, nec in aliis symbolis' (that is, 'it does not say "who for us men and for our salvation came *down from heaven*", in this or any other forms of the Creed'; emphasis mine).³⁷

Grandisson bracketed a discussion of the Trinity which speaks of one sole Good, simple and unchangeable, who created all good things (no. 32, f. 110v), but what is begotten by the simple Good is itself equally simple (Book XI, beginning of ch. x). An explanation of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit follows. On Augustine's discussion of the Trinity in the terms used in the Creed, Grandisson wrote only, Fides: some things are simply accepted on faith (f. 115ra).³⁸ This corresponds with Grandisson's paraphrase of Augustine's statement in the *Confessiones*: 'Nota quod omnes de trinitate loquimur sed rarus uel nullus quod loquitur intellegat' (f. 98).³⁹ It also suggests why Grandisson's copy of *De Trinitate* (no. 9) contains few substantive glosses, but only notes which would help students, beginning, 'Quid est'. Grandisson annotated Anselm's first letter to Pope Urban II (no. 16), the final recension of 'De Incarnatione Verbi' which answered the tri-theistic heresy of Roscelin, a threat, as Grandisson also saw it, to the unity of the Church, for he headed f. 67 with *Ad Urbanum papam. contra quemdam hereticum. de Incarnacione, and put a Nota at the incipit, 'Quoniam divina providentia', to emphasize the letter's importance.⁴⁰

In *De civitate Dei* (no. 32) Grandisson marked statements concerning the world, for example, 'Nota de noticia mundi', for the text that the world 'could not have been known to us unless it first existed; but it could not have existed unless it had first been known to God' (f. 111, end of ch. x).⁴¹ Augustine discussed the human scale of values, in putting some inanimate things above animate: Would one not rather have food in the house than mice, money rather than fleas? Grandisson bracketed this discussion with a Nota sign. He wrote, 'Nota pulcritudinem saeculi' (f. 113), when Augustine spoke of beauty in the composition of the world's history, 'an eloquence not of words but of events'.⁴² Then Grandisson headed a folio with **C** Causa creacionis mundi (f. 114ra) and placed a paraph beside the relevant text, 'Hanc etiam plato causam condendi mundi iustissimam dicit, ut a bono deo bona opera fierent'.

The expression *saecula saeculorum* may have had special significance for Grandisson; it is a phrase he often wrote. In no. 32, f. 125va, Grandisson added a heading '*Nota secula seculorum.:' and a pointing finger beside Augustine's suggestion that the expression might mean that the ages continue with undisturbed stability in the wisdom of God, as the efficient causes of the transient ages of temporal history.⁴³ Augustine had refuted the idea that history repeats itself in cycles, with the souls of the saints returning to misery. Grandisson had written previously, on f. 105rb, 'Nota quod certitudo est de necessitate beatitudinis'; that is, the soul, to be in a state of blessedness, must be certain of its eternity.⁴⁴ The terms apply equally to eternal life and to eternal punishment (f. 226v).⁴⁵

On f. 71 is a statement concerning the nature of God, which might be considered to be Grandisson's creed, for he marked each sentence with a *paragraphus*:⁴⁶

The God of our worship is He who has created all beings, and ordered the beginning and the end of their existence and their motion. He has in His hands the causes of all that exists, and all those causes are within His knowledge and at His disposition. From Him comes the vital force of seeds. He has bestowed the rational mind. . .

The catalogue of 'opera dei' continues, ending:

He has conferred on human societies the blessing of terrestrial fire, to make life easier for man, giving him the advantages of heat and light.

Grandisson had previously noted many things relating to the nature of God in Augustine's *Confessiones* (no. 1), such as (f. 8): Nota at 'Your works change but your purpose is unchanged', with gloss, 'Note that the loquacious are silent about God on account of His ineffability'. He marked that time does not happen in God (f. 9); that God's omnipotency is not far from us, even when we are far from Him (f. 14v), and that God judges differently from men because of His omniscience (f. 22v). And finally, Grandisson wrote (f. 22v): 'Whatever things are ordered by God are to be done, even if they seem wrong', an ultimate statement of trust.⁴⁷

To sum up, Grandisson accepted Augustine's explanations that God is the efficient cause of all; that his Creation is good, any sin or decay a falling away from the good. Man's will is free; if he sins it is because he wills to sin, and God's foreknowledge does not affect the outcome. The peace of the world arises out of the order which permeates all things; a harmony which is God-given and disrupted only by man's evil will. One must believe in the Trinity without necessarily understanding it.

Grandisson's Annotations Concerning his Vocation

Grandisson wrote many annotations dealing with his two-fold role as bishop, in the plan of the Universal Church: the bishop as teacher, and as judge ordinary, a corrector of error. Finding support for this dual role, he marked his Bible (no. 7) with a pointing finger at 'Ubi est literatus?' 'Thy heart shall meditate fear: Where is the learned? Where is he that ponders the words of the law? Where is the teacher of little ones?' (Isaiah XXXIII:18, f. 95), and similarly, at 'I will give you pastors according to my own heart, and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine' (Jeremiah III:15, f. 101v).

Grandisson absorbed ideas concerning the role of a bishop from the pseudo-Ambrosian *De dignitate sacerdotali* (no. 1) and I Timothy III incorporated within it, which he marked '*Regula episcopi secundum apostolem' (f. 107v). Two of his notes among many are '*Nota quod honor et dignitas episcopali incomparabiliter excellit regiam dignitatem et quacumque aliam.:' (f. 106v), and 'De episcopi pro et contra' with bracket (f. 107). Grandisson's 'Nota de centum s^o pro episcopate datis' introduces an *exemplum* (f. 109):

Ab archiepiscopo sum nuper episcopus ordinatus, centumque ei solidos dedi ut episcopalem gratiam consequi meruissem, quos si minime dedissem, hodie episcopus non essem; unde melius est mihi aurum de locello invehere, quam tantum sacerdotium perdere.⁴⁸

Grandisson's spiritual quest is reflected in the section he copied from Isidore's *Synonyma* (no. 1), 'Examine te', and in his copy of excerpts from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*, for which he provided a *tabula* and headings concerning the principal vices. These are his own collection of extracts,

bound up with his copy of Augustine's *Confessiones*. From the number of times he noted the subject of 'superbia' and its opposite, 'humilitas', one might assume that he struggled with pride in himself, especially as he referred to 'himself as 'an audacious fellow'.⁴⁹

Grandisson was concerned with the fitness of priests to serve. In writing to Brunhilda, Gregory had presented strong arguments that bishops should acquire training through service as priests before their consecration, and that they should not be chosen from the order of the laity. Grandisson indicated this in the margin with contra episcopos indoctos (no. 33, f. 189)⁵⁰

To distinguish between Grandisson's function as teacher and his role as judge is somewhat artificial, for the Church regarded both teaching and judging as one--the means to salvation. Correcting error is an educational duty, as all who feel the rod are made to understand, but no one welcomes correction, even for the sake of his soul's health. The Church therefore had to urge the priesthood to this unpalatable task, since both the judge and the culprit were reluctant.

The necessity of correction was assured by both Augustine and Gregory: Augustine in the *Confessiones* (no. 1), where Grandisson wrote '*Nota debemus iudicare que corrigere possumus' (f. 102v). The text says, '(The spiritual man) judges and approves what he finds right and disallows what he finds amiss', whether in the celebration of the Sacraments or in the expressions and signs of words, subject to the authority of Scripture, two areas where error could creep in.⁵¹ Gregory devoted three chapters of his *Regula Pastoralis* to instructions as to how to admonish, whether gently or vehemently, and followed these with many specific examples.⁵² Grandisson would surely know this 'bible for bishops' well (three copies were listed in the Exeter Inventory of 1327). His personal copy of the *Regula Pastoralis* has not survived, but he corrected and annotated a Cathedral copy (no. 67) in which his subject heading 'virga' (f. 30v) calls attention to Psalm XXII:4, and Gregory's comment that the rod chastizes and corrects while the staff supports, both necessary ('Virga enim percutimur, baculo sustentamur').

Grandisson glossed several places in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (no. 34) concerning correction and punishment. In Psalm XXXVII:18-19, he added, 'Hic nota de flagello' (f. 109ra) a reference to 'For I am ready for scourges' (vs. 18), and to I Peter II:21-24, on which Augustine had commented, 'If you will not bear correction, you shall not receive an inheritance'. Grandisson also marked several verses of Psalm XXXVI with 'Nota diligenter' (f. 94va). The ideas embraced are that the upright man is scourged by his enemy (or the evil one) by divine permission ('quem enim diligit dominus corripit'), but the evil agent should not congratulate himself. 'He is employed to do service; I am being trained for my inheritance'.⁵³

In the matter of painful correction, Grandisson wrote a heading, 'Exemplum de matribus', for Augustine's 'Look how mothers scrub down their little boys in the baths, and all for their good. Do not the youngsters yell beneath their grasp? Are they cruel, then, in not sparing them and not heeding their tears? Are they not rather full of motherly love?'⁵⁴

Grandisson acquired a thorough knowledge of canon law. The evidence of his research is in nos 38-40 which he annotated at Exeter during his episcopate. He followed his customary pattern of glossing everything that captured his attention, being always alert to the odd or the obscure. Because there are so many notations, it is necessary to consider his pattern, rather than each individual note.

Grandisson's reading of these materials falls into two principal categories. On the one hand, he read patristic letters, with a focus on finding precedents for current practice. On the other hand, he was looking for rules of discipline by which he might inform and judge those in orders under his care. Because it was a serious matter to allow error to go uncorrected (for 'the soul of the wayward one would be required of the head'), his notes concerning law and judgment are more purposeful and practical than those in other kinds of books, and his sense of responsibility overshadows them.⁵⁵ They reflect the evolution of canon law; he especially marked those laws he felt to be the last or best word. When he needed to cite authority in a given legal instance, he did so from Gratian's *Concordantia discordantium canonum*.⁵⁶ But he knew where those succinct

codes had their inception; he knew their history, the ramifications of their application, their exceptions.

Grandisson's interest was greatest in Carthaginian Councils IV-VI with which Augustine of Hippo was involved: Nota quod beatus Augustinus interfuit isti consilio Quartum Cartaginensis (AD 398), he wrote in no. 40 (f. 33) and similarly in no. 38 (f. 279ra). (When Augustine was cited posthumously in Toletanus VIII in a debate concerning mercy and justice, Grandisson wrote, De laude beati Augustini in the margins of both manuscripts, f. 103; f. 327, respectively.) Grandisson annotated a letter which would have topical implications for himself: 'Contra excommunicatos ad papam appellantes.;.' (Both Dean Coleton and Dean Brayleigh of Exeter had appealed to the pope against him.) Augustine, with other bishops of the sixth Carthaginian Council (c. AD 419), had composed a letter to Pope Celestine protesting against the Pope's overturning an excommunication as a result of appeal.⁵⁷

How shall we be able to rely on a sentence passed beyond the sea, since it will not be possible to send thither the necessary witnesses, whether from the weakness of sex, or advanced age, or any other impediment?

Grandisson wrote a summary sentence of the result, derived from the letter: '*Negocia. ubi oriuntur finantur', that is, 'All matters should be terminated in the places where they arise' (f. 282va). The strong impetus to settle disputes locally was felt by parties in Britain in the fourteenth century as in Africa in the fifth. However, Anselm had favoured direct communication between prelates and pope; thus he had sought to have papal legates sent to England. (He cited the precedent that they had been provided to the archbishop of Vienne (no. 16, f. 94).⁵⁸ Grandisson wrote 'Nota de legacione Cantuariensis. concessa viennensi'. Augustine's letter to Celestine (in no. 38) cited Nicene Canon V which prohibited an excommunicated person from being restored by any other than his own bishop, 'unless the excommunication was the result of pusillanimity, or strife or some other similar cause', and then the excommunicated one could appeal at the subsequent synod. This African Sixth Council reiterated and confirmed the Nicene Canons. Grandisson wrote a heading in display script

to mark the progress achieved: Nota de variis exemplaribus Niceni Consilii (f. 282vb).

Grandisson's annotations of the fifty *Canones Apostolorum* provide a synopsis of some of his disciplinary rules. Out of the fifty he marked eleven with Notae.⁵⁹

- I That a bishop should be ordained by two or three bishops;
- VII That no bishop, priest or deacon should undertake worldly business (because he would neglect the cure of souls);
- X That if anyone should pray even in a private house with an excommunicated person, let him also be excommunicated;
- V That neither bishop, nor priest, nor deacon shall pass from city to city. But they shall be sent back, should they attempt to do so, to the churches in which they were ordained. Canon XIV, however, allowed for the translation of a bishop for good cause. In the 'Decreta Anteri papae' (no. 38, f. 48rb) is an account of how the apostles, especially Peter, traveled about from city to city not for 'suo libitu aut ambitu' but for 'utilitate aut necessitate'. . . There is a caution against change because of avarice, and Grandisson marked the whole with a large Nota bracket, and in no. 40, f. 8v, Grandisson wrote: '**P** Nota bene contra episcopos qui procurant se transferri';
- XVIII That he who has married a widow or a divorced woman or an harlot or a servant-maid or an actress cannot be a bishop, presbyter, or deacon or any other of the sacerdotal list; (a similar detailed proscription was made against a priest's being in the same room with a woman--except with 'matre, tantum, sorore, filia, et nepte, si habuerit aut uoluerit uiuendi liberam habeat potestatem' (that is, has permission or authority) (Concilium Regiense, Canon X, no. 38, f. 293v);
- XXV That a bishop, presbyter, deacon found guilty of fornication shall be deposed;
- XXVII That of those who have been admitted to the clergy unmarried readers and singers only may marry if they will;
- XXX That if any bishop obtain possession of a church by the aid of temporal powers, he shall be deposed and excommunicated, and all who communicate with him;
- XXXVIII That the bishop shall have the care of all of the goods of the Church and let him administer them as under the inspection of God. (This is Grandisson's authority for using

the books and other property of the Cathedral and the diocese.) But he must not alienate any of them or give the things which belong to God to his own relations;

- XLII That if a bishop or presbyter or deacon should be addicted to dice or to drinking, let him either give it over or be deposed. Grandisson put a large Nota sign beside Laodicaean Canon XXIV, that none of the religious orders, nor subdeacons, lectors, cantors, exorcists, nor door-keepers ('hostiarios'), nor any of the orders of ascetics or monks--ought to enter a tavern (no. 40, f. 14);
- XLIII That if a subdeacon, reader or singer commits the same things, let him either give over or be excommunicated; so also laymen.

Grandisson was concerned that the duties and ministries appropriate to each of the orders should be adhered to.⁶⁰ Not only did he have a list in his own writing of twelve tasks designated, 'Hec ad solos Episcopos pertinent', but there were strictures concerning the other orders; for example, Quod nullus ordinetur sine tytulo (Concilium Chalcedon); Ad dyaconos, with Nota monogram at 'Non oportet diacono panem dare. nec calicem benedicere' (Concilium Laodiciae XXVI); but a deacon could serve in case of necessity, with a priest present (Concilium Cartaginensis IV). Grandisson made a note that clerks should not 'nutriat' their hair (with pomades?) ('Clericus nec comam nutriat nec barbam'), and as 'a clerk shows his profession by his wearing apparel, he should decorate neither his vestments nor his shoes' (Concilium Cartaginensis IV).

Grandisson marked with Nota monograms those letters in which Anselm advised and corrected the Church (no. 16). Anselm had reprimanded Archbishop Gerard of York for having taken a wife whom he concealed. Other bishops were in collusion with him because of their own cases.⁶¹ He wrote twice to Muriardachus, king of Spain, congratulating him that he was not allowing marriages to be dissolved easily, nor relatives to marry one another.⁶² He supported Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, in whose diocese priests were excommunicated for 'habentes feminas prohibitas', until they conformed to the statute satisfactorily.⁶³

Grandisson's Annotations in General

We know from the records of Grandisson's *Registrum Commune*, which reinforce evidence in the books he annotated, that his greatest period

of activity with books was in the first ten years of his episcopate, a period in which he seemed to be bursting with energy and zeal for reform. Thereafter his work with books tapered off; perhaps he was preoccupied with the fabric of the Church he was building, which authorities consider was practically complete by 1350.⁶⁴ After the plague years of 1348-49, his energies seemed to dwindle, but then, he was faced with reactions in a dislocated society which produced heretics and swarms of mendicants. His glosses reflect a search for particular information, most especially in relation to legal matters. For example, in no. 38, f. 16, and again on f. 88va, he found arguments against the establishment of unauthorized chapels (Grandisson: 'Nota contra capellas'):

P Hic in memorata constituit omnium consensu synodo, ut nullus presbiter missas celebrare praesumat nisi in sacratibus ab episcopo locis qui sui particeps de caetero uoluerit esse sacerdotii (f. 88va)

The gist of this is 'No one is to celebrate mass except in a place consecrated by a bishop'. This gave him authority for destroying the illicit chapel of the Prior and Convent of Frithelstock, November 1351.⁶⁵

Annotations Reflecting the Search for Answers to Particular Problems

There are numerous entries relating to issues which troubled Grandisson during the years of his episcopate:

Wars From the *turpis pax* with the Scots, agreed to in the Council of Northampton (April 1328) which Grandisson reluctantly attended in the first months of his episcopacy, to his death in 1369, the ethical problems of war were ever present. Grandisson accepted Augustine's views on the subject (principally from *De civitate Dei*), that God controls the beginning, the progress and the end of wars, for the chastening of mankind. To this Grandisson commented, with pointing finger: Nota quare deus permittit bella. Grandisson wrote: Nota de justis bellis for 'The commandment forbidding killing was not broken by those who have waged wars in the authority of God, or those who have imposed the death-penalty on criminals in accordance with the laws of the State'. He also wrote **P** Nota capitulum istud .iiij. De bellis et victoriis (with a bracket in the shape of a trumpet!) to the effect that nations seek victories over other nations though themselves slaves to base passions: they fight over goods which both cannot possess,

while neglecting the higher good which comes from fighting for a just cause. Finally, he marked with brackets almost all of ch. xvii in Book V, on the futility of war, the lack of difference between the conquered and the conquering: 'What are all men but simply men?' said Augustine. 'Did the Romans do any harm to other nations when they subdued them and imposed Roman laws, apart from the vast slaughter of the wars? If that result had been effected by peaceful agreement, it would have had better success; but then there would have been no glory for the conquerors'.⁶⁶

In 1333 the Scots invaded England, and Edward wrote to the bishops from Newcastle-on-Tyne (April 23) requesting prayers for the success of his arms. Grandisson wrote a fervent letter to accompany the king's request to 'all churches, cathedrals, convents, colleges, and other institutions of our cities and dioceses', and ordered that in every parish for six consecutive days, masses with the Office *Salus populi* should be 'solemnly and especially celebrated with prayers', to be proceeded by processions and chanting of the Litany.⁶⁷ Grandisson again similarly requested prayers throughout the diocese for the success of English arms, but also for peace, on Edward's projected invasion of France in June 1355.

Heresy Grandisson shows his awareness of this threat by numerous marginal headings. He annotated Augustine's *De agone Christiane* in both no. 8 (ff. 151v-159v) and no. 10 (ff. 200v-205v). He wrote 'De errore manicheorum execrabili' (as a subject heading, no. 8, f. 151v), who held that before the Creation, God had 'warred with darkness' with a part of His own Nature which was then consumed by the darkness. In the same manuscript, Grandisson numbered from one to nineteen the errors possible with respect to belief in the Trinity. In MS no. 10, he wrote, 'Nota deus fecit hominem inexterminabilem' (f. 202rb), that is, 'not liable to be destroyed' (Wisdom II:23), and drew a pointing finger to Augustine's 'Could not the Wisdom of God in any other way have set men free than by taking man's nature upon Him?'⁶⁸

Grandisson had copies of Augustine's tract 'Against Lying' (*Contra Mendacium*) in both no. 72 and no. 10, but his principal annotations occur in the latter. He wrote headings, and added Notae and pointing fingers. He disparaged the Priscillianists ('Ecce heresis eorum', f. 40ra) for they lied, as

they said, 'in order to hide the truth'. He wrote **P** Hic incipe, against 'Mendaciorum genera multa sunt' (f. 40va) and placed a bar-line in the text on f. 41 where the argument becomes general, not historical.⁶⁹ On f. 47va, a Grandisson gloss (with pointing finger), 'Nota contra eos igitur ad mentiendum proponunt ex sacre scripture' accompanies Augustine's 'When from Holy Scriptures examples of lying are proposed to us, they are rather not lies, but are thought to be so when they are not understood.' Augustine's clinching argument is that lies are not to be emulated.⁷⁰

Although Grandisson dealt with many instances of heresy,⁷¹ one of the most devious was that of Hugh, archbishop of Damascus (co-adjutor of the archbishop of York from 1344-1351), who came into Exeter diocese in the summer of 1347, 'secretly and suddenly', in layman's dress, 'cum longo gladio et boculario, stricta botonata et curta cota indutus'. He said on his arrival that he had the keys ('clavarium') and was under the ministry of the Lord King, and that he had been sent to 'seize ships' ('ad arrestandum naves'). He appeared to an Order of Friars Hermit of St Augustine at Dartmouth, immediately changed to bishop's garments, took the pastoral staff in his hand, put the mitre on his head, and told a great crowd at Tunstall (Tounstalle) that he was the Archbishop of Damascus, sent by the Lord Pope and all the Cardinals to consecrate an Oratory, and against the protests of the Abbot and Convent he began to sprinkle water and go around ('circumivit') the said Oratory. The extraordinary tale goes on, how he baptized and confirmed, heard confessions, even excommunicated someone who had assaulted a villager. He consecrated a cemetery and granted one hundred indulgences on that day. Then he made the rounds of the taverns and showed off his episcopal ring. Grandisson turned the matter over to the archbishop of Canterbury, and after Hugh had been excommunicated, he made his confession to Grandisson's commissaries at Lambeth, and a subsequent Provincial Council decided what to do with him.⁷²

Ralph de Tremur was a scion of a well-established family in Cornwall, whom Grandisson had promoted for study at Oxford over a period of years until he became 'a renowned Master of Arts and a learned grammarian, able to speak fluently in four languages'.⁷³ He was instituted to Warleggan in Cornwall on July 25, 1331. Nearly twenty years later, he began to wander about the parishes of Devon and Cornwall, preaching heresies: 'St Peter was

a mere empty-pated rustick' and St John Evangelist 'a false and lying witness', because he said of himself that he was 'the Disciple whom Jesus loved'. Tremur preached against the dogma of transsubstantiation: 'a priest does nothing except yawn and breathe over a bit of bread'.⁷⁴ He stole from the Church a pyx containing the Host and, carrying it into a near-by house, threw the contents into the fire and made off with the pyx. Having resigned Warleggan, he returned several years later, assaulted the Rector, robbed him, and set fire to the house. He had been excommunicated by the Court of Canterbury before October 1349: Grandisson later asked for his degradation, and warned any of those who might associate with him that they, too, would be excommunicated. This was an 'unscrupulous and dangerous fanatic', whose end is unknown.⁷⁵

Virginity, chastity, and related subjects were worrisome to bishops who had, against odds, to encourage a celibate priesthood. Although Grandisson noted the canon law which had to do with such matters, marriage or adultery among the clergy was something he found difficult to control. The Dean, Robert Sumpter (1364-?1378), was married, but defiantly refused to discuss the matter with the Bishop so that it remained unsettled at the time of Grandisson's death. Grandisson considered that the marriage invalidated the Dean's ordination and preferments.⁷⁶ Grandisson did not excommunicate him, perhaps for the following reason: 'If because of any fault anyone is removed from clerical office, he will not be without the sacrament of the Lord once it has been imposed, although remaining for judgment'.⁷⁷

The heretical treatise of Jovinian (no. 42) concerning baptism, virginity, and other dogmas of the Church stirred up orthodox Christians, especially Jerome, who reacted in such strong defence of virginity that the institution of marriage suffered, and Augustine wrote *De bono coniugali* to strike a balance between two good institutions.⁷⁸ Grandisson wrote few glosses for Jerome's tract *Contra Jovinianum*, but added brackets and pointing fingers for main arguments, and marked the entire work with '3-<', putting vertical bars in the text to show where to begin and end excerpts. He annotated Augustine's tract on marriage to some extent and put brackets beside a few paragraphs: he drew a pointing finger to a statement concerning the natural companionship between the sexes, and wrote

- f. 103v Grandisson Nota: whether you transgress from the motive of avenging yourself or of injuring others, in either case you are to blame.
- f. 104 Large Grandisson Nota: 'According to the model of the master will be the condition of the whole house'.

Just by virtue of Grandisson's selection of these items out of a host of others, he reveals himself as well as the issues he was dealing with. Chastity was a virtue he might preach about in the cure of souls, but incontinence and its companion, gluttony, may have been problems he had to face more intimately. At several points in his career, Grandisson might have struggled against malice: against Hugh Courtenay his 'cousin', for instance, who was very harsh with him when he arrived in the diocese, and on whom Grandisson tried to urge reform as Courtenay neared his death. Others by whom he felt badly treated were Archdeacon Hugh de Engolisma, vicar-general during a vacancy at Canterbury when Grandisson became bishop, and subsequently, Archbishop Mepham, who chose Exeter for his first visitation after taking his seat. Grandisson appropriately ends his selection from Ambrose with the truism, also a theme of Gregory I, that the priest-bishop should be a model of virtue.

Other subjects which Grandisson annotated because they were topical are Augustine's tracts on penitence; his sermon on the care to be taken of the dead (especially if bodies were irrecoverable); baptism; poverty (especially in relation to the poverty of Christ), and under what circumstances God's creatures can see God.⁸¹ Because of the great controversy over the last item, Grandisson appended to his Register Benedict XII's Constitution which declared the true doctrine concerning the Beatific Vision, and settled the controversy at least for a time.⁸²

Grandisson's Observations on Knowledge and Learning

Grandisson's annotations reflect his broad interests and his intellectual curiosity. From Augustine's *Confessiones* (no. 1), he absorbed many ideas about education: learning theory, content suitable for study, behaviour in the *studium*, and Ambrose's habits of reading. When learning was pleasurable it was more successful. Grandisson wrote 'bona autoritas' to Augustine's, 'Nemo enim inuitus bene facit' (f. 11v), and he marked the

paragraph with Nota in which Augustine said: 'Hinc satis elucet maiorem habere uim ad discenda ista liberam curiositatem quam meticulosam necessitatem' (f. 12).⁸³ On Augustine's complaint that he had been required to read stories of Aeneas and Dido, Grandisson commented, 'Mirum valde est. quod ecclesia patitur pueros audire in gramatica portare fabulas.' quasi enim sacrificium demoniorum' (f. 11v). To Augustine's argument concerning suitable material for young minds to study, Grandisson glossed, 'Intellige. quod omnia ista in sancta scriptura didicit' (f. 52v).⁸⁴

When Augustine described the unruly behaviour of young men in Carthage who broke into *studia*, and 'with a boldness almost frenzied' disturbed all order, Grandisson marked nearly the entire chapter, labelling it 'modus studii generalis', and commenting: 'Iste modus est fere in omnibus nunc studiis' (Paris, c. 1314), and further 'Contra maleficientias' (f. 34).⁸⁵ Grandisson noted Augustine's meeting with Ambrose at Milan with 'de sancto Ambrosio'. By contrast to the *studia*, the residence of Ambrose to whom 'multitudes of busy people' came, seemed peaceful (f. 36v).⁸⁶ Because Ambrose had so little leisure, he spent it refreshing himself with food, or reading silently, which was a wonder to Augustine, who with his companion often sat and watched him: 'His eye glided over the pages and his heart searched out the sense'. Grandisson wrote a heading (water-damaged) of which the gist is: 'Note that such as are called prelates ought to hold themselves open to all as Ambrose did' (f. 38v).

Grandisson annotated subjects that showed he approved a broad general knowledge for those who could profit by it. 'Nota quomodo melius est primus audire alias ciencias quam theologica', he wrote (no. 1, f. 52). Augustine's innate understanding of Aristotle's Ten Categories ('Predicamenta'), and his account of reading unassisted all the books of liberal arts that he could procure, prompted 'Ingenium Augustini' (f. 30).⁸⁷ Grandisson marked with pointing finger and bracket Augustine's method of calculating eclipses, and wrote 'De astronomia: quando signum eclipsis erit solis vel lunae' (f. 31v).⁸⁸ Augustine brought up the subject of eclipses in another connection in no. 32, where he observed that the Jewish Passover occurs annually at the full moon, while an eclipse only happens when the moon has waned (f. 25va). Grandisson observed: 'Nota quando erat pascha Iudaeorum' (late hand).

No subject seems to have been beyond the bounds of Grandisson's inquiry: in his copy of Isidore's *Libri etymologiarum* (no. 2), he added *distinctiones* and notes to its twenty chapters. He noted the properties of silver and of carbon in the Cathedral copy (no. 64).⁸⁹ In the *De civitate Dei*, no. 32, Grandisson wrote the heading, 'Nota hic mirabiles rerum naturas', with pointing finger (late hand), and then put *paragraphus* marks against the wonderful qualities of finite things, such as, fire, quicklime, the loadstone, salt, asbestos.⁹⁰ In no. 1, Augustine explored the concept of time, which Grandisson summarized by '*Quid est tempus et quomodo possit uel non possit metiri'. He put Notae to signal the places where Augustine discussed the subject, and he also wrote a memorandum to himself on a flyleaf in the manuscript, so as to be able to locate the subject quickly; he then used Notae to signal important points of discussion.⁹¹

'To shoot in the dark moon the upright in heart' (Ps.X:3) was provocative for both Augustine and Grandisson. It caused Augustine to discourse on whether the moon's light was her own, and why she appeared to be half dark and half light (no. 34, f. 21vb). Grandisson headed the page De natura lune.⁹²

Grandisson's Especial Interest in History

Grandisson's interest in historical texts is attested by his prolific notes. He calls Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (no. 20) '**P** Gestus Anglorum, Beda' (*sic*), finding in the 'gestus', as Chaucer said, 'a noble storie,/ and worthy for to drawen to memorie;/ and namely the gentils everichon'.⁹³ He marked lections for his *Legendary* from this manuscript, which are discussed in connection with the liturgy.

In the *Historia Anglorum* (no. 21), the deeds of men are less detailed but more colourful than in the *Historia ecclesiastica*. Grandisson wrote headings for nearly every paragraph. There was an account of St Germanus and his 'Alleluia victory': the sound of the 'alleluias' echoed through the hills and frightened the enemy away (Grandisson: De Sancto Germano and Nota Alleluia). There is a record of Alfred's naval battle with forty long boats against the Danes off the shores of Devon ('Nota de Devoniam.:.'); and a memorandum that Pope Boniface IV sent Queen Ethelburga a comb and

mirror: she was a Christian, married to Edwin, an unbeliever. Grandisson noted the incident, saying: **P** Nota quod papa misit iocalia Regine Anglie. This history describes wars and their depredations vividly: **C** De bellis dacorum, writes Grandisson. The Danes came to Exeter like a swarm of locusts, carried off everything, burned the city (Grandisson: Exonia destructa.;.), then Oxford and Cambridge ('Nota Oxonia/Grantebrugge combusta'), and Anglia fuit tunc tributaria dacis. Similarly, Grandisson wrote a heading for De morte S Edwardi et de canis belli init .W. Bastard. et haradlum.;.⁹⁴ The accounts have a parochial quality.

Grandisson uncovered little-known but significant facts. He was the first to publish that St Boniface had been born Wynfrith at Crediton ('Cridiodunum'),⁹⁵ and he ascertained that St Anselm was the first bishop in Britain to enforce the canon which forbade priests to be married ('Nota quod beatum Anselmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensis primo prohibuit in Anglie sacerdotibus uxores habere', no. 21, f. 83v). He also explored local legends, and it may be through local tradition that he first learned of Wynfrith's origin.⁹⁶

In the so-called 'universal' histories (that is, from the beginning of the world), Grandisson was interested in early biblical history, and he marked a few other early events, such as the death of Nero, but his notes increase both in the *Historia anglorum* (no. 21) and in his copy of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* (no. 18) from the time of the arrival of Augustine in England.⁹⁷ Grandisson annotated subjects common to both works (for example, concerning Arthur, Edward the Confessor, William I, and Anselm), but the *Polychronicon* has details which Henry's text does not, such as, in Grandisson's headings, 'Nota de fundacione studii Oxoniis'; 'Osmundus Sanctus secundus episcopus'; and 'De Lanfranco Archiepiscopo'.⁹⁸

Grandisson read Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, no. 32, as history. A sample of his headings will bear this out: Nota causam repellionis (f. 15rb); Nota quod iuuentus per luxum et avariciam corrupta maiorum mores permutat (f. 15va); and Nota quod res publica periit (f. 17rb). He paid attention to unusual words (saltaciones: 'dances', f. 16); to proper names, 'Rex Sardanapallus' (Ashurbanipal, f. 16) and 'Nota de Summanum' (ruler of the night, f. 39rb); to concepts, Nota de diluuio aquarum et errorum (f. 164v

heading) and Nota de longitudine corporis humani (f. 159ra). He marked also the moral lessons to be drawn, especially where they were expressed eloquently. There is an elaborate Nota bracket beside 'And so, while in the streets the incessant clamour of indecent impiety rings in the ears of the public, behind closed doors the voice of pretended chastity is only just heard by the chosen few' (f. 19vb).⁹⁹ He was sensitive to the effect of poetry and glossed 'Versus Annei Senece' and 'Versus Homerici per ciceronem in latinum translati' (f. 45va), and on f. 48, he put a bracket in facial profile around a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹⁰⁰

When he encountered a passage that had topical relevance to him, such as that where Augustine had described conflicts as 'wars which, time after time, reached a stop after colossal slaughter, and then after treaties of peace, started again and again, between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law, their children and their posterity', Grandisson wrote a large heading: 'Inter anglos et scotos' (f. 25rb).¹⁰¹

Grandisson's acquisition of Trevet's commentary shows that he was interested in studying *De civitate Dei* early in his episcopate.¹⁰² Some, but not all, of the annotations in no. 32 were in his early hand, and possibly he was working through the text soon after he came to the Cathedral. But the contents of some of his glosses suggest that they are from the mid-1350s, probably 1356-57: 'Nota hic verba pro Archiepiscopo de Armach' (Richard FitzRalph) 'contra Fratres' (f. 211ra). The text, in Book XX, ch. ix (Grandisson's x), concerns the beast of the Apocalypse (Apoc.XX:4), and Christians 'who put up a show of being what they are not'. Another Grandisson heading connected with the controversy between FitzRalph and the friars says: 'C Ham filius Noe. significat. hereticos . sicut fratres ConWeye et ei adherentes.:', (f. 160rb). Grandisson associates the 'Friar Conway' with the race of Ham, who represent 'the hot blood of heretics' (Book XVI, ch. 2). The controversy between FitzRalph and Roger Conway occurred after 1356.¹⁰³ When Grandisson first read *De civitate Dei*, it appears that he was absorbing its general content; when he returned to it in his later years, he may have been searching for insights to particular issues, or preparing for his death.

Grandisson read some of Anselm's letters (no. 16) as history and annotated those which related to his own diocese: Anselm had written to Osbern, bishop of Exeter (1072-1103), on behalf of St Nicholas priory in Exeter, a cell of Battle Abbey. Anselm put the priory under Bishop Osbern's protection and warned the monks of Battle to stop their abuse of St Nicholas monks. Grandisson wrote (f. 8v): 'Scripsit Episcopo Exoniensis Osberno. pro domo sancti Nicholi Exoniensis. Epistola .CLXXXIX.' and repeated the heading on f. 77, where the letter occurred.¹⁰⁴ Anselm had written to Wulstan (Wulfstan), bishop of Worcester, invoking his aid against the bishop of London who was establishing an episcopal foundation outside his own jurisdiction in the territory belonging to the archbishopric.¹⁰⁵ Grandisson also wrote 'Nota. de sancto Wlstando' in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (no. 21, f. 76v), and the same heading in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (no. 17, f. 71rb). Wulstan's feast-day was celebrated at Exeter on January 19, and Grandisson's *Legendary* contained the main features of his life.¹⁰⁶

Grandisson singled out the human attributes of his heroes. He noted the humility of Peter (no. 48) and that 'Moses was a meek man' (Num. XII:3), and he recognized a like quality in Gregory I who, he said, was the first pope to style himself 'seruus seruorum Dei'.¹⁰⁷ In display script he pointed out Gregory's handicap from gout, '*Vide infra de podegra'. Gregory, labeling his illness 'grauissima', said ironically to his correspondent: 'If therefore the trouble of gout reduces in such aridity the weight of my body, what do I think of your body which is too dry *before* troubles?' (Emphasis mine)

Writing in display script across the top of the page, Grandisson remarked on the great age of St Remigius, Archbishop of Rheims, '*Vixit LXXXXVI Annos', and added for emphasis, 'Anni nonaginta sex' (no. 13, f. 246).

He made much of the role of Arthur (no. 21, f. 16v): 'Hic incepit origo et progenies Regum Anglie usque ad secundum Edwardum confessorem durando', he wrote and below, 'Ab isto Cerdico.' incepit regnum West Saxonum' to which he drew attention with a large heading and further on, an elaborate heading in square capitals, 'ARTVRVS'. Arthur had seen a

vision of the Virgin (Grandisson: Ymago beate Marie); he wore her image on his shoulders and was thus victorious against the Saxons.

Grandisson's View of Miracles

Grandisson was selective in annotating content connected with miracles. His desire to know applied to the inexplicable (that is, beyond man's understanding by reason), but his curiosity was tempered by caution. Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* abounds with miracles whose authenticity Bede was careful to check. Grandisson sometimes called attention to the account, but withheld comment, as in the case of St Aidan (f. 42):¹⁰⁸ He bracketed the paragraph concerning the manner in which Aidan taught by example of frugality, walking instead of riding, but he did not mark the later paragraph describing the miraculous properties of a buttress against which the Bishop had leaned, which could not then be destroyed by burning, and which healed sick people who drank the water containing splinters from it.

It was not the efficacy of a miracle that Grandisson doubted, but the credibility of the report. This is illustrated in the account of events on the night of Grosseteste's death, an account which Grandisson appended to Grosseteste's Letter 128 in MS no. 1.¹⁰⁹ Grandisson accepted the miracle of a supernatural ringing of bells in London attested to by friars minor who heard the peal, but he omitted the subsequent tale that Grosseteste had appeared to Pope Innocent IV in a dream and threatened him, causing the pope's untimely death.

It seems that Grandisson accepted Augustine's assertion in the *De civitate Dei* that miracles attest the faith 'which proclaims that Christ rose in the flesh and ascended into heaven with the flesh'.¹¹⁰ In Augustine's subsequent lengthy argument concerning the existence of the physical body in heaven, which includes Plato's contention against such a possibility, Grandisson put a *paragraphus* mark at nearly every sentence. He was satisfying himself concerning the rationale for miracles, whatever the observed phenomena might be.

The stories in Gregory the Great's *Libri Dialogi* (no. 12) are full of drama. Grandisson marked with a Nota 'De sermo de ysaac' of Book III which is principally taken up with Isaac's escapades, many of which had to

do with thieves who were reformed in surprising ways (f. 52v). There is a touching story of St Benedict and his sister Scholastica, marked by Grandisson with Notae and subject headings for the several miracles described. On one of their yearly reunions, Scholastica had prayed that her brother might not leave her. When after a time Benedict insisted on going, God sent a storm which made his departure impossible, and the brother and sister then spent a pleasant night discussing their interior lives. Three days later Benedict had a vision of his sister's soul passing to heaven in the form of a dove (ff. 109-114v).

Grandisson's dependence on observed reality rather than the supernatural was reinforced by caveats of the Fathers. Augustine had warned against preaching and speaking by miracles, Sacraments, and mystic words: 'Let them (ministers) be a pattern unto the faithful by living before them and stirring them up to imitation', he said, which Grandisson glossed: 'Nota quod modo ecclesie non debet operari per miracula'.¹¹¹ Gregory the Great wrote a monitory letter to Archbishop Augustine (Grandisson's heading: '*Nota ad Augustinum Anglorum episcopum'), for Augustine had been trying to convert the English by performing miracles, and Gregory feared he might become proud.¹¹² There are also commentaries by Augustine on Psalm XXX, 'In te, Domine, speravi'. Grandisson's heading is, '**P** de petro apostolo ambulanta supra aquas', and for Psalm CXXX, 'Domine, non est exultatum cor meum', Grandisson writes (quoting the text), '**P** desiderando miracula.' nemo debet temptare deum', and below, 'Contra illos qui optant miracula'.¹¹³

Grandisson was interested in dreams and prognostications: a preoccupation of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁴ He wrote 'Sompnus' wherever he found the subject of dreams to occur. Book IV of Gregory's *Libri Dialogi* (no. 12) contains a full discussion of dreams which Grandisson annotated, with an elaborate heading: '*De sompniis .;--et eorum .vi. modis' (f. 103), and a Nota where the exposition begins. The six ways in which dreams come to the soul are by a full stomach; by an empty one; by illusions; by thoughts combined with illusions; by revelations; by thoughts combined with revelations. The first two are known by personal experience; the others have *exempla* in the Bible. Illusions of the devil are in Sirach XXXIV:7; Lev. XIX:26. 'Dreams come with many cares', Eccles. V:2, so they proceed from

thoughts. Joseph dreaming of his brethren and Mary being told to flee to Egypt are examples of revelation. Daniel interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's dream asserted that it began in Nebuchadnezzar's thoughts. Gregory advised that one should be reluctant to put one's faith in dreams, for they arise from such a variety of sources. He asserted (Grandisson Nota) that saints could tell the difference between vain illusions and divine revelations.¹¹⁵

Grandisson may have identified with Augustine when he wrote 'Nota Augustinum temptatum multum fuisse.' ut miraculum peteret' (no. 1, f. 78v) such as the theatre, the courses of the stars, ghosts; Grandisson had the same kind of curiosity. When Grandisson wrote 'Contra mathematicos' (that is, astrologers) and 'Augustinus mathematicam uanam esse cognouit', f. 47v, he seemed to be accepting Augustine's conclusions against the ability to predict the future by divination. Augustine had pointed out the differing fates of twins, as in the case of Jacob and Esau, concluding that one who consults hears only what God wants him to hear, to which Grandisson wrote 'Nota, Nota, Nota'.¹¹⁶ However, Grandisson was convinced that to some people (such as John, advisor to Emperor Theodosius) God may have given the gift of prophecy. He wrote De sancto Iohanne monacho as heading for John's story in Augustine's *De cura pro mortuis agenda* (no. 10, f. 39ra).

This chapter has given a survey of Grandisson's annotations concerning the Church in general, his theological views, his role as bishop with some of the contemporary issues he faced, and finally his broader interests and intellectual curiosity. Chapter V will show what kinds of annotation he did in connection with his reform of the liturgy of the Cathedral.

CHAPTER IV--NOTES

1. On the bishop's moral responsibility for his flock, see below, note 55.

A memorandum concerning his collating epistles and gospels with a Jerome text is in Gonville-Caius College, Cambridge, MS 328 on f. ii verso. The collegiate churches to which he would have been most likely to send corrected copies were Crediton (48 members), Glasney (26 members), St Mary Ottery (founded 1337, 40 members), and Royal Free Chapel of Bosham (15 members in 1309); see G. Oliver, *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis* (Exeter, 1846), pp. 75-76, 48, 260, resp.; (Bosham) *Reg. Stapeldon*, pp. 53-56.

Grandisson had returned to the original of Jerome, one of the Church's most accurate scholars. See Smalley, *Study*, pp. 331-2; 334 and n4; 335, on the corruption of the Vulgate, and esp. of the Paris Bible. Unfortunately, no copy of Grandisson's corrected Gospels and Epistles has survived.

2. On 'Hebraica veritas' see Bodleian MS Or. 135, Chap. II, no. 3, and Westminster Abbey MS 1, Chap. II, no. 5.
3. No. 38, f. 5v; no. 39, f. 4v: Grandisson annotated both manuscripts.
4. 'Qui populum dei velut in fluctibus et periclitantem, cum possis iuuare'.
5. 'Hoc enim fieri statutum est mihi et eo magis quo excusas quia haec cathedra eum qui cupit eam et audacter expetit non requirit sed ornatum moribus et uerbis eruditum', no. 38, f. 5vb; Hins., p. 31. 'Et cum hoc dixisset in medio coram omnibus manus mihi imposuit et in cathedra sua ingenti verecundia fatigatum sedere me compulit', *ibid.*, f. 7vb; Hins., p. 36.
6. No. 39, ff. 5-9: 'sed nec in prouectoribus quidem curam habere huiusmodi neglegant quoniam adulterium secundum in poenis obtinet locum' (f. 5v). Ltr. II, f. 21v: 'Nichil enim grauius quam si id quod ignorat quis, scire se credat et defendat uerum esse quod falsum est'.
7. On Clement's letters, see *The Apostolic Fathers: St Clement of Rome*, ed. J. D Lightfoot, 2 vols (London, 1890). The First Epistle is described as 'the Catholic Epistle of Clement, the disciple of Peter the Apostle to the Church of the Corinthians'. It is universally attributed to him, but 'the balance of external testimony is strongly opposed to his being regarded as the author of the Second' (II, 191). 'The 'Letter to James' (written in the last half of second century) which is prefixed to the Clementine Homilies was translated into Latin by Rufinus; somewhat later a second letter was forged as a companion to it; they were subsequently amplified and three others added to them' (I, 102).
8. *Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistolarum*, CC, series latina, 140 (1982), Register I, Ltr. 24.
9. The Regions (not given in Hinschius): Italia, Gallia, Africa, Hispania, Illiricus, Trachia, Asia, Oriens, Pontus, Egyptus, Britannia. See also a

similar interest expressed in the 'liber provincialis' of the city of Rome, MS no. 18, f. 1.

10. The *Canones Apostolorum* report that 318 priests attended the Nicene Council, AD 325.

'Hora diei prima ante solis ortum eiciantur omnes ab ecclesia, obseratisque foribus cunctis ad unam ianuam per quam sacerdotes ingredi oportet, hostiarii stabunt. Et convenientes omnes episcopi pariter introibunt et secundum ordinationis suae tempus residebunt. Post ingressum omnium episcoporum atque consessum vocentur deinde presbiteri, quos causa probaverit introire, nullusque se inter eos ingerat diaconorum. Post hos ingrediantur diaconi probabiles, quos ordo poposcerit interesse. Et corona facta de sedibus episcoporum presbiteri a tergo eorum residebunt, quos tamen sessuros secum metropolitanus elegerit, qui utique et cum eo iudicare aliquid et definire possint. Diaconi in conspectu episcoporum stent' (Hins., p. 22 *et seq.*).

11. See Register V, Ltr. 44 (f. 90v): 'Quid ergo, frater carissime, in illo terribili examine uenientis iudicii dicturus es, qui non solum pater, sed etiam generalis pater in mundo uocari appetis?' On this controversy, see G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (London, 1972), pp. 32, 23. See also K. Walsh, *A fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard Fitz-Ralph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 86n7, 131-32.

12. Register VIII, Ltr. 4 (f. 147).

13. Register VI, Ltrs 59, 60 (ff. 120v-121).

14. Register IX, Ltr. 219 (f. 192). Grandisson seemed to have unusual sensitivity to this subject, perhaps because of the premium he himself had to pay on entering the episcopate. On simony: (Acts VIII:20, quoted in *De dign. sacer.*, no. 1, ch. V), 'Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem, quia donum sancti spiritus te credidisti pecuniis emere': St Peter damning Simon Magus for 'buying' the honour of the priesthood. Grandisson marked this and other examples with 'Nota bene contra episcopos symoniace perfectos' (no. 1, f. 108v). He bracketed a whole section containing an *exemplum* (ibid.): From Augustine's Comm. on Ps XXX, 'In te, Domine, speravi' (Discourse II, Sermo II, *PL* XXXVI, col. 247), Grandisson's heading: '**P** Nota de symonie et de symone mago reprobacio' (no. 34, f. 57). In no. 7, f. 99rb, Grandisson's pointing finger at 'Speculatores eius caeci omnes,/ Nescierunt universi:/ Canes muti / Non valentes latrare..../ Ipsi pastores/ Ignoraverunt intelligentiam;/ Omnes in viam suam declinaverunt;/ Unusquisque ad avaritiam suam...' (Isaiah LVI:10-11). And on f. 102, Grandisson's comment is 'Contra sacerdotes et prophetae' (with bracket) at 'A minore quippe usque ad maiorem,/ Omnes avaritiae student,/ Et a propheta usque ad sacerdotem/ Cuncti faciunt dolum (Jer. VI:13).

15. 'Non enim pro locis res. sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt.'

16. 'Ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reseruantur, ad interiora gaudia

consentire facilius ualeant'.

17. Register I, Ltr. 34: 'Hos enim qui a christiana religione discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare, ne, quos dulcedo praedicationis et praeuentus futuri iudicis terror ad credendum inuitare poterat, minis et terroribus repellantur'.
18. *Conf.*, no. 1, f. 52, with Grandisson gloss: 'Nota quod expedit ecclesie quia hereses sint' (Book VII, ch. xix), an idea expanded in no. 32 (f. 194vb, Book XVIII, ch. li) with Grandisson pointing finger to 'God makes good use even of the wicked': 'Etiam sic quippe veris illis catholicis membris christi malo suo prosunt'.
19. No. 17, f. 9: '. . .praeterea multas abbatias solus ipse possidebat, quae singula satis superque sufficerent alicui probo viro? . . .Non resipuit super his Stigandus, sed prostitit, parum cogitans de animarum salute tantum forensi frueretur honore. . . . Qui ad voluntatem regis coacto concilio, Stigandum deposuit (f. 9v). . . . Quin et hortantibus amicis, et praecipue regina Edgitha. . .ut se delicatius vestiret et pasceret. . . . Probavit ingens vis opum post mortem ejus in subterraneis specubus inventarum' (elipses mine).
20. No. 16, f. 8r: 'Hic infra potest videri status Tam Ecclesiae, quam Regni Angliae. Utinam renouetur per Cristum Dominum nostrum', printed by Oliver, *Lives*, p. 86.
21. Grandisson's annotations reveal that he was following the relationships between Anselm and Henry I, which so nearly parallel those between Becket and Henry II; see Chapter VI, e.g., pp. 246-48.
22. The two metropolitans had been at peace earlier (c. AD 619-634), it seems, for Grandisson had written in no. 21, f. 32: '**P** Nota de Eboracensis et Cantuariensis archiepiscopis equalibus in omnibus;.'. See also no. 20, Book II, ch. 17.
23. G. 403, f. 158v; S. V, 451, p. 398. Grandisson's numbering of the letters in the manuscript is listed first (G.), followed by the Schmitt edition (S.), with volume number and Schmitt's number for the printed letter.
24. G. 415, f. 161ra; S. V, 472, p. 420.
25. Augustine: nos 1, 9, 32, 34; Ambrose, 40, 56, 57; Gregory, 33, 53, 54.
26. Augustine on men's happiness, *Conf.*, Book X, ch. xxiii. 'Creasti', *ibid.*, Book VII, ch. xxi. f. 52v. On Plato and Porfirius, no. 32, *De civitate Dei*, Book XXII, ch. xxvii. On Varro, no. 32, Books VI-VII. 'Now we begin, like those who have represented fickle and false gods, to tell of the works of our one true God'. There may be a subtle pun between Varro and 'varias', used by Grandisson but not by Augustine. Grandisson put a paragraphus at every sentence from 'illum deum colimus' to 'qui hominem coetibus', nearly the whole of ch. xxix.
27. 'ac per hoc colligitur non esse causas efficientes omnium quae fiunt.'

nisi uoluntarias illius nature scilicet quae spiritus uitae est' (f. 46va).

28. 'No one fails to sin because God foreknew that he would sin' (no. 32, f. 47ra).
'P Nota ex isto passu quod hominibus id est liberum arbitrium et quod homo habet in sua potestate amplecti mandata vitae' (no. 38, f. 15).
29. 'On the contrary, it cannot be doubted that it is the man himself who sins, since He whose prescience cannot be mistaken--not fate, not fortune, not anything else but He Himself--has foreseen that the man would sin. A man does not sin unless he wills to sin; and if he had willed not to sin, then God would have foreseen that refusal' (f. 47rb).
30. No. 34, f. 14rb.
31. 'To speak in this way of sins is to be unjust to God and just to oneself, no doubt in the sense of Psalm VII' (no. 34, f. 63va, very small early writing).
32. '*Quomodo membra corporis magis obediunt sensio quam ipse igitur?' Book VIII, ch. ix.
33. Chapter x.
34. 'God created man upright and therefore of "right" will' (Book XIV, ch. xi).
35. Book XV, ch. vii.
36. Book XIX, ch. xiii: 'The peace of the whole universe is the tranquillity of order; and order is the arrangement of things equal and unequal in a pattern which assigns to each its proper position'. '. . .pax omnium rerum tranquillitas ordinis. Ordo es parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens disposito.'
37. No. 40, f. 3.
38. Book XI, beginning of ch. x; ch. xxiii. The bracket (?Grandisson) is very faint.
39. No. 1, Book XIII, ch. xi: 'et quis non loquitur eam, si tamen eam? rara anima, quaecumque de illa loquitur, scit quod loquitur'--'Note that everyone speaks about the Trinity, but it is rare that anyone who speaks of it understands it'.
40. G. 144, ff. 67-75v; S. II, p. 3. See A. Wilmart, 'Le premier ouvrage de saint Anselme contre le trithéisme de Roscelin', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* (Louvain, 1931), p. 22. See also Schmitt, II, 3-35, Epistola de incarnatione verbi I, 'Quoniam divina'.
41. 'quod iste mundus nobis notus esse non posset. nisi esset. Deo autem nisi notus esset. esse non posset.' Book XI, ch. x.
42. Augustine: 'Sicut ergo ista contraria contrariis opposita. sermonis pulchritudinem reddunt. ita quadam non verborum sed rerum

eloquentia. contrariorum oppositione *saeculi pulchritudo* componitur.' (emphasis mine) (Eccles. XXXIII:14; Book XI, ch. xviii). The cause or purpose of creation is discussed in ch. xxi, with Plato's quotation at the end.

'Even Plato says that the best reason for creating the world is that good things should be made by a good God'.

43. Book XII, ch. xx (Grandisson's xix, f. 125va, foot). 'an ita dicantur saecula saeculorum ut intellegantur saecula in sapientia dei inconcussa stabilitate manentia.' istorum quae cum tempore transeunt tamquam efficientia saeculorum.'
44. Book X, ch. xxx (Grandisson's xxix, f. 105rb, foot): 'ex illa uita. que beatissima esse non poterit nisi de sua fuerit aeternitate certissima.'
45. Book XXI, ch. xxiii (Grandisson's xxii). Cf. no. 34, Ps. IX:6, with Grandisson .Nota. In seculum et in seculum seculi. Augustine says there 'quod incommutabili aeternitate consistit'.
46. No. 32, Book VII, ch. xxx (Grandisson, xxix, f. 71ra): 'illum Deum colimus. qui naturis a se creatis et subsistendi et mouendi initia finesque constituit. **P** qui rerum causas habet. nouit atque disponit. **P** qui uim seminum condidit. **P** qui rationalem animam'. . . 'qui hominum coetibus quem focis et luminibus adhiberent ad facillimos usus.' munus terreni ignis indulsit'.

Augustine used 'cause' and 'causes' interchangeably, in the latter case to include those events which are 'caused' by the wills of men or of angels. However, the final or 'efficient' cause is God's, for Augustine says, 'His hidden power. . . gives existence to whatever in any way exists'; a thing could not exist in the absence of God's creative activity (Book XII, last paragraphs of ch. xxvi).

47. 'Opera mutas nec mutas consilium', with Grandisson's 'Nota quod loquaces de deo muti sunt.' propter ineffabilitatem eius', Book I, ch. iv. 'Quod tempus non cadit in deo', ch. vi. 'Nota', Book II, ch. ii. 'Diuerse iudicat deus ab hominibus', Book III, ch. viii, with 'Quaecumque a deo precipiuntur facienda sunt etiamsi mala uideantur', f. 22v.
48. 'I was recently ordained bishop by the archbishop, and I gave him a hundred *solidos* so that I attained the episcopal grace I deserved. If I had given him less, today I would not be bishop; accordingly, it is better for me to carry in gold from my strongbox, than to lose so great a priesthood' (PL XVII; col. 576a).
49. Reg. I, 293, Ltr. 250: 'ne, forte, tumultus insurgeret et presumptioni mee, qui, ut scitis et scio, temerarius a quibusdam reputor; de quo Ille Qui omnia novit veritatem non ignorat'. Other examples are Grandisson's glosses 'contra inanem gloriam' and 'Nota, Nota, Nota', *Conf.*, X, ch. xxxviii, f. 80; his 'superbia. cathedra pestilencie', for Augustine's comment on Ps. I, no. 34, f. 1ra; pointing finger on f. 1v of Preface to *De civitate Dei*, concerning pride as the sin of mankind; 'superbia' and 'De humilitate' with conical bracket, and Nota bene ibi,

Bk. XIV, chs xiii-xv, f. 143v; pointing finger to Anselm's letter 172 on humility, f. 87v, Schmitt IV, 189, p. 74. There are many other examples.

50. Register IX, Ltr. 214; no. 33, f. 189, with continuation in Ltr. 219: 'Hi igitur quia necdum quod docere debeant didicerunt, quid aliud agitur, nisi ut paucorum prouectus illicitus fiat multis interitus et in confusionem ecclesticae moderationis obseruantia deducatur' (CC pp. 772, 773, line 15 *et seq.*).
51. Bk. XIII, ch. xxiii.
52. Book II, ch. x; III, chs i-ii.
53. 'Quoniam ego in flagella paratus sum' (Ps. XXXVII:18). . . 'non vis flagellum, non tibi datur haereditas' (f. 109ra). 'Illum assumit ad ministerium, me erudit ad patrimonium' (f. 94va). See above Chap. II, no. 1, p. 25, Grandisson's extract from Isidore's *Synonyma*: 'Loquatur tibi cor tuum, considera meritum tuum; iuste flagelleris'--looking closely at one's own faults is flagellation enough.
54. Ps. XXXIII:16 (tract 2), f. 79ra: 'Matres quomodo fricant in balneis ad salutem filios? Nonne parvuli clamant inter manus earum? Ille ergo crudeles sunt, ut non parcant, non exaudiant lacrimas? Nonne plenae sunt pietate?' *PL* XXXVI, cols 319-20.
55. No. 33, Register I, Ltr. 40: 'ne. si tantam iniquitatem fluxam inemendatamque dimittimus, pereuntium animae a praepositorum anima requirantur', lines 13-15.
56. In a case of an alleged miracle, Grandisson cited Gratian 'Part II, cause i, question i: *Teneamus* and *Prophetauit*'; *Reg.* II, 941.
57. Dean Coleton, *Reg.* II, 795. Dean Brayleigh, Appendix to HMC *Rep.* 55, *Var. Coll.* IV, p. 78, number 2220: 'Draft of the beginning of an appeal of dean Richard of Braylegh from the Court of Canterbury to the apostolic see in a matter affecting the rights and jurisdiction of the deanery' (after 1335). See also Chapter III, no. 48 (p. 110), and Ezek. III:18.

No. 38, f. 282va: 'Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum iudicium ratum erit. ad quod testium necessariae personae vel propter sexus vel propter senectutis infirmitatem. vel multis aliis intercurrentibus impedimentis adduci non poterunt?' (Hins., p. 315, col. b). See Hins., p. 315, col. a, line 8, for Augustine's assertion that bishops should be restored by their own metropolitans.
58. G. 186, ff. 93v-94; S. IV, 214, p. 111.
59. No. 38, f. 243ra; no. 40, f. 1v (he did not mark the same canons in each).
60. References listed sequentially for this paragraph: No. 38, f. 110rb (for bishops only); no. 38, f. 264va (no ordination without title); no. 38, f. 257va (deacons may not administer the sacrament); Conc. Cart. IV,

- no. 40, f. 34v (except with a priest present); Conc. Cart. IV, no. 38, f. 276: 'Clericus professionem suam etiam habitu et incessu probet ideo nec uestibus nec calciamentis decorem' (ibid.). (See *Reg. II*, 959-60; 'De vestibus et tonsura clericorum'.)
61. G. 206, ff. 100vb-101ra; S. IV, 238, p. 145: 'Inducias ab episcopis concessas in causa illius'.
 62. G. 385, ff. 152vb-153; S. V, 427, p. 373 and G. 391, f. 155; S. 435, p. 382.
 63. G. 329, ff. 134vb-135; S. V, 374, p. 318.
 64. On dates of completion of the Cathedral, A. Erskine gives convincing evidence for the nave's having been completed (including the roof vault) by 1342, the last entry for master mason Thomas of Witney ('The Documentation of Exeter Cathedral: The Archives and their Application', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, F. Kelly ed. (Leeds, 1991), pp. 7-8. See also N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral as it Was, 1050-1550* (Exeter, 1986), p. 17, and Itinerary, *Reg. III*, 1524-1532.
 65. *Reg. III*, lxxi-lxxii; II, 1110. From 1328 to 1332 Grandisson licenced over one hundred chapels and oratories ('chapels of ease') located at manors of the gentry or as oratories for clergy. The wording of the licence was 'optinuit Licenciam faciendi Divina celebrari' and 'per Capellanium idoneum', which seems very unspecific for Grandisson. Just as with any other benefice, for them a patron and the instituted priest were named. Only a few 'cantaria' or chantry chapels were licenced after those early years of the episcopate; by 1351 it seems the matter may have got out of hand.
- Clement, Letter III (no. 38, f. 16vb; Hins., p. 59, line 6) is very specific: 'Hic ergo hoc est. in presenti vita positos oportet nos agnoscere voluntatem dei.' ubi et agendi et sacrificandi est locus. Quoniam in aliis locis sacrificare et missas celebrare non licet. nisi in his in quibus episcopus proprius iusserit. aut ab ipso regulariter ordinato. tenente uidelicet ciuitatem. consecratus fuerit.'
66. Bk. VII, ch. xxx (no. 32, f. 71); Bk. I, ch. xxi, (f. 7); Bk. XV, ch. iv, (f. 149ra); Bk. V, ch. xvii, (f. 50). On Edward III's martial interests, see McKisack, esp. p. 126.
 67. *Reg. II*, 692-93, and renewal of prayers, p. 792. On the invasion of France, p. 1158.
 68. No. 8, f. 151v *et seq.* No. 10, f. 202rb (cf. *PL XL*, col. 297 (12)): 'Quare non poterat aliter sapientia dei homines liberare nisi susciperet hominem et nasceretur de femina et illa omnia a peccatoribus pateretur'.
 69. *PL XL*, cols 518-548. 'Lies' considered were Abraham's claiming Sarah, his wife, as his sister; Jacob's deception of his father Isaac; and some 'liars' whom Grandisson judges to have committed 'compensativa peccata' (f. 47ra), such as Rahab, who lied in order to produce a good

outcome: a kind of sin which Augustine says he, too, was unable to resist (*PL* col. 543,(35) 'Hoc quidem mihi videtur et ad istam sententiam me superius disputata compellunt'; with Grandisson's gloss: 'Nota seipsum accusat', f. 48va). Augustine also speaks of Christ's deception of his disciples on the road to Emmaus, concluding that this was a figure or prophecy.

70. 'Omne ergo mendacium non est iustum. Quapropter quando nobis de Scripturis sanctis mentiendi proponuntur exempla. aut mendacia non sunt, sed putantur esse dum non intelliguntur', *PL*, col. 540, line 18.
71. He excommunicated Peter de Beare, a married clerk, for the practice of necromancy and other heretical acts (May 1334, *Reg.* II, 746-47), and William, a hermit of St David in la Hamme, for holding 'sacrilegious and perverse doctrine' and asserting 'nonnulla capitula a Fide Catholica dissona', to the peril of souls (June 30, 1334, *Reg.* II, p. 751); Margeria Ryvel for the practice of sorcery (April 1348, *Reg.*, II, pp. 1044-45). Grandisson quoted Augustine in the latter case (p. 1045), without reference. Though Grandisson's language is somewhat stronger than Augustine's, the ideas are contained in *Conf.*, Bk. IV, ch. iii (on divination), and *De civ. Dei*, Bk. VIII, ch. xvii, on the unreliability of any but the true God, and esp. at ch. xxx which Grandisson marks with a bracket, that one should abjure 'demons' and model oneself on the object of one's worship, that is, the true God. Ch. xix, on the blasphemy of magic is also relevant; but Augustine devotes three books (VIII-X) to discussion of demons.
72. *Reg.* II, 1027-1031.
73. His history is related by Hingeston-Randolph, *Reg.* III, lxxiii-lxxiv. See also *Reg.* II, p. 1180.
74. St Peter: 'unum malum cauum fuisse rusticum asserebat'; St John: 'falsum testam et mendacem uocauit'. 'Quid, enim, presbiter aliud facit nisi quod in modicum panem oscitat et an(h)elat', *Reg.* II, p. 1180.
75. *Reg.* II, 1147-49; 1179-81. The date of Grandisson's second letter recounting these events must be after the consecration of Michael Northburgh, July 12, 1355, and before the Provincial Council of Nov. 16, 1355, held at St Paul's, London. Six years after his excommunication (in 1349), Tremur was still incorrigible. See also *Reg.* III, p. lxxvi.
76. *Reg.* III, 1255 esp., 1258, 1497-98.
77. Augustine, *De bono conjugali*, ch. xxviii: 'Et si aliqua culpa quisquam ab officio remoueat sacramento Domini semel imposito non carebit quamuis ad iudicium permanente' (no. 10, f. 228); the meaning seems to be that his very consecration stands to accuse him at the Judgment.
78. See Chap. III, note 35, and Kelly, *Jerome*, pp. 183, 181. See also the Benedictine preface to *De bono coniugali*; *PL* XL, col. 373; it gives a history with cross-references. *Contra Iovinianum* is found in no. 42, ff. 109-159; *De bono coniugali* in no. 10, ff. 222-228v.

79. 'Quod mihi non videtur propter solam filiorum procreationem sed propter ipsam naturalem in diuerso sexu societatem' (f. 222). 'Triplex bonum', f. 228va: 'Hec omnia bona sunt propter que nuptie bone sunt. Proles. fides. sacramentum'.
80. Ambrose seems to have been the principal person in the West to publicize virginity and institutionalize the forms, such as 'taking the veil', 'making their profession', 'taking a vow', and so on (Nicene Fathers, 2nd series, X, (repr. 1916), p. 364).
81. *On penitence*: Augustine's *De utilitate agenda poenitentiae*, no. 10, ff. 4v-9, and *Penitentes*, *Penitentes*, *Penitentes* ff. 9v-12 (Sermo 351, 393). Grandisson Nota sign, f. 4v, at 'Non enim tam ille phariseus'; brackets at last paragraph before *Tertia actio*, and three lines beginning, 'Ascendat itaque homo', f. 6vb; Grandisson heading (mutilated) top of f. 9rb, and display heading Nota hic at beginning of 'Penitentes' sermon; Nota sign for last sentence before Grandisson's 'Explicit de penitencia'. Heading, top of f. 12vb, Nota de quantitate penitencie.

On the care to be taken of the dead: no. 10, ff. 34-39v, PL XL, cols 591-610; Grandisson's heading *Cura pro mortuis, f. 34; addition of hyphens, *puncti elevati*, 'dotted' i's, and words omitted, to text from f. 34r *et seq.* (indication of possible sermon use). Grandisson's gloss (underlined): 'Nota quibus profuiunt orationes post mortem' (neither the damned nor the saints, but others if they have earned merit in their life on earth) and 'Nota bene'; treatise marked throughout with large Nota signs, pointing hands, subject headings, and several glosses: 'Ab agendo de loco sepeliendi'; 'Nota fabulam maronis poete'; '**P** quid prodest mortuo'; 'Nota hic expresse quis scripsit ecclesiasticus'; and 'De sancto iohanne monacho'. Augustine assures the faithful that even those whose bodies have been lost or destroyed are cared for by the Lord and will be raised up in their own body on the last day (f. 34v, end of ch. ii).

On baptism: Augustine's *Conf.*, no. 1, Nota signs beside statement that Aug.'s baptism had been deferred, to avoid consequences of later sin (Bk.I, ch. xi, f. 11); Grandisson does not comment directly on Augustine's baptism, but accompanying notes show his attention to the event (Bk. IX, ch. vi, f. 63v). 'De baptismo', heading for baptism in Aug.'s cosmogony (Bk. XIII, ch. xxi, f. 101); no. 38, f. 14va, 'Sancta admonitio', in advice to catechumens; f. 18rb, 'De baptismo': no one can hope to be with God without baptism, followed by definition of the virtues of water (f. 18va, Hins., p. 63); 'De baptizanda temporibus', times when baptism can take place (f. 185va, Hins., p. 650). No. 39, Grandisson's Nota for acts which should not be performed after baptism: 'No one who after baptism becomes a soldier ought to be admitted to a clerical order, nor should any one plead a cause after receiving baptism' (f. 120, Hins., p. 552b). Ps. XXX, Discourse 2, Grandisson: '**P** Quare signum cristis sit in fronte', no. 34, f. 58vb. Grandisson annotated *Contra Iovinianum*: Jovinian asserted that Christians who received baptism with full adhesion of faith could not henceforth be under the dominion of the devil.

On poverty, the subject which agitated Pope John XXII and the friars

during the 1320s: Grandisson annotated no. 36, Ps. Cl, on the poverty of Christ ('Qui propter uos pauper factus est'; 'Though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor'); Grandisson wrote: '*De variis diuiciis' in display script at f. 1v, and 'Diuicie mundi', for which Augustine lists 'auro. argento. familiam. terra. sed omnia per ipsum facta sunt.' Grandisson continued to mark through two sermons on this Psalm, but chiefly with excerpt marks and brackets, 'dotting' i's, etc., for reading aloud. Other Psalms he marked on this subject were Ps. XLIX, no. 34, f. 164rb; Ps. L, f. 168v, with Grandisson's heading '*Nota. De prosperitate timendum. Adversitate gaudendum'. Ps. XIX:10, f. 18va, has Grandisson's gloss: '**P** Nota quorum pauperum factus est dominus refugium', with added bracket and pointing finger to indicate the next two paragraphs. Ps. CXXXII, no. 36, f. 184vb, has Grandisson's gloss: '**P** Pauperes saturabuntur non diuites' and on f. 185rb: '**P** Periculum pecuniam colligentium' with *signes de renvoi* at head of f. 185rb, and '**P** Nota materiam de uera paupertate', referring to 'Ergo pauper dei. in animo est. non in seculo'.

On seeing God: Grandisson annotated Augustine's Epistola CXLVII, *De videndo Dei*, no. 8, ff. 27-40. Grandisson's gloss on f. 28vb is, 'Nota quid intersit inter credere et uidere' at Augustine's 'Creduntur ergo illa que absunt sensibus nostris'. On f. 34v, Grandisson wrote: 'Nota quoddam in hac uita concessum est moysi quod petieret uidere scilicet gloriam dei'. He marked Augustine's references to Ambrose, 'Ambrosius super lucam' on f. 30va; again on f. 32ra where Ambrose's view on 'Quomodo angeli deum uideant' is discussed; and several times on ff. 38-39v, ending with 'Repetit verba ambrosii', f. 39va. Grandisson gave a cross-reference: 'Hunc questione quia hic differt. satis diligenter explicat in uicesimo secundo. hic est in ultimo libro de civitate dei'. The subject is indeed discussed in Bk. XXII, ch.xxix, from every aspect, except whether or not the saints will see God before the Judgment. The assumption is that the redeemed already 'see' God partially through his revelation ('a dim reflection in a mirror'); in the afterlife they will 'see' Him fully. Grandisson did not annotate ch. xxix in *De civitate Dei*.

82. The Constitution 'Benedictus Deus' of Pope Benedict is found *Reg. I*, pp. 142-144, dated Avignon, January 29, 1336. Its content is summarized by G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon 1305-1378* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 28: 'The souls of the just, since they have no sin to expiate, "see the divine essence by intuitive vision and even face to face" immediately after death.'
83. Book I, ch. xii; ch. xiv.
84. On Dido and Aeneas, Book I, ch. xiii. In Book VII, ch. xxi, Augustine had said, 'Whatsoever truth I had read in those other (philosophical) books, I found here', to which Grandisson wrote the gloss, 'Intellige', etc.
85. Book V, ch. viii. H. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, eds F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols (Oxford, 1936), I, 176-203; III, 353-376, indicates this behaviour was typical of European classrooms in the fourteenth century. Not until the fifteenth century were attempts made to control students by law.

86. Book VI, ch. iii.
87. Book VII, ch. xx; Book IV, ch. xvi.
88. Book V, ch. iii. *De civitate Dei*, Book III, ch. xv (Grandisson's xiii).
89. No. 2, Book XVI, ch. xviii and XIX, ch. vi. No. 64, ff. 114ra, 130vb.
90. Book XXI, chapters iv-v; ff. 220v-221v.
91. No. 1, f. 86v, heading for Book XI, ch. xxiv: 'What is time, and can it or can it not be measured?' Though Augustine discusses nearly every aspect of the subject from chs xvii-xxxi, the important ideas for Grandisson are signalled by his heading to ch. xxiv. At the beginning of ch. xxi Grandisson added Nota for 'We measure times as they pass', and at the end of ch. xxi he added Nota for the culminating idea that God, unchangeably eternal, has his dwelling-place in the humble heart.
92. Nicene Fathers, I, p. 41n8: 'This appears to be from the African Psalter following the Septuagint' (it is not found in modern versions). Augustine says, (Nic. Frs. translation): 'When we ask whence the moon has her light, some say that it is her own, but that of her globe, half is bright, the other half dark: and when she revolves in her own orbit, that part wherein she is bright gradually turns towards the earth, so that it may be seen by us; and that therefore at first her appearance is as if she were horned'.
93. No. 20, f. 1r. 'The Miller's Prologue', lines 3111-13; thanks to Malcolm Parkes for this apt quotation.
94. These accounts are given as follows in no. 21: ff. 14, 55v, 30v, 50v, 64v, 65v, 70, 72.
95. *Ordinale Exon*, III, 247-8. Willibaldus Prebyter, *Vita S. Bonifacii*, in *Acta sanctorum*. . ., ed. J. Bolland and others (Antwerp, 1695), XX, Junii I die quinta, 460-473 (ref. to Exeter p. 461b and note 'a'). See also *PL* LXXXIX, cols 603-34. N. Orme, note 64, above, p. 177.
96. See *Reg.* I, 585.
97. Death of Nero in *Flores Historiarum*, no. 19, f. 9v. Higden: ff. 114v, 133v, 133v, 139. Henry: ff. 16v, 61v, 72, 83v. See John Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 89-90, 96-98. Cf. annotations in no. 22, *Spec. hist.*; the excisions in no. 18 affect the evidence. The statement is generally true, but Grandisson searched for particular information in the history of the early Christian Church, during the persecutions of such as Nero and Diocletian. He gathered information concerning Christian martyrs from many sources.
98. Folios 131, 136, 138 (pencil notation).
99. Book II, ch. xxvi (Grandisson's ch. xxv): 'Foris itaque populis celeberrimo strepitu impietas impura circumsonat. et intus paucis

castitas simulata vix sonat. Praebentur pro patula pudendis. et secreta laudandis. Decus latet. et dedecus patet. Quod malum geritur omnes convocat spectatores. quod bonum dicitur vix aliquos invenit auditores. tanquam honesta erubescenda sint. et inhonesta glorianda.' *PL* XLI, col. 7, line 9.

100. Book V, ch. xii; Aeneid VI, lines 847-53.
101. Book III, ch. xiv (Grandisson ch. xii), last paragraph, f. 25rb: 'Quid iam singillatim dicam sub caeteris regibus totiens eadem bella renovata quae victoriis finita videbantur. et tantis stragibus iterum iterumque confecta. iterum iterumque post foedus et pacem inter generos et soceros et eorum stirpem posterosque repetita?' As Grandisson's hand in this note looks to be contemporaneous with his hand in the notes concerning the friars (ff. 211, 160) I suggest that Grandisson wrote this c. 1356, at the time of the ten years' truce following the 'Burnt Candlemas', McKisack, p. 142. Just as Augustine had described, war with Scotland had taken place for the whole of Grandisson's episcopate: see McKisack, pp. 98-99, 116-19, 130, 136, 142.
102. See no. 11 on Grandisson's acquisition of Trevet's commentary, and Smalley, *Friars*, pp. 62-63.
103. Augustine's account in Book XVI, ch. 2 is almost a parable of the action taking place between Conway and FitzRalph in London and Avignon. See Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth Century Scholar and Primate Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 408-417, esp. p. 410.
104. G. ff. 8v, 77, Ltr. 149; S. IV, 172, pp. 53-54. Grandisson seems to have misnumbered in the first instance.
105. G. 148, f. 77, 'Ad beatum Wlstanum Wigorniensis', repeated as Ltr. 190, f. 96; S. IV, 170, p. 51. Grandisson comments on the repetition.
106. See below, Chapter V, p. 202 and n21.
107. Moses: No. 7, f. 31v. No. 38, f. 226v; Gregory's position is lengthily defended in no. 33, Register V, Ltr. 44, f. 90v. On gout, Register XI, Ltr. 26, f. 222: 'Si ergo mei molem corporis in tantam podagrae dolor ariditatem redigit. quid de uestro corpore sentiam, quod nimis siccum (drained, exhausted) ante dolores fuit?'
108. Book I, ch. v.
109. No. 1, ff. 193v-194rv. The verbatim account is taken from Matthew Paris's *Abbreuatio Chronicorum Anglie*, ed. F. Madden, RS [44c] (London, 1869), p. 330. It begins 'Cum hec et milia alia lugubria'.
110. No. 32, Book XXII, ch. v, f. 232ra (bracketed); ch. ix, f. 236rb. In chs xi, xii, there are *paragraphus* marks at almost every sentence: ff. 236v, 237.
111. *Conf.*, Bk. XIII, ch. xxi; no. 1, f. 101v.

112. No. 33, Register XI, Ltr. 36, f. 231v.
113. No. 34, heading of f. 59va, and no. 36, heading of f. 180ra.
114. See Robert A. Pratt, 'Some Latin Sources of the Nonnes Preest on Dreams', *Speculum* 52 (1977), 538-570. Several of the sources Pratt lists for the fourteenth-century reader are also listed in the Inventories of 1327 and 1506, but the copies do not survive, or they do not contain Grandisson's annotations.
115. 'Sancti autem iuri inter illusiones atque revelationes ipsas uisionum uoces aut imagines', no. 12, f. 103. Other works in which Grandisson annotated this subject are *Conf.*, no. 1, Books VII, chs xiv-xv; VIII, ch. v; X, ch. xxx (ff. 51, 55v, 75v). Augustine *De Immortalitate Anime*, no. 10, f. 221rb. Grandisson note, 'Sompnus'.
116. *Conf.*, Book VII, end of ch. vi, f. 48: 'Dum quisque consulit, hoc audiat, quod eum oportet audire occultis meritis animarum ex abyssu iusti iudicii tui'.

CHAPTER V--GRANDISSON'S LITURGICAL WORKS

Grandisson's first official visitation of the Cathedral in December, 1328, filled him with dismay: divine worship had deteriorated; there was no discipline among the clergy; services were being conducted in a disgraceful manner.¹ He took steps for immediate reform by enforcing the Canons' residency, their duty of hospitality to the poor and to boys of the Choir, and their attendance at Divine Office for all of the Canonical Hours, as required by the statutes of the Cathedral. As to books for Divine Office, he required that there should be 'reliable and sufficient' ordinals (which contain directions for the conduct of religious services) and consuetudinaries (statutes, traditions, customs) and that they should be submitted to him for examination, correction and approval before the Feast of John the Baptist, the following June. For the choir, he gave a lesson in psalmody, stressing that for the pauses at middle and end of each verse, members should listen to one another so as not to anticipate nor fall behind in their singing. To facilitate their ability to sing together, he ordered that antiphonaries, hymnals, and responsories should be provided with notes and text in agreement.² He then appointed Adam Murimuth as precentor, a lawyer admirably qualified to bring order out of chaos, who held the dignity until 1337.³

In the tenth year of his episcopate (November 27, 1337), Grandisson presented a new Ordinal and Consuetudinary, the product of his hard work, to the dean and chapter of Exeter Cathedral for approval and implementation.⁴ This was a monumental achievement on his part. It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the books Grandisson used in order to produce the Ordinal, and to show how he used them. The background to Grandisson's project will be sketched in, together with some of the problems and pitfalls which have occurred in assessing evidence, principally through the lack of surviving contemporary manuscripts. Finally, the significance of Grandisson's achievement will be summarized, with the long-term outcome.

Background

At about the same time that Grandisson began the process of reform early in 1329, he wrote to the archdeacon of Salisbury asking to borrow a pontifical to copy so as to 'keep to the custom of Salisbury church in our

church of Exeter' ('et Modum Saresburiensis Ecclesie in nostra Exoniensis teneamus'). It seems likely that he needed to familiarize himself with Sarum, indeed English, Use, since he had been away from England for many years.⁵ However, he may have recognized that Exeter had already deviated from Sarum Use, for he had asked the dean of Exeter for ordinals and consuetudinaries 'among those which *differ* (discrepant) from the Use of Sarum or other Churches' (emphasis mine).⁶ Bishop Peter Quivil (1280-1291) had recommended correction of the Ordinal and 'Custumary' (so-called at Exeter),⁷ but until Grandisson's Ordinal, there is no evidence of one having been produced at Exeter in more than forty years. Any still *in situ*, such as the one listed in the 1327 Inventory as 'ligatum cum catena', must have been out of date. Spurred by the need for general clerical reform and hampered in his efforts by the lack of books, it is likely that Grandisson began to draft his Ordinal almost immediately.

Problems in Gathering and Assessing Evidence

An ordinal became outdated almost as soon as it was adopted, for it was modified in practice by those in charge of the *ordo*, (the precentor, dean or bishop). Such changes were added in the margins or written on endleaves of the ordinal until the original became too burdened with them to be useful, and when changes could no longer be recorded, a complete revision took place (or the church struggled along unsatisfactorily with the old one, as it seems to have done at Exeter).⁸ Thus an ordinal is a dynamic thing.⁹

Canon J. N. Dalton printed the Exeter Kalendar, Consuetudinary, Ordinal and Lectionary in a three-volume edition entitled *Ordinale Exon* ('Edn I-III').¹⁰ He used the following manuscripts for his edition: For the Kalendar, Consuetudinary, and Ordinal (Edn I), he used Exeter Cathedral MS 3502--s.xv², and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 93 ('Parker')--s.xv *med.*, printing their Kalendars on facing pages.¹¹ For the Martyrology (Edn II), he used Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 93, also. Lessons for the weekly commemorations of the BVM were printed from Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.11.16--s.xv, formerly at Hereford Cathedral (Edn II). The Lectionary (Edn III) is printed from Exeter Cathedral MSS 3504, 3505, which contain Grandisson's handwriting. (Any assertions I have made about 'Grandisson's Kalendar' I have verified by means of the

Lectionary.)

Those manuscripts used by Dalton, but copied after Grandisson's death, contain subsequent revisions of the Kalendar with feasts of new saints and other changes which had been incorporated into the Use of Exeter.¹² They were treated by Dalton as though they were of Grandisson's time, but they can not be used as evidence of Grandisson's activity which has to be assessed, after a thorough search, on the basis of examination of external evidence--a task the ramifications of which are too lengthy to be definitively concluded for this thesis.

Few manuscripts of ordinals of Exeter and Sarum Uses survive, which are close enough to each other in date to be suitable for comparison. (Two Ordinals of s.xiv¹ may be forty years apart in practice.) Hardly any ordinals of Sarum or Exeter Use, datable between 1250 and 1350, survive.¹³ For the 'Old Ordinal' of Sarum, one survivor is British Library MS Harley 1001, of the early part of the fourteenth century which, according to Frere, seems to have been in use at Risby, near Bury S. Edmunds, in Suffolk, but the margins are often covered with later additions.¹⁴ It contains the full ordinal for conduct of services. Useful for comparison of Sarum Use is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D.5.10 (SC 1853), s.xiv¹, which contains a list of Introits, Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and week-days from Advent to Pentecost, beginning f. 575v. (Though the script is very small, it is in a good *Anglicana Formata*.¹⁵) Frere used four manuscripts purporting to be of the Old Ordinal (he prints their later additions in brackets)--two are from the end of the fourteenth century and two are from the fifteenth.¹⁶ Thus the Ordinal printed by Frere provides a less reliable comparison for our purposes than MSS Harley 1001 and Auct. D.5.10 of the Sarum Ordinal as it existed before Grandisson's new Ordinal became known. A severe drawback to these and other such contemporary manuscripts is that they identify readings by cues only (chapter and verse came later). Even after one has located the reading, there is often no indication of its length, nor of any omissions in the body of the text. For this reason it is difficult to compare them with Grandisson's lectionary.¹⁷

Sarum developed a 'New Ordinal' in the mid-fourteenth century, after Grandisson's was adopted. The first firm evidence of it is in a Will of 1389-

90, but a treatise of 1365-75 by Wyclif mentions 'new costly portos, antiphoners, grayles, and all other books' of Salisbury, suggesting probable completion at an earlier date.¹⁸

Some Differences between Sarum Use in the 'Old Ordinal' and Exeter's, as Grandisson Began to Modify It

1) The Sarum Consuetudinary is long and very detailed, allowing for little flexibility. Grandisson prefixed thirty-one short chapters of a Consuetudinary to his Ordinal which give, as he said, the *ordo exequendo*. Then he wrote rubrics preceding each season of the Church Year, with cross-references, so that his directions seem less complicated and more compact than those of Sarum. He states in the opening paragraph of his Consuetudinary that these customs are being set down for the first time.¹⁹

2) Grandisson marked his Kalendar to illustrate the variations from Sarum Use, such as 'Exonie ix lecc.'; or 'iii lecc. Invit. dupl., Sarum ix lecc'. He raised all the feasts of the apostles to double feasts; Sarum designated 'ix lecc.' Other double feasts were John before the Latin Gate (May 6, iii lections at Sarum), Invention of Holy Cross (May 3, iii lections at Sarum), Translation of St Thomas Becket (July 7, ix lections at Sarum), and Gabriel Archangel (not celebrated at Sarum). A number of feasts of other saints were celebrated at Exeter, but not at Sarum, such as David (March 1); Richard of Chichester (April 3), for whom there are propers but no entry on the Exeter Kalendar; Translation of Edmund Rich of Canterbury (June 9); Thomas of Hereford (October 2); Hugh of Lincoln, (November 17); and the Nativity (January 5) and Translation (October 13) of the founder of the Church of Exeter, Edward the Confessor. A few saints were celebrated locally at Exeter, such as Brannock, Kieran, Petroc and Sativole, and the translation of St Swithun, celebrated at Exeter, was added later at Sarum.

Grandisson introduced the feasts of Etheldreda (June 23), Frideswide (October 19), Cuthburga, (August 31) and the Conception of the BVM (a double feast). Frideswide appears on the Bologna Kalendar (of Sarum Use, thought to have originated at Oxford), but the others were not on the Sarum Kalendars with which we have been comparing.²⁰

Several saints were venerated with nine lections at Sarum but three lections at Exeter: Wulfstan (January 19), Dunstan (May 19), Translation of Benedict (July 11), Francis (October 4), Wulfram (October 15), Crispin and Crispinian (October 25), Machute (November 15).²¹ The Conversion of St Paul (January 25), celebrated with ix lections at Sarum was not celebrated at Exeter.

Bishop Roger Martival of Salisbury ordered the observance of the feast of St Hugh by Statute xxxix (1319); however, St Hugh's office does not immediately appear in contemporary sanctorals.

3) Although the Feast of Corpus Christi had been introduced at Exeter in Bishop Bronscombe's time, Grandisson added proper Offices to his Sanctoral for the Feast of Corpus Christi and its Octave. This feast was not fully celebrated at Sarum until mid-fourteenth century (so far as our records show). In a hand-written note Dalton says, 'Urban IV in 1264 sanctioned the observance of Corpus Christi which had been spreading since 1230, and extended it to the whole Western Church. He replaced the offices for this festival hitherto in use by the new and beautiful one composed by S. Thomas Aquinas at his request'. This ascription has recently been called into question.²² Grandisson selected readings for the festival from a sermon by Aquinas.²³

4) Grandisson wrote the office of St Anne, for which only a folio exists, which Neil Ker observed as a noted office, 'probably supplementary to a missal'. A copy of Grandisson's *Legenda*, Exeter MS 3505B, contains nine lections for her. The Feast of St Anne (July 26) was ungraded on the Sarum Kalendar in Arsenal MS 135 (c.1300), and written in a later hand in the Kalendar (ungraded) for Bologna, University MS 2565 (s.xiv¹). Legg records no propers for her. Grandisson also wrote an office for Thomas Becket.²⁴

5) An important difference between Sarum Use and Exeter Use is in the content of readings which Grandisson chose. He selected the Bible readings himself and shortened some without changing the words.²⁵ He substituted nine lections from Job for All Souls for nine lections from I Corinthians XV:12-58.²⁶ In what we have come to consider as a modern practice, Grandisson chose readings so that the greater part of the Bible would be

read during the Church Year. He began in Advent with Isaiah, sequentially, so as to cover virtually all of its sixty-six books, but remembering that Augustine had found Isaiah difficult, he avoided obscure passages and omitted repetitious accounts of the destruction of cities/countries (Babylon, Damascus, Tyre, Egypt and Ethiopia).²⁷ Sarum readings from Isaiah were not sequential, and were much less specific, with a number of repetitions, especially of verses beginning *Vox clamantis*.

Ways in which Grandisson Used His Books

Eight other liturgical manuscripts besides the ones listed above were extant in Grandisson's time and were annotated by him. They give an idea of his reforms and throw some light on how he used his own and Cathedral books by way of preparation.

83-84. **Exeter Cathedral, MSS 3504 and 3505**--s.xiv *med.*, a Lectionary (Temporal), and its companion, a Legendary (Sanctoral), are the first and second volumes of the lectionary drawn up by Grandisson for the use of the Cathedral Church, bearing his annotations and coat of arms.²⁸

On f. 1 of MS 3504, Grandisson describes the three parts of his Legendary contained in MSS 3504 and 3505 as follows:

Here begins the legendary of the Use of the Church of Exeter, according to the arrangement and abbreviation of Bishop John Grandisson. It is divided into three parts: the First Part contains all that is read from the Bible, with some omissions without changing the Bible text, because not everything can be read, but at least those things are read which most correspond to the time. The Second Part contains sermons and homelies which pertain to the Temporal, with lections for the Blessed Mary and the Dedication of the Church with Octaves, and Collation in Lent, also the lections after Prime in Chapter. The Third Part in another volume contains lections for the Propers of Saints, as is done according to the Use of Exeter, with the Common of Saints and lections for the commemorations of Apostles Peter and Paul and legends for the same, as executed for them in the Church of Exeter only.²⁹

In MS 3504, Grandisson wrote the title and donation inscription at the head of f. 1, much of which has now been lost because of damp: 'Ego J. de G. Exon' Do ecclesie Exon' librum istum cum suo pari de Sanctis. anno

consecracionis mee .xxxix. In festo annunciacionis dominice. Manu mea.' Grandisson's arms appear in the initial letter. After he had completed the volumes and had begun to use them, he apparently shifted some of the material; here and there the word 'Transi' occurs in his hand, with brackets (as from f. 107v to f. 108r) to show the material to be moved. He underlined in red crayon the nature of the reading and when it was to be used (see f. 117v). He supplied chapter numbers in roman numerals, paraps and *paragraphus* marks, Notae, pointing fingers, and corrections, as well as rubrics. Although these manuscripts must be considered as fair copies of his work, they bear some evidence of his modification.

MS 3505 is annotated throughout by Grandisson and has his coat of arms on f. 1. He supplied chapter numbers, Notae (see ff. 2v-3, 124v), pointing fingers, and corrections with carets (ff. 208v, 257v, 258v). The running-titles of months in the upper corners are his. Both 'Redempcionis' and the 'Explicit legenda de tempore; De sanctis in alio libro' on f. 279 are in his hand. He put flourishes over the letters *i* to distinguish minims (ff. 68v, 69).³⁰

Because these manuscripts were probably copied shortly after Grandisson completed his work on the Ordinal in 1337, and they appear to have continued to be his personal copies until he gave them to the Cathedral in 1366, they are the most important evidence of his work. Since they contain all three kinds of lections, the Bible, homilies, and legends, much can be recouped from them to identify the appropriate entries in the Kalendar and the fifteenth-century copies of the Ordinal.

Manuscripts Reflecting Grandisson's Preparation of the Ordinal and Lectionary

When Grandisson was preparing his Ordinal and Lectionary, he marked books from his own personal collection and certain Cathedral books, although only a small percentage of the works he used still survive. In some books he searched for particular information, as in preparing his Kalendar. When he read of saints, he noted biographical information and miracles to include in their propers. As he read works of the Church Fathers, he marked suitable homilies which he later abridged if necessary. Occasionally he marked the extracts (usually with a *paragraphus*) for the lections, with interlinear bars to indicate the beginning and the end of the

extract.³¹

85. **Exeter Cathedral, MS 3518**--s.xii¹, is a *Martyrologium*, based on Usuard's (Roman) Martyrology, with English and Exeter additions. It begins abruptly on February 8, 'cum illa execrans'. Grandisson worked through this Martyrology, placing Nota monograms beside those entries of importance, and sometimes adding a comment. Names of thirteenth-century saints corresponding to those Grandisson added to his *Legendary* have been written in the margins and crosses call attention to material to be deleted.³²

86. **Exeter Cathedral, MS 3510**--s.xiii², is a Missal of Sarum Use with some changes in the Kalendar (ff. 3-8v) to reflect Exeter custom; in many cases the two Uses are contrasted by some such phrase as 'nil Sarum', a practice Grandisson retained in his own Kalendar (see above, p. 187). On f. 196v a list of ornaments for the altar of St Gabriel suggests that the book was used at that altar, which was established by Bishop Walter Bronescombe who was devoted to St Gabriel. The book was probably produced during Bronescombe's time (1258-1280).³³

The presence of the Office of the Transfiguration and the Office of Corpus Christi provide evidence that these new feasts had been introduced, probably during the episcopate of Bishop Bronescombe. In Grandisson's time the Feast of Corpus Christi had become fully assimilated, but there seem to be no propers for the Feast of Transfiguration in Grandisson's Ordinal.³⁴

On f. 2ra is a heading in Grandisson's hand (underlined): 'De apostolis in paschali tempore' (Peter and Paul), reflecting an earlier tradition. In his own Kalendar, Grandisson set this feast of the apostles at June 29, so as not to conflict with Lent/Easter. Grandisson added headings 'Officium beati Gabrielis' and 'Leccio Danielis prophete' to existing text on ff. 145-46.

87. **London, British Library, MS Harley 863**--s.xi, is a Psalter, preceded by a Kalendar of s.xii² (ff. 1-6v), and verses giving an account of the Exeter Church (f. 7), and other verses, 'De Eva' (f. 7v).³⁵

This is a very important book, for it seems to contain Grandisson's working copy of the Kalendar with feast days that would go into his Sanctoral. Saints' names are in red, blue, green (BVM) and black. It appears that Grandisson went through the Kalendar eliminating some names and upgrading others. He marked those feasts of 'major doubles' with two crosses, and doubles with one cross. Some saints whose names appeared in black, he marked only 'iii lecc.' with or without *Te Deum*; others were marked for commemoration only --'co.' He added octaves; for example, for the feasts of Stephen, John, and Holy Innocents. He specified when a feast of a saint's nativity was to be held alternatively on the day of his or her translation, if it could not be celebrated earlier because of Lent; such alternatives affected his Sanctoral in its final form. Many more names appeared in this Kalendar than were used in his legendary.

Grandisson added the obits of John of Salisbury and William of Kilkeny to the month of May. To November, he added St Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury; and several obits to December are in his hand, especially '**C** ob. johannes de Kent quondam archidiaconus Exon'.

Grandisson wrote the heading 'In festo Reliquiarum Exon' Ecclesiae ad processum' (f. 7v). The Feast of Relics (May 15) had not been included in Bronescombe's Kalendar (Exeter MS 3510 above); it must have been a new feast at Exeter. It had the additional unusual feature of specifying a procession for which 'versus recitandi' had been written, beginning 'Salve festa dies toto venerabilis evo' and ending (line 24) 'Ob qui dit eos semper adesse pios'.

There are a great number of saints in the litany, many of whom are not found in later Exeter litanies, and some, according to Canon Doble, are not known anywhere else: Cadoc, Werenfrid, Goar, Cuthman, Gundulf, Ludger ['Liudgerus'], Wiro, Odger, Odulph, Radbod, ?Ansbert ['Ansbeste'], Lebwin, Mellitus, Birinus, ?Ludocae, Birstan, Ethelwold, Grimbold, Egwin ['Ecguine'], Neot, Winwaloe, ?Machar [Maucanne], Gildas. Among the female saints in the Litany are Affra, Pelagia, Cunera, Walburga, Barbara, Daria, Genevieve ['Genofoeua'], Soteris, Adelgund ['Aldegundis'], Monegund, Marina, Helen, Batildis, Symphorosa, Theodota, Etheldritha, Edburga, Cuthburga, Mildred, Edburga (II), Hia or Ives, ['Ioua'], ?Weluela, Pinnosa.

Some of these were included in the Martyrology, but their feasts were not celebrated.

The Athanasian Creed (*Quicumque vult*) in Latin had an interlinear translation in Anglo-Saxon (f. 107rv). There are many prayers from ff. 111-123v, some with notation.

88. **Exeter Cathedral MS 3515**--s.xiii *in.* to f. 163 (ff. 163-177v are s.xv, and post-Grandisson). This is a missal of Sarum Use with notation to f. 119 and many additions and changes. The Office of St Thomas of Canterbury (f. 13) is added in the margins in Grandisson's hand, and the 'heading' in lighter ink above and between the changes is also Grandisson's: 'In die sancti Thome ad missam. Gaudeamus. de cuius passionem. P(salm) Exaudi deus oracionem meam. . . . Aliter posuisti Alleluya Gloria et ho<nor>'. (Pages are cropped.) The missal appears to have been updated by Grandisson and perhaps other contemporary hands, but there are fifteenth-century additions as well.

The chief importance of this manuscript is that it contains masses for many feasts, including those which were new during Grandisson's episcopate.³⁶ The chief changes, which may be Grandisson's, are in alternative prayers to Sarum Use (the *Dirige* and *Respice* prayers on f. 1v, for example). Some cues are in Grandisson's hand, such as 'lec. Ysaye prophete', f. 5. I believe he used this book extensively in planning the changes to be made from Sarum Use in his new Ordinal.³⁷ Marginalia for the Office of the Conception of the BVM complete the Office (see above, p. 187).

89. **Exeter Cathedral MS 1/2 Missale fragments**--s.xiv *med.* is a bifolium which was found in the binding of a parish register at Islington.³⁸ It contains part of a mass for use at Easter headed (f. 1, top margin) by Grandisson, 'Ad missam in paschali [tempore]; and f. 2rv, part of the office for St Anne, 'from the collect "Deus qui beatam annam diu sterilem" to "in celis est ipse meus fra" in the communio "Quicumque fecerit uoluntatem".³⁹ The office, too, is headed by Grandisson (f. 2, top margin), 'De sancta Anna' and on the right, 'I. ex.'

The following manuscript not only contains the source of many traditions which became statutes and customs, it also illustrates how Grandisson took extracts wherever he found appropriate material, in this case, ways of speaking for the lections:

90. **Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 191**--s.xi, contains the Rule of Chrodegang. The book is severely damaged by damp, with first leaves much repaired or replaced. Grandisson's hand appears on the fragments of pages six and seven, confirming that he was aware of the stipulations of the Rule adopted when his Church had been founded, some two-hundred-fifty years earlier.

Grandisson did not annotate this manuscript very much, presumably because most of the content is drawn directly from the *Canones Apostolorum* or other canons which Grandisson had marked in MSS 38, 39, 40. Typical subjects are 'behaviour at weddings'; 'oblations should not be offered in homes'; 'on one's seeking release from his clerical status'. However, Grandisson did show especial interest in the section on 'how to read and sing in Church'.

There is a long note in Grandisson's hand on the top and side margin of page 87 (cropped) at 'De cantoribus' which begins:

vox lectoris simplex erit et clara. et ad omne genus
pronuntiationis accommodo plena suco virili. agreste et
subrusticum efugiens.

The excerpt was adapted from Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum*, Book I, in which Ambrose cautions the reader against artificial kinds of delivery, with tremulous or feminine-sounding voice and exaggerated motions of the body. The reader should be alert not only with the eyes, but with the ears and the heart. The second quotation is taken verbatim from Isidore, who may have borrowed from Ambrose.⁴⁰

P Sic lector expeditus cum pronunciacionis
tenebit. ut ad intellectum mentes sensusque promouebat.
discernendo genera pronuntiationum. Atque exprimendo
sententiarum proprios affectus. modo in dicantis uoce modo
dolentis. modo increpantis. modo exhortantis. siue his
similia secundum genus proprie pronunciacionis.

The Kalendar

On October 13, 1330, Grandisson sent a request to his archdeacons to send him the legends of local saints. He expressed concern that through fire and theft and other misfortunes, knowledge of the legends of saints might be lost: *'Sanctos viros et Deo acceptos, Celesti gloria jam coronatos, hactenus floruisse, quorum actus et vita virtutibus et miraculis Sanctam Matrem Ecclesiam luculenter adornare'*.⁴¹ The Kalendar in the Exeter MS 3510 missal contained two Cornish saints, Petroc (June 4, ix lecc.) and Pieran (March 5, without grading). These two saints do not have propers in Grandisson's Legendary, though Petroc and Kieran ('Pieran') appear on later Exeter Kalendars. Nevertheless, in establishing feast days, Grandisson took into account the devotion of his people to particular saints, for example, Sativole (Sidwell) whose church still exists in Exeter. He wrote *'Secunda die Augusti Exonie fiunt ix lecc. de sancta Satiuola virgine et martyre. Quere in fine libri. Medie lecc. eadem die sancto stephano papa et martyre. In aliis ecclesiis, fit de sancto stephano'*.⁴² Similarly he set a feast of nine lections on the day of St Swithun's Translation (July 15), as Grandisson said, *'propter ecclesiam de wodebyri uicariis apropiatam'*.⁴³

Grandisson had lections for five feasts of the BVM, for whom the Feast of the Conception (December 8) is marked in the Kalendar of Exeter MS 3510, *'nichil apud Sarum'*.⁴⁴ Other feasts probably initiated by Bronescombe are St Hugh of Lincoln, 'Memoria' (November 17), which Grandisson upgraded to six lections (with three middle lections for St Anianus); and Richard, bishop of Chichester, ungraded, (April 3), for whom Grandisson provided nine lections, the last two from the common for a bishop-confessor.⁴⁵ Grandisson retained the feast of Gabriel which Bronescombe had celebrated, providing nine lections and one in Chapter, about which he says (f. 252), *'quod celebratur in ecclesia Exoniensi prima secunda feria mensis'* (September). Included with Gabriel's feast were the Acts of the BVM. According to George Oliver, the Feast of Corpus Christi from its inception in Bronescombe's time was celebrated with procession through the city. (The only other feasts at which public processions took place at Exeter were on Palm Sunday and Rogation Days.)⁴⁶

Much can be learned about the celebration of new feasts from Grandisson's *Legendary*, to support the evidence of the (later) *Kalendar*. It seems likely that Grandisson added the feast for Thomas of Cantilupe (Bishop of Hereford), his great-uncle, who was canonized in 1320 shortly before Grandisson became bishop. The connections between Grandisson and Hereford diocese are evident in the lections for the Commemoration of the BVM attributed to Grandisson in the Hereford MS, now Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.xi.16, printed by Dalton.⁴⁷ Grandisson provided nine lections and one in Chapter for Thomas, but the middle lections had to be for St Leger: 'quociens festum sancti thome propter hystoriam inchoandam non transfertur'.

It seems certain he initiated the feast of St Frideswide (October 19) at Exeter, first with three lections which were divided into six (probably soon after) and another hand has marked the margin for nine lections, as the saint gained favour.⁴⁸ He probably introduced David (March 1) for whom he provided nine lections (pp. 213-15); David's cult had been approved by Callistus (in 1120), as Grandisson disclosed in his legend.

A large number of saints, such as the early Roman martyrs, were commemorated with three lections, though Grandisson must have deleted many from the *Kalendar*, for Leofric celebrated 346, while Grandisson's *Legendary* contains just under 200. Thus Grandisson appears to have freed the *Kalendar*, and short lections could be given additional dignity by double invitatories and regimen of choir, *si placet*. On the other hand, Grandisson complicated the *Kalendar* by adding Octaves, sometimes with readings for the saint on ferial days as well as on the Octave day itself. A few saints, such as Martin and Thomas of Canterbury, were thus honoured by doubles on their nativity (shown by nine lections and rubrics), with octaves, and feasts on their translation, as much as the Apostles, Evangelists, and the Church Fathers, all of whom had feasts of nine lections.

Besides reducing the number of feasts, Grandisson seems to have been responsible for moving some principal feast days to times when the *Kalendar* was not full; if possible, to a date of translation or deposition, as with Edward the Confessor (see below). There were other ways of lightening

the burden for the clergy, as illustrated by Grandisson's rubric for Advent III: 'In hac ebdomeda non fit plenum servitium de beata marie; nec de patronis ecclesie'.⁴⁹

The Liturgy

Grandisson studied the existing liturgy to determine the level and the quality of instruction being given. He deleted Ephesians I from the readings after Epiphany because it was 'nimis confusum'; however, he thought Augustine's sibylline verses at the end of 'De Symbolo', should be read in Chapter, 'quia multis ignoti sunt illi famosi versus'. They had been omitted at matins 'propter prolixitatem'.⁵⁰ These are the kinds of choices he made in adapting the liturgy to the needs of his clergy. In this way also, he was deviating from Sarum Use. At Exeter, lections after Prime in Chapter were adhered to almost without exception to augment instruction, and during Lent Grandisson ordered Collation to be held in Chapter just before Compline, with suitable readings from Gregory or the other Fathers for that time.⁵¹

Grandisson Searched his Own Books and Those of the Cathedral for Suitable Lections

Homiliaries, nos 14, 76-77

Some of the readings Grandisson chose could be found in homiliaries arranged for the Church Year, such as his own collection of James of Genoa (no. 14) and the two Cathedral volumes of Paul the Deacon, (nos 76-77).⁵²

Augustine, no. 10

He used many sermons of Augustine, and his marks in no. 10 reveal it as a source. For example, he wrote at the head of the tracts on the first Epistle of St John, 'Super epistolam beati iohannis. In ebdomada pasche' (f. 132v).

Canones Apostolorum, no.40

During the Octave after Trinity, there were readings from the Council of Toledo XI at Matins and after Prime, which Grandisson took from the *Canones Apostolorum* (no. 40, ff. 120-121), with his heading 'De fidei rectitudine', where the subject of the Trinity is discussed in depth.⁵³

Beda super lucam et marcum, no. 13

Grandisson used Bede's Commentary on Luke and Mark, and other sermons of Pseudo-Bede arranged according to the Church Year, more than

any other patristic writing.⁵⁴ He drew heavily from Bede on the Gospels (no. 13), and his numerous headings in display script (such as, 'Feria vi in pentecost', f. 42) indicate that this book was used in the preparation of lections.

The prologue to 'Beda super marcum' begins on f. 169, and Grandisson divided the book into sixteen chapters. At the top of f. 169v, he wrote in glossing hand, 'Numerus exterior nigri. denotat capitula biblie commentarius'; then he bracketed the red (Bede) chapter designations together and assigned them a black roman numeral. He also prepared the prologue and first chapters of Mark I (ff. 169-181) for reading aloud by 'dotting' i's, adding hyphens, and making corrections. He wrote display script headings for readings from Mark as well as Luke, such as, 'In decollatione | .S. Johannis B. | De eodem infra folio iii' (f. 192va).

Florus of Lyons, no. 41

For the Feast of Corpus Christi, Grandisson selected a homily by Augustine which he chose from among the tracts compiled by Florus of Lyons. He marked it In die corpus cristi omelia beati Augustini.⁵⁵

The Sanctoral (1--Preparation)

Lives of Saints: Remigius, Leger, Crispin and Crispinian, Dionysius, Simon and Jude, Cecelia, no. 13

This manuscript also contained lives of saints for October and November arranged chronologically according to their feast days. Grandisson's display heading, f. 239r, is '*Sancti Remigii. Remensis Archiepiscopi*' (the life ascribed to Hincmar, bishop of Rheims), and Grandisson used *paragraphus* marks to indicate nine lections (ff. 239v-240r), each of about fifteen to twenty-eight lines.⁵⁶ He marked two of them to be read on Sunday at Matins and Prime.

On f. 248ra is Grandisson's heading '*Passio Sancti Leodegarii' (October 2) the text of which begins 'Beatus Leodegarius ex progenie celsa | Francorum ac nobilissima exortus'. The Passio is followed by the Vita (ff. 249v-250) and the Miracula (ff. 251v-252) which end, 'In quo loco fiunt virtutes cotidie ad huius mirabilem cumulum'.⁵⁷

Grandisson's display script for '*Sanctorum Dionisii sociorumque eius et Rusticus et Eleutherius' (October 9) is spread over two facing pages (ff. 252v-253r), and is marked for lections by twenty-five *paragraphus*

marks (ff. 252v-261).

The account of Crispin and Crispinian (ff. 261v-263) has a rubricated heading: 'Incipit passio sanctorum martirum Crispini et Crispiniani; viii^{uo} kl Nouembris' (October 25).

The texts for Simon and Jude, (October 28, ff. 263-267vb) and for Cecilia (November 22, ff. 267v-276) are similarly marked with headings and *paragraphi*. As the latter legend breaks off abruptly, Grandisson supplied folios to complete it.

Augustine in *Confessiones* and *De civitate Dei*, nos 1, 32

Grandisson was alert to references to saints as he encountered them while reading for other purposes; for example, the accounts of Ambrose's finding of the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius, referred to by Augustine in the *Confessiones* and in the *De civitate Dei*, were all annotated by Grandisson.⁵⁸

Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, nos 20, 21; William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, no. 17

In the histories that he owned or borrowed, Grandisson marked lives of saints for inclusion in his *Legendary*. In Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (nos 20 and 21), he marked Alban, Mellitus, Germanus, Aidan, Oswald (king), Chad, Erkenwald, Aldhelm, and Cuthburga. There is much overlapping between Henry and Bede, and between Henry and William of Malmesbury. For the years after Bede's death, for which Henry took his information from William of Malmesbury, Grandisson marked Edmund (king), Edward the Confessor, and Anselm. He consulted William's *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (no. 17) for the lives of Birinus, Swithun, Brinstan, Aethelwold, and Denewulf. In marking up his books, Grandisson was anticipating the time when these saints would be accepted generally, for some, like Chad, soon appeared in *Kalendars* at Exeter, and elsewhere, probably within Grandisson's lifetime.⁵⁹

The Sanctoral (2--Propers in Exeter MS 3505, no. 84)⁶⁰

Grandisson gave flexibility to the *ordo* by providing enough material to allow for nine lections (usually by writing three ample lections which could be divided). Thus he allowed for variation according to circumstances in the

Kalendar and to accommodate subsequent changes in grading without having to rewrite the Legendary. For example, he wrote a rubric for Wulfran (October 15): 'Set Exonie facimus tres lecciones tantum', but added, 'Unde lecciones sequentes poterunt diuidi in tres uel in sex, ut patet exterius per signa' (*paragraphus*). The scribe wrote cues in the margin for three short lections, and Grandisson added at the end of the full-length text, 'Si fiant .ix. lecciones, diuidantur tres precedentes in sex, et tres ultime legantur de expositione euangelii Homo quidam peregre proficiscens'. (The lections could be extended by adding something from the appropriate common for the saint.)⁶¹

Grandisson presented salient points briefly. For example, although he had an abundance of material, he abridged the early life of St Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr (December 29) as follows: 'Beatus Thomas, londoniis natus, et litteris inbutus, in domo Theobaldi archiepiscopi educatus'.⁶² Aware of audience interest, he retained homely qualities or dramatic incidents in the lives of his subjects, but he emphasized moral attributes and miracles.

Edward the Confessor was the founder of the Cathedral at Exeter. Since his nativity is January 5 where it coincides both with the vigil of Epiphany and the Octave of Thomas of Canterbury, Grandisson set a feast of nine lections on the day of Edward's Translation, October 13. Grandisson inserted in the Legendary the charter of the foundation, with this rubric:⁶³

Ut autem festiuitas huius gloriosissimi confessoris cristi,
ac regis anglorum edwardi, qui episcopales sedes Cridinensem
et cornubiensem unitas ad exoniensem transtulit ciuitatem,
ibidem deuocius celebretur, tenorem carte per quam ipsam
ecclesiam transtulit uniuit et dotaui, ad iugem et
perpetuam eiusdem memoriam, huic uolumini duximus
inserendum.

Grandisson adapted the material he found in his reading to conform to the needs of the Kalendar. When compared with several folios concerning Remigius in MS 13, the Sanctoral has only one short lection, beginning, 'Beatus Remigius ex matre anu et patre sene in pago laudunensi miraculose natus et litteris traditus'. One reason for this compression is that on October 1, Germanus, Vedast, and Bavo, had equal claim with Remigius;

and Melor, a local saint, was given three lections. In grading the feasts Grandisson must have decided he could not assign Remigius nine lections without overburdening the Kalendar.

Although the Life of St Leger in no. 13 is not so long as that of Remigius, Grandisson abridged it in the Sanctoral, changing the language. In contrast to the opening in no. 13, 'beatus Leodegarius ex progenie celsa Francorum ac nobilissima exortus', Grandisson's legend begins 'Gloriosus leodegarius... ex nobilissima francorum progenii exortus, *ab auunculo suo dydone, pictauensi episcopo nutritis*' (emphasis mine). Even though he had more source material in no. 13 than he could use, he still borrowed from some other source. Whereas the Miracula in no. 13 ends, 'In quo loco fiunt virtutes cotidie ad huius mirabilem cumulum. . .', the version in the Sanctoral ends, 'Ubi statim ceperunt diuina miracula choruscare ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri...': another way of suggesting the same thing. The twenty-five sections for Dionysius, marked by *paragraphi* in MS 13, were abridged in the Sanctoral to nine lections plus an additional one in Chapter, post Prime.⁶⁴ Grandisson did not use the account of Crispin and Crispinian from no. 13, but instead adapted three lections for the Sanctoral from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais.⁶⁵ The three saints, Simon, Jude, and Cecilia, each have feasts of nine lections plus one in Chapter, but their lections are not taken verbatim from no. 13, and it is difficult to be sure of their immediate source.⁶⁶

Other feasts in the Legendary for which Grandisson reveals his source are Cuthbert with rubric 'de libro bede presbiteri' (March 20, ix lections and one in Chapter) and for his Translation (September 4, ix lections, 'si non fuerit in quadragesima dictum de eo'); similarly Benedict, 'de secundo libro dialogorum beati gregorii pape' (March 21, ix lections), for whose Translation on July 11, three lections are read if he has had nine during Lent.

From the histories Grandisson consulted (nos 20-21) only six saints were added to his Sanctoral: Alban (June 22, ix lections plus a Chapter lection), Oswald (August 5, iii lections), Aldhelm (May 25, iii lections), and Cuthburga (August 31, iii lections).⁶⁷ Edmund (November 20) and Edward (translation, October 13) had nine lections, but Anselm was not added to the

Sanctoral.⁶⁸ Grandisson added nine lections for Wulfstan (January 19) to his Sanctoral from the *Vita Wulstani* of William of Malmesbury, but the copy he used does not survive.⁶⁹ From William's *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (no. 17), only Swithun (July 15, ix lecc.) was added.⁷⁰

Grandisson appears to have consulted legendaries, although the copies he used do not survive: For saints Prisca (Jan. 18), Blaise (Feb. 3), Praxedes (July 23), and Bartholomew (Aug. 24), the texts agree verbatim with the Dominican legendary (c. 1267) which uses the noncommittal phrase 'Ex gestis eius'. He may have used the same sources the Dominicans used, or he may have borrowed directly from the Dominican legendary itself, as he seems to have done with his legend of Tiburtius and Valerian (April 14) and again with Theodore (Nov. 9), which agree verbatim with the revised and abridged text in the Master General's copy of the Dominican legendary.⁷¹ Although the original sources of other legends appear to be the same, Grandisson's recension varies materially from the Dominican text.

In 1237 Bishop Brewer (1224-1244) had endowed the choir so that five vicars, five secondaries, and four choristers on a weekly roster should celebrate the Mass of the Virgin daily in her chapel. Grandisson reconstituted this Mass, as well as that of the Commemoration of the BVM (the Saturday Office).⁷² He especially venerated the Virgin, the 'Mater Misericordia' cited in his epitaph and in the painting which he commissioned as a frontispiece (f. 1v) for *De civitate Dei*. He specified in his Will that the Masses to be said daily for him for thirty days after his death should be of the Blessed Virgin.⁷³ We know that Grandisson had Masses and Offices for the BVM, even though it is impossible to say precisely what pertained to them. It seems he was concerned for beauty and dignity to prevail within the Cathedral as well as in its architecture.⁷⁴

In conclusion:

It was to be fifty-four years before Grandisson's Ordinal and Lectionary were replaced. W. H. Frere says, 'In 1391, Bishop Brantingham sent to the Chapter a copy of the Sarum Ordinal, asking that it might be adopted for the Cathedral. This was agreed to after much deliberation on condition that the Saints' Day Services of Exeter Use and other peculiarities were not given up, and in so far as it was not contrary to the liberties and

customs of the Church, which the canons had sworn to maintain'.⁷⁵ Even if Sarum Use was nominally accepted at that time, many elements of Grandisson's changes remained, for Bishop Oldham had to renew the request in 1505, more than a century after Grandisson's death. Grandisson's ceremony for Christmas Matins is still performed at Exeter.⁷⁶

Grandisson's reforms had an influence outside the diocese: The requirement that Grandisson introduced in the Statutes of St Mary Ottery that vicars and secondaries should be able to read and sing the Tonale with the differences and the melodies of the *Venite*, marks a change, according to Frank L. Harrison (*Music in Medieval Britain*), 'from the memorizing by rote laid down by the cathedral and monastic statutes and rules to a test of actual musical ability'. Harrison says further, 'In later foundations the requirement to memorize was dropped in favour of a general qualification in reading and singing. The few inventories of the later period which give the place of books in choir as well as the number of each type suggest that Grandisson's ideas became accepted practice in colleges and collegiate churches during the fifteenth century'.⁷⁷

The beauty of ceremony illustrated in the *modus exequendo* was cherished. It was influenced by Grandisson's awareness and personal preferences. However, the part of the Cultus Divinus that mattered most to him involved books, through which both clergy and laity became informed and their souls nurtured. To the latter end he devoted his life.

CHAPTER V--NOTES

1. *Reg. I*, 436-38: 'Ex quibus omnibus Cultus Divinus ac devocio populi minuitur, honor Ecclesie subtrahitur, et plurimorum scandalum generatur' (p. 436). The first section concerns the Canons' misuse of funds (taking without giving), their non-attendance or late arrival in choir, and their 'confabulations' which cause disturbance. The second section regards neglect of hospitality to the poor, and the third, neglect of choirboys who depend for food upon the canons' largess. The fourth section concerns the provision of books and method of singing. After summarizing his findings, Grandisson elaborates on each item for several paragraphs.
2. His letter is addressed to 'omnes et singulos dicte Ecclesie nostre Canonicos et Ministros quatinus in Choro psalmodizando'. 'De Libris, vero, maximo de certo et sufficienti Ordinali ac Consuetudinario, in quibus discrepant ab Usu Sarum vel aliarum Ecclesiarum, necnon de Collectario correspondente; qui remittantur ad nos ad exminandum corrigendum et approbandum, citra Festum Nativitatis Beati Johannis Baptiste.'

'Premissis, insuper, adiciendo, modo premissis monemus, et moneri quatinus in choro psalmodizando, in medio et fine versuum, interposito quodam vocis silencio, uniformem magis solito faciant pausacionem. In Antiphonis, quoque, Ympnis, et Responsoriis, ita conformiter cantare, et mutuo se audiendo, pausare satagant, ne aliquis alium, quantum caveri potest, preveniat vel sequatur. Quod ut melius fiat, Librorum in notis et textu diligens concordancia procuretur' (p. 436).

3. *Reg. III*, 1318. Grandisson's confidence in Murimuth's administrative abilities is indicated by the fact that he kept him as vicar-general until Grandisson himself arrived in the diocese, commissioning Murimuth with full powers to appoint to benefices and to correct and reform all excesses. Grandisson says, '. . .de tua diligencia, legalitate, et industria plenam in Domino fiduciam optinentes', useful qualities in governing the choir. See Commission, *Reg. I*, 332-33. On the duties of the precentor, see Edwards, *Engl. Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 159-72, esp. 160, 164-65, 171.
4. *Reg. II*, 860. After publishing his Ordinal and Consuetudinary, Grandisson inquired of the Dean and Chapter, 'Si Ordinale et Consuetudinarium sint perfecti (sic) ut erat per dominum et suos predecessores sub pena iniunctum' (emphasis mine). Revisions of the ordinal result from the initiative of one person who sees the inadequacies of the current ordinal and has the stamina to undertake a new one: Richard Poore, John Grandisson, Thomas de Welewick, Richard Maidstone, to name a few in two hundred years' time.
5. *Reg. I*, 214, Ltr. 117. My thanks to M. B. Parkes for the suggestion as to why Grandisson requested a Pontifical.
6. See above, note 2.

7. Quivil's recommendation: London, BL MS Harl.1027, f. 29v.

Oliver, *Lives*, pp. 305-307, gives an overview of service books on hand, and specifies on p. 308, 'Ordinal de veteri usu, precii 12d', and 'Ordinale ligatum cum catena, 5s'. They do not survive.
8. *Reg.* I, 855-63.
9. There is a threat to reliability in printing ordinals of which the original writing is datable, but which incorporate later marginal notes. The tendency is to attribute the same date to all. By working with a handwritten original (which we do not have for Grandisson's 1337 Ordinal), one could make a tentative estimate on paleographical grounds (comparing hands and colours of ink) of the dates when changes took place. Printed copies are not so revealing.
10. HBS 37, 38, 63 (London, 1926) (hereafter 'Edn'). See Ker, *MMBL*, II, 11. By a fortunate coincidence, I have been able to use Dalton's own working copies of this edition (now in Oxford, Keble College Library), as verified by a letter from Edward S. Dewick, Treas. of the Henry Bradshaw Society (Oct. 29, 1909), in vol. II, and copies of the reviews in vols I and III. Dalton compared the instructions in the Ordinal (vol. I) with those in Grandisson's lectionary (III), and entered his findings in red ink in vol. III. He also wrote (in black ink on their appropriate date) the names of saints who were added to the Kalendar after Grandisson for whom Grandisson did not have propers.
11. On p. ix of Edn I, Dalton says of Exeter Cathedral MS 3502 that 'the writing of the original is about AD 1380 to 1400, not much before or after'. He may have had this from M. R. James, to whom he expresses appreciation (Edn III, xiii) for 'decisive judgment' as to the date of Exeter MSS 3504 and 3505. Neil Ker judges Exeter MS 3502 to be of s.xv² (*MMBL* II, 808).
12. Pfaff, *New Liturg. Feasts*, pp. 3-4. Feasts accepted to be celebrated throughout England, were, in 1383, St Anne (July 26); in 1415, David (March 1), Chad (March 2), and Winifred (November 3); in 1416, John of Beverley (May 7, Deposition); in 1480, Osmund (December 4), Etheldreda (June 23), Frideswide (October 19), and Visitation (July 2); in 1487, Transfiguration (August 6). All of these were celebrated at Exeter a half-century or more before they were officially approved.
13. Tradition held that the Use of Sarum began with St Osmund (d. 1099), and it is alleged that in 1228 (after being amplified and systematized by Richard Poore), that Gregory IX affirmed that 'the institutions of St Osmund had been followed by the greater part of England': Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 562, cited by J. W. Legg, *The Sarum Missal edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916), 'Preface', p. v, n5. W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1898-1901, repr. 1969), I, xix-xx, dates the Sarum Consuetudinary c.1210 (developed before the rest of the Ordinal) with a second recension c.1246, during Poore's deanship. Poore's is the earliest occurrence of the term 'Sarum Use'.
14. Frere, I, lii.

15. See M. B. Parkes, *ECBH*, Plates 4-6, esp. Plate 5 (ii).
16. I have consulted W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, who discusses Grandisson's Ordinal (I, xxxii-xxxiii). However, the manuscripts cited by Frere as evidence of Sarum Use were copied after Grandisson's time, except for a short insertion to illustrate 'the Old Ordinal'. Frere does not acknowledge that the 'New Ordinal' of Sarum produced after 1340 might have been influenced by Grandisson's work. Frere's main source is Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 44 [C], s.xiv ex. Next is Salisbury Cathedral MS 175 [S], s.xiv ex. from which he printed the Sarum 'Customary'. [H] is Brit. Libr. MS Harley 2911, s.xv; [A] is Brit. Libr. MS Arundel 130, s.xv.
17. For comparison of Grandisson's lections themselves with Sarum ones, I have used *Breviarium ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, eds, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1882-1886), but its manuscript source dates c.1531, and therefore is of value only when Grandisson's agrees verbatim. Grandisson's lections generally approximate fifteen lines, but can be as long as forty-one. They are usually shorter than the Sarum ones, in line with the papal reforms of 'breviter' and 'festinanter' which were encouraged. See S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. H. Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy, The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1960), pp. 25-26.
18. Frere, I, xxii. Revision may have been begun by Thomas de Welewick, precentor at Salisbury 1341-1343. There is a reference in the New Ordinal to the *Ordinale Wellwyk* (ibid., I, xx).
19. Edn I, 1: 'Exoniensis ecclesia, sicut ceterae cathedrales ecclesie, obseruancias proprias et consuetudines habet, tam in dicendo quam in exequendo officio diuino, *que in scriptis nondum plene fuerunt redacte*' (emphasis mine).
20. I have compared Grandisson's Kalendar with that supplied by J. W. Legg (note 13, above). He principally used four manuscripts: [A] Paris, Arsenal 135, c.1300 or s.xiii ex.; [B] Bologna, University 2565, c. s.xiv¹; [C] Manchester, John Rylands Crawford Latin 24, c.1264 (when Henry of Chichester, the owner, left Crediton); [M] Sarum Missal, Pierpont Morgan Library 8 (formerly in the collection of William Morris), 1320-1332. For the Kalendar in the first section of the book, Legg used C. He printed the Kalendars of A and B as appendices (B contains only the months of March-October). Legg does not disclose from which manuscript the lections in the Sanctoral have been printed. He has entered propers headed for St Hugh (Nov. 17), but the *oratio*, *secret*, *post-communio*, name only St Anian, and I am inclined to think Legg must have made a mistake about Hugh. Legg says that in B the mass collects for Hugh are *de communi* (the Kalendar entries for November are missing). The only Sarum entry for Edward the Confessor is for his Translation, Oct. 13, in B, black and ungraded. There are no propers and no other Kalendar entries for him.
21. In rubrics to his Sanctoral Grandisson says, for Wulfstan (January 19):

'ix lecciones, uel tres, unde diuidi possunt sequentes lecciones in tres, uel in sex prout placet'. For Machute (November 15), he says, 'de quo quidam faciunt .ix. lecciones et medias lecciones de sancto martino. Exonie uero fiunt .iii. lecciones tantum' (Edn III, 416-17). Even at monasteries and parishes which had adopted Sarum Use, there would be local variations in their Kalendars .

22. Edn I, 173. Frere, II, xvii-xviii discusses the introduction of the Feast of Corpus Christi, and its non-observance at Sarum until c.1312-1319, or later. It is not found in any of the manuscripts under discussion, Legg's or Frere's. However, until the date of the Feast of Holy Trinity was fixed by Pope John XXII (in 1334) for observance on the Sunday after Pentecost, Corpus Christi had no determinate date. Grandisson has rubrics to deal with some of the problems of this feast, which he describes as 'mobile et nouum', Edn I, 175, although it follows the Feast of Holy Trinity in his lectionary.

See F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1958; 1974), p. 349: 'The services of the day (Corpus Christi) have traditionally been attributed to St Thomas Aquinas, but recent scholarship has thrown doubt on the authenticity of the material on which this ascription was based' (references cited). It appears that Urban did adopt an office which came from St Thomas, but that changes began to be made almost immediately, including the adoption of a metered form of the office.

23. From 'opusculum 57' (Dalton), Edn III, 129, beginning, 'Immensa diuine largitatis' (six lections plus one in Chapter, 'post Primam').
24. For St Anne, see below, MS no. 89, and Ker, *MMBL* II, 810. For Becket, see below MS no. 88.
25. Grandisson's 'abbreviation without alteration' is summarized by Dalton, Edn III, 10. Grandisson himself explains his method (below, note 29).
26. Ker, *MMBL* II, 810, MS 3505B; Dalton, Edn III, 10.
27. *Conf.*, Book IX, ch. v: 'I not understanding the first lesson of his (Isaiah's), and imagining the whole to be like it, I put it aside to be taken up later, being more versed in the words of the Lord'--'verum tamen ego primam huius lectionem non intellegens, totumque talem arbitrans, distuli repetendum exercitior in dominico eloquio'.
28. See *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, ed. Michael Swanton (Exeter, 1991), Plate 194, p. 128, of Exeter MS 3504, f. 1r, with Grandisson's heraldic shield, and heading in his hand.
29. From Edn III, 13:
 Incipit legenda, de usu Exoniensis ecclesie, secundum ordinationem et abreuiacionem Iohannis de Grandissono episcopi. Et diuiditur in tres partes. PRIMA PARS continet quicquid legitur de biblia. In qua fiunt saltus, non mutato textu biblie. Ut quia omnia non possunt legi, saltem illa legantur que magis tempori correspondent. SECUNDA PARS continet sermones et omelias que pertinent ad temporale cum

leccionibus beate marie et dedicacionis ecclesie cum octauis et collocacionum quadragesimalium necnon leccionum post primam in capitulo. TERCIA PARS in alio uolumine continet lecciones proprias sanctorum, de quibus fit in usu exoniensi cum communi sanctorum et lecciones de commemoracionibus apostolorum petri et pauli et legenda quorundam, de quibus fit in ecclesia exoniensi tantum.

30. On pp. 10-12, Edn III, Dalton lists various notes and symbols without recognizing some that are Grandisson's. Having consulted the manuscript, I would make the following changes: On f. 8, a note preceded by a Nota monogram and underlined in red is Grandisson's. The notes on ff. 51, and 53, are Grandisson's, imitating the text script as he did several times in this manuscript. The note, underlined in red on f. 54, is also his, but in current script. The 'cross of dots' on f. 131v is Grandisson's customary 'star' (*), and the 'cross' on f. 52 is his wavy-line bracket surmounted by three dots in triangle; it is used twice. I have not collated Dalton's notes with the manuscript throughout.
31. No. 13 is so marked (*Beda Super Lucam*) and No. 12 (Gregory's *Libri Dialogi*).
32. Canon G. H. Doble has printed a collation of Exeter Cathedral MS 3518 with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 93, as *Ordinale Exon*: Appendix IV, 'Martyrologium Exon' (with Indexes supplied by C. W. Surrey), HBS 79 (London, 1940) (hereafter 'Edn IV'). See Ker, *MMBL* II, 828.
33. Ker, *MMBL* II, 817-18. See p. 817, art. 1, regarding Exeter modifications. The *Sarum Missal* that Ker consulted is the one printed by J. W. Legg, notes 13, 20, above (datable c.1260).
34. Pfaff, *New Liturg. Feasts*, pp. 17-20. The Office of Transfiguration (August 6) was celebrated by Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) as a Cluniac observance. In Edn I, 173-76 is the Office (probably Grandisson's) 'De Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi' with Octave.
35. See *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London, 1808), I, 462. See also *The Leofric Collectar*, ed. E. S. Dewick, HBS 45 (London, 1914), I, v; Appendix, cols 433-454; and Plates xiii-xviii, the Litany. Dewick describes the manuscript and prints the text of folios 108-117.
36. Ker, *MMBL* II, 825-27. Ker lists no Office of Transfiguration. The prayers and other texts of the manuscript are written in book hand, which is hard to identify.
37. For the masses, see Ker, *MMBL* II, 825-27. I have compared elements of this manuscript with *The Use of Sarum* by J. W. Legg; see above, note 13.
38. See Rose-Troup, *Bishop Grandisson: Student and Art-Lover*, (Plymouth, 1929), p. iv.
39. Ker, *MMBL* II, pp. 845-46. See above, p. 188.

40. Grandisson quoted Isidore verbatim from *De ecclesiasticis officiis*: see M. B. Parkes, *P&E*, p. 35, 128n1, who called the Isidore source to my attention. The excerpts from Ambrose come from ch. XVIII, sec. 67; ch. XIX, sec. 84; and ch. XXIII, sec. 101. Ambrose's attitude is summarized by F. H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St Ambrose*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1935), I, 124, 129. 'Lowest in rank was the Doorkeeper.... Next above the Doorkeeper was the Reader.' Page 124, 'He detested a strident tone,' etc. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 191 has been edited by Professor Napier for EETS (1916), no. 150.
41. *Reg.* I, 585. Concerning the conflation of Kieran and Pieran (Piranus) at Exeter through scribal error, see Edn IV, p. 43.
42. Edn III, 300-01. He may mean in the common of virgins, for I find no propers written for her; I am inclined to think there is an error. See Edn I, 245.
43. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 63 (Parker). The feast of the nativity of St Swithun had been set aside for the Visitation of the BVM, perhaps after Grandisson's time.
44. No. 85. The other feasts, for which Grandisson provided nine lections, were Annunciation, March 25; Assumption, August 15; Nativity, September 8; Purification, February 2. Swithun, Edn III, 282-83. The Invention of Holy Cross had three lections on May 3, and the Exaltation of Holy Cross, nine lections on September 14.
45. Hugh: Edn III, 422-23; Richard: III, 225-26. Gabriel: III, 165-69.
46. *Lives*, p. 224. See also Edn I, 90.
47. See Edn III, 365-68. Grandisson had provided three extra lections for Thomas of Cantilupe so that there should be nine, even though some might not be read. He said, 'Quando hoc festum differtur, et medie lecciones non fiunt de sancto leodegario, tunc legantur per ordinem predictae sex lecciones de sancto thoma, et addantur tres ultime lecciones de expositione euangelii Homo quidam peregre' (f. 217v, Matt. XXV:14-21, from the common for a confessor or bishop). Grandisson was consecrated with Thomas Charleton, bishop-elect of Hereford, on October 18, 1327, at the Dominican Church at Avignon (Oliver, *Lives*, p. 76). He continued to maintain a close relationship with the diocese of his family, bequeathing a ring and a Concordance to a later bishop, Lewis Charleton (1361-1369), and requesting that Charleton act as 'overseer' of the executors of his estate. (See *Reg.* III, 1517, 1520.)
48. Edn III, 388, and note of contemporary hands, p. 12. Perhaps the last three lections would be read from a common for virgins. Grandisson's general direction for this (see St Lucy, Dec. 13, p. 187) was 'Eodem modo semper quando deficit in festis sanctorum cum regimine chori leccio propria, tunc legatur una de communi talis sancti'.
49. Edn III, 61.

50. Edn III, 20. *De Symbolo contra Iudaeos, Paganos, et Arianos*, ch. XI-XIII, beginning 'Conuenio uos' (No. 10, f. 259v) '*Legatur apud nos de iiij in Aduentu.;.'. Edn III, 64.
51. See No. 12, and Plate 5. Though the same rubric is given for Collations in the Use of Sarum, the reference is later than Grandisson's (see Ch. II, note 75).
52. Judging by their 'secundo folios', the two (or three) volumes of Paul the Deacon were at the Cathedral in 1327 (Oliver, *Lives*, pp. 305, 309), but it is unlikely that Grandisson used these particular copies for his work on the Ordinal, as they do not bear his significant marks for lections.
53. The reading from the Council of Toledo is found in *PL* LXXXIV, cols 452-56; Hinschius, pp. 406b-407.
54. See M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Handlist of Bede Manuscripts* (New York, 1943), who says that there are only fifty Bede sermons that are authentic (that is, those on the Gospels). 'The collection of homilies is unreliable: they contain much spurious material' (pp. 114-118).
55. No. 41, ff. 146r-153rb.
56. *Acta Sanctorum*, XLVII, October 1, beginning, 'Post vindictam scelerum quae facta est'. Edn III, 364. On f. 243rb in the midst of the Remigius narrative is Grandisson's headline '*Sancti' Tenebaldi*| laudunensi episcopi', an account which does not appear in his *Legendary*. Hincmar, *ibid.*, Ch. V.
57. Bollandist BHL, I, 4851, says that this is a 'Vita auctore Ursino'. Edn III, 366.
58. *Conf.*, Book IX, ch. vii (no. 1, f. 64r); *De civitate Dei*, Book XXII, ch. viii, (no. 32, f. 234va). Augustine refers to these saints in *Sermo* 318 also, and Ambrose in *Ep.* 22.
59. Chad (March 2) appeared in black and ungraded on the (Sarum) Kalendar of Bologna, University MS 2565, s.xiv¹.
60. Edn III, Part 3.
61. Edn III, 381-82.
62. Edn III, 71.
63. Edn III, 379-80. A copy of the same document with endorsements added is in W. B. Sanders, trans., *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Ordnance Survey*, 'Exeter no. XIII, Eadward the Confessor, AD 1050' (text and plate), (Southampton, 1881).
64. Edn III, 371-73.
65. *Acta Sanctorum*, XI, October, 535-37. *Speculum Historiale*, XII (or XIII), (B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum* (Paris, 1910 ed.),

- I., 353. Edn III, 391: It ends, 'set postea, a fidelibus, honorifice cum laudibus tumultata'.
66. Edn III, 391-4; 426-28.
 67. Oswald and Chad each have ix lections marked off in the Bede manuscript.
 68. In his *Legendary*, Grandisson acknowledged the original source, 'ex chronica Willelmi Malmisburiensis', for the lection for Edward, post Prime; Edn III, p. 378.
 69. Edn III, 193-94. The *Vita Wulfstani* was William's version of an English *Life* by monk Coleman, Wulfstan's friend and chaplain, written after Wulfstan's death in 1095 (ed. by R. R. Darlington, Camden Soc., 3rd series, 40, London, 1928). R. Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores* X (London, 1652), pp. 406-8.
 70. No. 17, ff. 38vb, 39v, 40, 41, 43. Grandisson also borrowed from the *Legenda Aurea* of James of Genoa, but the copy he used does not survive.
 71. Oxford, Keble College MS 49; see M.B. Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford: A Descriptive Catalogue with summary descriptions of the Greek and Oriental Manuscripts* (London, 1979), pp. 227-28, 241-42.
 72. Oliver, *Lives*, pp. 417-18. F. L. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, (London, 1958; repr. 1980), says that Grandisson 'reconstituted' this mass in 1336, pp. 77-78.
 73. See *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), pp. 482; 465-67. See also *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration* (note 28, above), Plate 213, p. 148. *Reg.* III, 151.
See *Reg.* I, 388, for a thirty days' Indulgence granted for the Hours of the BVM.
 74. See no. 89 on the way readers should perform, and note 1, above, on the way they should sing. Grandisson's copy of Augustine's sermon no. 285, in MS no. 2, f. 169 (see Plate 2), has to do with the proper attitude for prayer. See also no. 90, p. 194. See no. 34, f. 5rb, on having the right feeling in the heart when saying psalms (Augustine on Ps. IV) and Ps. 34:28, ff. 85v-86: 'Whatever you do, do well, and you have praised God'. Grandisson annotated both psalms. On the beauty of the Cathedral, *Reg.* I, 97: 'mirabili super ceteras in genera suo Regni Anglie vel Francie, si perficiatur, pulcritudine renitebit'.
 75. W. H. Frere (note 13, above) p. 205. F. L. Harrison, note 72, above, says, 'At the request of Bishop Brantingham the Dean and Chapter agreed to accept the Sarum Ordinal in so far as it was compatible with their statutory rights and duties. This was not, apparently, far enough, as the request was renewed by Bishop Oldham in 1505' (p. 48). H. E. Reynolds has recorded a memorandum of the deliberations (in the hand of Dean Littleton) on p. 10 of *The Use of Exeter Cathedral*

according to John Grandisson, Bishop of the See, 1327-1369; Abstract of Chapter Acts. . . (London, 1891). Brantingham submitted an Ordinal to the Chapter in 1391. The Chapter did not want to give up their saints' days and special observances, and those practices which they felt gave greater honour to God than the Sarum ones.

76. Harrison has a detailed description of the Exeter Christmas services, pp. 107-109.
77. *Ibid.*, p.103.

CHAPTER VI--GRANDISSON'S 'LIFE OF BECKET'

Grandisson's Life of Becket survives in four ^{or more} complete manuscript copies (see Supplement, p. 282).

Rome, Vatican MS Reg. 623--s.xv *in.* contains the Life copied in an English hand and divided into four parts with twelve, sixteen, ten, and seven chapters, respectively. It also contains copies of letters of Pope Alexander, and of Louis VII to the pope (following an item in the same hand relating to Nicholas Frome, abbot of Glastonbury).¹

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 467--s.xv *in.*, is inscribed 'Liber Roberti Hare ex dono Johannis Swyfte Auditoris' (f. ii verso).

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 493 (SC 2097)--s.xv, is in a hand similar to that of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 467, but the layout is different. It was formerly owned by Cardinal Reginald Pole, dean of Exeter, 1525-1539, and is signed 'Reginaldi Pooli Liber 1539' (f. iv). It is also inscribed 'Nomen scriptoris Robertus Plenus Amoris'.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 464--s.xv, has layout and script similar to MS Bodley 493.

Rome, English College MS 1384--s.xv, is in a continental secretary hand (possibly German), with sixty-six numbered chapters.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 275--s.xv, contains the 'Vita Sancti Thome Cantuariensis' (ff. 216v-235), but lacks preface, chapter summaries, and prologue. It has a heading and notes by Archbishop Parker, and fourteen folios of the account of Alan of Tewkesbury, copied by a thirteenth-century hand, are inserted at f. 233v.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 177--s.xv, is a fragment of four leaves (ff. 103, 120-122).²

The following manuscript asserts use of Grandisson's work:

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 298 (ff. 1-56v)--s.xvi, is a verse rendition of the Life of Becket by Laurence Wade. Wade stated that his sources were Herbert of Bosham and John Grandisson and he entered their names in the margins when drawing from them.³

The Life of Becket is attributed to Grandisson in the text of the Prologue: 'Prologus vite beati Thome martiris compendiose et historice a Johanne de Grandissono Exoniensi episcopo collecte'. Grandisson stakes his claim to the Life when he says in his letter of transmittal to Pope Benedict XII that the Life is 'from many writers newly edited by me'. It appears that Grandisson may have used the so-called 'Quadrilogus' compiled by E. of Evesham (according to Leland, 'Elias') which was enlarged by Roger, a monk of Evesham, in 1213 and dedicated to Archbishop Stephen Langton on the occasion of the translation of the relics of St Thomas in 1220.⁴ This Quadrilogus was comprised of extracts from biographers Herbert of Bosham, John of Salisbury, Alan of Tewkesbury, and William of Canterbury. Extracts from the work of Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, were added later but before the dedication. The 'Evesham' Quadrilogus was printed at Paris in 1495; parts of it have been reproduced since then, but I have been unable to locate the full work. A second less full and accurate Quadrilogus was printed in Brussels in 1682, and it is the one printed by Robertson and Sheppard. The chief reason for thinking that Grandisson used a copy of the Evesham manuscript is that the rare story of Thomas's descent from a Saracen princess appears in this composite biography in the same position as Grandisson inserted it in his own.

Grandisson's Life of Becket is not in print, and it is therefore summarized at length in this chapter in order to show his emphases in contrast to his sources. The purpose in this chapter is to explore Grandisson's study of Becket, and, so far as the evidence shows, what he gained from his effort. The chapter belongs with the detailed analysis of other books Grandisson owned or used, for it represents the zenith of his lifelong research into problems of *regnum/sacerdotium*, and involves many other Grandisson books, even though the annotated sources Grandisson used for his Life of Becket have not surfaced. However, to edit Grandisson's Life is outside the scope of this thesis. The text in MS Bodley 493 has been

chosen for the sake of convenience, and folio numbers cited relate to that manuscript.

One has to infer Grandisson's opinion principally through his selective extracts from his sources and from his omissions. There are very few sentences in Grandisson's edition for which no source can be identified: they may be his own. Grandisson used most of the contemporary biographers, borrowing from their narratives in their own words and phrases (see Appendix I). He acknowledges that he drew from Herbert of Bosham and John of Salisbury; the only other author he mentions is Edward Grim whom he does not acknowledge as a source. Other parts of Grandisson's writing can be traced to William Fitz-Stephen and Anonymous I and II. He was not reproducing a biography of Becket, since he left out much that would be necessary to fulfill that requirement.

Grandisson must have devoted much time and effort to acquiring and reading the Becket source material which he used, but his method of acquiring texts remains obscure. He wrote the Life near the beginning of his episcopate when he was heavily involved with other activities, such as establishing a prosperous diocese, writing his Ordinal, and reorganizing his Consistory Court, but also when he travelled most. He visited Canterbury in December and February, 1326-27, and again in October, 1331.⁵ It is possible that he borrowed a copy of the Evesham manuscript directly from the archiepiscopal see at Canterbury. He may also have had the assistance of some of his well-qualified clerks. He had finished his Life of Becket soon after Benedict XII was enthroned (January 8, 1335), and he sent his book as a gift to the new pope.⁶ Writing to Pope Benedict in connection with the Confirmation of the College of St Mary Ottery, he said,

For similarly the Blessed Thomas, Martyr, used to meditate during celebrations of the Mass while the clerks were singing; whose Life, from many writers newly collected together by me for a definite reason, I intend to be looked at by your Holiness's eyes.⁷

In 1357 he sent a copy of the Life to Christ Church, Canterbury.⁸

Clues to the 'definite reason' (*causa certa*) may be found in the opening lines of the Prologue, in which Grandisson states that this is a short

historical Life which he has collected of Thomas both as archbishop and as archmartyr of the English, to which he has been able to add the 'flowers and fruits' in a brief account, with his own thoughts or judgments (*sensibus*) on the outcome. He has chosen to represent an English martyr, and it is the 'flowers and fruits'--the output or harvest--he is interested in, with his own interpretation of the aftermath. He asked readers to pray for him 'by name and not by act, to the Mother of God and to His martyr'.⁹ The Prologue anticipates the end of the story, for in it Grandisson accepts Becket as a martyr, and the Church's judgment of him as a saint. He opens Chapter I with 'The blessings of Your divine sweetness went before Thomas, marking him out as martyr and bishop, and upon his head, tonsured for Christ, has been placed a crown of precious stones. He honoured the chief city of Anglia, London, by his birth'. *Testa pro Cristo abrasa* is an oblique reference to the first fatal blow which took off the top of Thomas's head--at the very point of consecration, a double infamy.¹⁰ Grandisson's admiration for Thomas is evident in these lines, but the action which is described in the ensuing chapters is not pre-judged in Thomas's favour.¹¹

Grandisson appears to have divided the Life into four parts, with summaries for each of the chapters, but the number of chapters varies somewhat among the extant versions. In MS Bodley 493, there are thirteen chapters from Thomas's birth to his exile; eight chapters from his exile to his return; ten chapters from his return to his martyrdom; and six chapters from his martyrdom to his canonization. The whole fills approximately fifty folios of twenty long lines each. Herbert of Bosham was the only source used by Grandisson who had provided chapter headings and summaries. Grandisson's summaries synthesize what he considered to be important, and by their brevity bring into prominence the tit-for-tat manoeuvres of Thomas and Henry II.

Once Grandisson had established Thomas's identity by giving his parentage and an account of his education and early years, he centred on Thomas's ministry in the fullness of manhood, making use of parallels to be found in the life of Christ. Near the beginning of the Life, Grandisson provides an assessment of Thomas's character which is not found in the primary sources: 'There was so much love of truth in the young man that he never mentioned the opposite of truth'.¹² Grandisson tells how Thomas

attached himself to certain eminent citizens and did business for them in London for some time (there is no mention of Richard de l'Aigle or of others by name). Thomas also indulged himself in hunting and fowling. On a certain day he was so intent on the chase that he rode into the water and nearly drowned.¹³ We are told how he was employed in the courts, how he solved difficult questions with great incisiveness, and that whatever he had once heard he remembered.¹⁴ In the account of Archbishop Theobald's retaining Thomas as a member of his household is a reference to Thomas's awareness that the laity were undermining the reputation [*honestatem*] of the clergy, a matter to become later a primary source of controversy.¹⁵

Grandisson underemphasizes Thomas's preparation for his future career: his several trips to the Curia at Rome, his licence to study at Bologna and Auxerre on his own petition, (Grandisson does not say 'study law' nor that it was for a year), his provision as archdeacon of Canterbury, and the opposition of Roger de Pont L'Évêque.¹⁶ Thus by omitting details, he gives prominence to the fact that Theobald counselled Henry II to make Thomas chancellor, 'because he saw that the young king, under counsel of bad men, was oppressing clergy and people on the pretext (as the king said), of "the king's right"'. Grandisson says that although Thomas conformed to royal *moribus et pompis*, he always defended ecclesiastical law *quantum sibi licuit*.¹⁷ 'And although the false world smiled on him in everything, he always preserved cleanness of the flesh, which is rare in such cases. However much for the honour of the King and the advantage of the province, he fought against the beasts of the court, he was then, with a certain foreboding, contending against royal oppressions and usurpations. From these he bore steadfastly so many difficulties, struggles, afflictions and conspiracies, that he wept as he told the archbishop and his friends that his life was irksome to him'.¹⁸ Grandisson relates that Thomas performed secret scourgings on his bare body whenever he had time. 'In the eyes of men, he was humble with the humble, but fierce and unyielding with the proud'.¹⁹ When Thomas became chancellor, he took refuge at his palace with his friends and the poor to get away from the obligations of the king's court. Grandisson's summary treatment of his sources leads to some confusion in the sequence of events--a matter evidently not a hindrance to his purpose. He omits entirely the opposition of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, to Thomas as chancellor, but stresses that Thomas undertook the

education abroad of many young nobles, especially that of Henry the Younger.²⁰

Grandisson ruthlessly abridges the account of the siege of Toulouse (1169), because the details of how Thomas besieged it and took many castles cannot be given briefly: 'he acted energetically in the service of his lord, the King of England, against the attacks of the King of France'. Grandisson omits the vivid account given by William FitzStephen of how Thomas, fully armed, rode at the head of seven hundred knights and twelve thousand mercenaries, and of how Henry finally withdrew, not wanting to attack the city occupied by King Louis, his liege Lord, even though Thomas urged Henry to take the city.²¹

Thomas had been persuaded to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury by Henry, priest-cardinal of Pisa, who said that the English Church was suffering great desolation and undergoing many dangers.²² Grandisson emphasizes Thomas's commitment in taking up this office: 'He determined in his heart either to free the Church from unwarranted servitude, even if necessary incurring royal anger, or to lay down his soul for Christ's flock, because he perceived that the power of the state was summoning ecclesiastical cases indiscriminately to forbidden examination'.²³ There is a description of Thomas's election and consecration with great pomp. Pope Alexander III, then at Montpellier, sent the pallium immediately. Thomas told Herbert of Bosham of a dream in which he had been given five talents of gold (Matt.XXV:15-21); Herbert responded that he would interpret such things for Thomas in the future--four eyes could see more clearly than two. Thomas is described as 'running with bare feet from the old man, leaving behind his actions, to put on the new, recreated by God'. His conversion is symbolized by his donning a monk's habit and hair undergarment, here mentioned by Grandisson for the first time.²⁴

Although Grandisson denied that the archbishop's tasks could be explained in a brief page, he went on to outline Thomas's day. Right after cockcrow, having sung lauds, Thomas washed the feet of thirteen paupers and gave them four denarii each; at daybreak he personally fed another twelve paupers; at the third hour he 'refreshed' a hundred other poor

people. Between the washings and the third hour refectations, he studied the Scriptures. Herbert of Bosham was his instructor in the sacred page, both at home and abroad, but Grandisson listed other 'excellent men of knowledge and manners' whom Thomas kept around him: Lombard of Piacenza, cardinal, archbishop of Benevento (1171-1179); John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres (1176-1180); Robert Foliot, bishop of Hereford (1151-1174); Reginald (FitzJocelin) of Lombard, bishop of Bath (1173-1191); Gerard la Pucelle, bishop of Coventry (1173-1184); Hugo de Nonant, archdeacon of Lisieux (1188-1198); Gilbert de Glanville, bishop of Rochester (1185-1214).²⁵

Grandisson describes Thomas's *modus vivendi*: his manner of celebrating Mass, his gifts to beggars, the hierarchy of his dining table, his habit of resting before vespers.²⁶ Grandisson borrows a metaphor from Herbert but adds his own vivid details, of the sea being full of reptiles and venomous beasts, which have entered the quiet waters of the Church's harbour, as troubles from the outer world. It was necessary for Thomas to gather together the Church property and preserve it. He began to regain holdings of the Church which had gradually been usurped by magnates of the realm through the impotence or neglect of his predecessors.²⁷ These unwelcome moves were soon reported to Henry, on the Continent. Grandisson says, 'Indeed the King loved the archbishop so much that he would not listen to such rumours and postponed his response right up to his next return to England'.²⁸

Grandisson records that when the king had landed at Southampton, both the archbishop and Henry, the king's first-born son, ran up to him and were received with the greatest joy. The king's happiness increased in perceiving his chancellor as archbishop for the first time, and observing that Thomas's integrity was great. And because he had been hearing privately about the many virtues of Thomas's sanctity, the complainants, listening a little further away, were silent.²⁹ Subsequently, Thomas took the king's son with him to the Council of Tours (May 19-21, 1163) where Thomas met the pope and a number of cardinals for the first time; the pope received Thomas kindly, having desired for a long time to see the archbishop of whom he had heard so many good things proclaimed.³⁰ When Thomas returned, Henry welcomed him in the customary friendly manner.³¹ Grandisson records

without fanfare the two notable ceremonies of that year: Thomas's consecration of Reading Abbey, and the translation of the relics of Edward the Confessor to Westminster.

Then the difficulties between Henry and his chancellor began to be exacerbated, and Grandisson adds a tone of *contemptus mundi* (carried to much greater lengths by Herbert of Bosham), to his account. 'Nothing in the world's prosperity or in human actions is everlasting. Surely a human enemy casts an evil eye on such unity between kingdom and priesthood, to endeavour to subvert it as if he were in charge. And certainly he took over the first seed-plot, in that the archbishop, wishing to concentrate on his pastoral duty and to be free to serve God more fully, asked the king to provide himself with another chancellor, because he himself could not maintain two offices nor serve two masters'.³² The king agreed to this, although he had numerous other causes for displeasure, a few of which Grandisson elucidates without mentioning Woodstock where the grievances were aired.

For the controversies that occurred at the Council of Westminster (October 1, 1163), Grandisson tried to present the cases fairly, drawing from Herbert of Bosham's account.³³ For example, 'Certain priests who then had been accused of crimes as obstinate clerks were being held in prison, while a priest condemned for homicide in the King's court, on account of privilege of the order, was being handed over to the bishop of Salisbury. And so by relatives of the dead as well as by officials of the King, ecclesiastical justice was urgently being sought'. Grandisson's abbreviated treatment of the matter ignores the intricacies of the problems: he asserts that the king turned against the whole clerical order as the result of an incident in which 'a clerk of great name' committed assaults upon the king's justices without being adequately punished. He also says, 'Furthermore, certain of the King's justices expert in both laws recommended that canons should certainly be made in which it would more often be found that such men (guilty of violent crimes) should be given up to the secular court'.³⁴ Though Grandisson might be expected to be biased because of his own calling, he did not weight the evidence in favour of either party.

Grandisson points out that because the bishops were so firmly united

behind the archbishop, the king began to test their loyalty to himself, putting them at a disadvantage by demanding to know whether they observed the customs of the realm. When they said that they did, 'saving their order', he took this as a personal affront, saying that 'the battle line of the bishops had been strengthened against himself'. Grandisson succeeds in capturing the atmosphere of the situation: 'The King was troubled, and all the court with him, that certain of their brothers were much too firmly resolved, but the archbishop resisted. Thus a whole day was taken up and wasted without effect.' The king withdrew from the bishops without the customary formal leave-taking, and the bishops returned to their lodgings. In the morning the king, who by deed had handed over his fortifications as well as preferments and everything to the custody of the archbishop, took them back again. Scorning the bishops, he returned by way of London. After which, the bishops, troubled by the commotion made among the clergy and the people, pursued the king, fearing that all their temporalities would be seized'.³⁵

Grandisson quotes John of Salisbury who said that the king could not win over the archbishop 'whose mind was founded on a rock'. The king tried promises and blandishments to no avail.³⁶ The papal legate said that he had heard from the pope and the cardinals that the king had guarded against irreverence, being firmly committed that he would seek nothing against the precedent of the Church by reason of (his) customs. Grandisson says, 'As if by the urging of love and the persuasion of piety', Thomas promised that he would change those words which displeased the king.³⁷ The meeting at Clarendon (January 13, 1164) follows.

'Vacillating again', (*Flexus iterum*) says Grandisson, Thomas agreed to observe 'the aforesaid customs' of the king in good faith, but the king, *quasi inratoria* (*sic*), demanded that this submission apply to all the bishops. When the Constitutions were discussed, Thomas objected to several and asked for time to study them, which was granted. On the next day, the customs were gone through, and the king's clerks wrote them down in a chirograph, so that everyone would know what the bishops had agreed to. Grandisson asserts that many of them were *ad preiudicium cleri*, and that the king had been either ignorant or uncertain of their import. At any rate, the Constitutions were promulgated *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and

Grandisson reproduces nine of the sixteen.³⁸

On the way home from Clarendon, the archbishop reveals his mind to Herbert, reproaching himself for being caught up in what seem to him 'commercial' dealings. Grandisson is not specific about Thomas's self-inflicted penance, saying only that the archbishop felt unworthy to eat at the Lord's table; but telescoping the time scale, Grandisson reports that Thomas applied to the pope immediately for absolution and consolation and received both.

Meanwhile Henry punishes Thomas in various vexatious ways. Thomas makes an abortive attempt to cross the Channel; Grandisson says that he was blown back by a contrary wind and decided that it was not God's will that he should escape. Thomas approaches the king as quickly as possible. The king did not receive him with customary honour, but taunted him with unusual ridicule that he should wish to desert the country, as if Henry's kingdom were not strong enough to take both at once.³⁹ (He may have been referring to themselves personally, but as matters developed, he might also have been asking whether the kingdom was strong enough for the two powers, *regnum/sacerdotium*). The report of the meeting suggests a spirit of camaraderie on the part of the king, but underneath the two were deadly serious.

To this point, the following inferences can be drawn: The protagonists had accommodated one another well as king and chancellor. Henry probably could not understand Thomas's conversion, nor indeed, could he quite credit that the suggestible, easy-going person he had known (one who loved good food and the chase) had suddenly acquired principles. Thomas's loyalty had shifted: where once he had followed the king and had done everything to enhance the kingship, now the archbishop followed The King of Kings, and Henry was jealous.

The archbishop of York unsuccessfully intervened for peace, but Thomas agreed to send to the pope a request that the Constitutions be confirmed. Thomas approved some Constitutions and rejected others, 'strengthened by apostolic authority and exhortation'. The king conducted a sweep for criminous clerks, but Thomas stood on his episcopal rights and

threatened such intervention with excommunication of those who carried out the arrests. Grandisson says, however, that the archbishop permitted a clerk who had fallen a second time to be tried in the secular court: Thomas stood by the dictum that 'God does not judge twice for the same crime', and he therefore would not allow clerks who had been deposed to be handed over to the secular court for stiffer penalties. Grandisson quotes from Herbert of Bosham that, although the archbishop 'had only himself and God to rely on, he endured to the end, immovable'; and from John of Salisbury, that the king thought the archbishop sought to destroy royal power: if the archbishop had his way, a clerk would elect the king.⁴⁰

Thomas was cited peremptorily to Northampton. In his account of the deliberations beforehand concerning a strategy for placating Henry, Grandisson includes Thomas's condemnation of his fellow bishops who had criticized his previous concessions to the Constitutions of Clarendon: 'a father is not to be judged by his sons'. Some suggested the king might accept five hundred pounds as a token for Thomas's alleged breach of conduct; five bishops each offered one hundred pounds. Henry of Winchester (who had consecrated Thomas) said that by the election to archbishop, Thomas had been made free from the chancellorship. He confirmed that the king had absolved Thomas of all obligations to the royal court.⁴¹ Thomas declined to meet with the Council and sent notice to the king, but he did not give the king the formally acceptable excuse that he was too ill to attend on the first day of the deliberations; he was then accused of procrastinating in order to make up arguments. Still pursuing a former accusation that Thomas as chancellor had misspent funds, the king inquired whether he had his chancellor's accounts. The bishops present tried to inform the king *omnibus intellectis*, but they were summarily dismissed. Since many knights and others who had eaten at Thomas's table now left him, Thomas had his servants search the hedgerows and byways to bring in paupers, the crippled and the weak, for 'through them he could more quickly achieve the victory' (Luke XIV:23). He slept well on the first night of the Council.

In a flashback, Grandisson says that for a day and a night previous to this, Thomas had been plagued with a kidney complaint which had prevented his attending the Council.⁴² Some of his spies had said that he

should show himself there, even if he had to be carried on a litter; others warned him that, if he came, he would be killed or at the least sent to prison. 'And fearful because he did not yet feel himself ready for martyrdom', he took the advice of a certain religious man to celebrate the mass of St Stephen, 'lest his adversaries prevail against him'.⁴³ The introit was 'Etenim sederunt principes et adversum me loquebantur' (Ps. CXVIII:23) which, according to Grandisson, portended something to his hearers. Grandisson commented that the day was called 'Martis' in the vulgar tongue, and truly it was a day of war. On the advice of his colleagues, Thomas removed the pallium with the chasuble but wore the rest of his sacred vestments covered by a raincape.⁴⁴ Then carrying the host with him secretly because of fear of being attacked, he hurried to the king's court.

Grandisson devotes several folios to this account, for it illustrates most closely the interaction between the two parties. The archbishop arrived in full array carrying his own cross before him; Grandisson implies that it was a clear challenge, regarded as provocative by all Thomas's contingent who tried to dissuade him. They understood that the king had the greater power and could do away with him in a twinkling.⁴⁵ It seems clear that Thomas was afraid for his life but had decided on a firm stand, for he told the bishop of Hereford, 'It is more just that, protected by His banner and by such a standard, I should not hesitate to fight under Christ the Prince'.⁴⁶ That Thomas was stubborn is reflected by the bishop of London's quip which Grandisson repeats, *Stultus semper fuisti nec video a stulticia te recedere*. The king withdrew to an inner chamber, and the deliberations were carried on separately with messages being sent back and forth.

Grandisson records a long speech made by the king to the bishops and nobles, accusing the archbishop. The king said the archbishop always entered insultingly in this manner, that they were unanimous in thinking that he had always been vain and proud, and that this had happened deservedly to the king who wished to promote such a person. And then they all openly and on every occasion maintained that Thomas was a traitor to the king, that ungratefully he had not only not kept the honour of the land as he had sworn that he would do, but he had inflicted the king with perpetual disgrace.⁴⁷ Grandisson adds, 'And when the chambermaids and the king's porters with their keys descended from where he was, they could

look back at his menacing face and fingers outstretched toward the archbishop'. Thomas said to Herbert of Bosham, sitting at his feet, 'I fear for you, my son, but you need not fear because you will be sharing my crown'. But he [Herbert] said, 'Neither I, nor you, need to fear, Father, who serve under such a prince and such a banner. You have been *inexpugnabilis* as a former standard-bearer of the King of England; may you now be *pugil invincibilis* of the King of Angels'.⁴⁸ (Grandisson's account carries more force than Herbert's.)

Bartholomew of Exeter fell on his knees before Thomas to beg him to yield; he feared for their lives. The bishops decided to propose that they should appeal to the pope, accuse Thomas of perjury, and undertake to obtain his deposition. Grandisson speaks of the bishops as 'placed in a tight spot' (*in arto positi*) between offending the king and accusing their metropolitan in a criminal case, but does not give details.⁴⁹ Grandisson concentrates on the conspiracy for Thomas's deposition. Hilary of Chichester gave the verdict to Thomas in a lengthy speech, the gist of which was, that since he had been accused of perjury and treason, they were not bound by their oath of obedience any longer. He told Thomas that they were going to appeal to the pope against him. The king sent Robert, earl of Leicester, with other magnates, to summon Thomas to the Court to hear the accusations and the judgment made against him. Thomas did not oppose the earl who was performing his task unwillingly. But he said, 'In my election I have been rendered by the Church free from and untroubled by all bondage to the Court; for this reason I am bound not to respond. Besides, by as much as the soul is superior to the body, by so much you are bound to obey me as God's representative more than the king. The sons will not be able to judge their spiritual father by any law or reason. I appeal to the high priest (pope) as my only judge under God, and I put myself and the Church committed to me under his protection. I call you and your fellow bishops to the same judgment'.⁵⁰ As he took up his cross and passed through the midst of the court assembly, shouts of 'Traitor!' and 'Worthy of hanging!' were heard. Thomas returned to St Andrew's monastery, put his cross beside the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and sat down to supper with a crowd of beggars and other poor people.

Grandisson omits many details found in his sources: he does not

record any of Thomas's retorts to his accusers, nor details of the departure from the Court, but includes the visit of the bishop of London and 'other messengers' to try for an exchange of two Canterbury manors, Otford and Wingham, as compensation for money owed to the king. The king might refuse the manors and return the money, but in the process his grace would be merited. Grandisson says merely 'With the archbishop refusing to do that which would damage the Church, when they turned back to the king, they added to his anger more vehemently'.⁵¹ His knights sadly withdrew their homage from the archbishop.

Grandisson records that after hearing verses read at table, 'If you have been persecuted in this city, fly to another' (Matt. X:23), Thomas sent three bishops to the king to secure a writ for his departure from the country, but the king postponed response. 'Because the cause of the Church [which he was defending] had not yet become fully known, Thomas thought it time to flee'.⁵² Grandisson supplies details, the bed beside the altar, Thomas's vigil, his attention to night prayers, his secret passage through the back door before cockcrow.

Grandisson tells how Thomas, accompanied by two brothers of the order of Sempringham, traveled by night and hid by day, and that after fifteen days they came to the port of Sandwich; how they continued on foot until the third day after the Feast of All Souls, fifteen days' journey from Northampton; and how they had to fight off wild beasts. They set sail in a small *simba* before dawn in a rough sea. They crossed to Oyene near Gravelines in Flanders. Thomas had steered by the rising and setting of the sun.⁵³

Part I ends f. 21v when Thomas arrives in Flanders and begins his exile. So far Grandisson has stressed Thomas's destiny by means of examples from his recorded visions and intuitive knowledge, and by illustrating his physical endurance and mental fortitude in defending 'the liberties of the Church'. The description is like a game of chess, with moves and counter-moves clearly defined. When indicating that the archbishop is right to defend the Church, Grandisson avoids the implication that the king is wrong.

Grandisson begins Part Two with 'Second part of those things which happened after his exile. And indeed the sequence of the history can be more fully woven if we return to certain matters which we formerly omitted'.⁵⁴

The king gathered the bishops together after Thomas's escape, but they insisted on going to the pope. Grandisson implies by the words 'were directed to testify at the Roman Curia', (*in testimonium illis cum munibus ad Romanam curiam diriguntur*) that Roger of York, the bishop of London, the bishops of Worcester, Chichester and Exeter, and all 'the King's clerks and ministers with their official duties' traveled on the king's mandate. The king's embassy and the archbishop's had difficulty avoiding one another while traversing the same routes. In France Thomas was received kindly by Louis VII, according to the custom of kings of France toward ecclesiastical exiles, even though Henry had urged that Thomas be treated as a traitor.

The archbishop had an audience with the pope at Sens. On the following day, the king's messengers gave testimony in the consistory. Grandisson records from the eye-witness account by Herbert of Bosham how the archbishop's story moved the pope to tears, and he compared the archbishop's sufferings to those of Christ.⁵⁵ The cardinals were more moved by money, says Grandisson.

Grandisson summarizes the accusations of the king's party. Gilbert Foliot attacks Thomas's personal style; Thomas is bold and insolent, spreads discord among the clergy and exports it from the kingdom, and he had absconded because of vanity. Grandisson includes the pope's caution to the bishop of London, 'Parce, frater', and the blunders of the bishop of Chichester: 'You've come to the wrong port', said one to him derisively.⁵⁶

When Thomas was summoned to state his case before the pope, he produced the 'charter'--the Constitutions of Clarendon. He is described as having begun his case while standing, out of deference to the pope who was sitting, but he was bidden to sit down. Grandisson employs direct discourse. Thomas begins by trying to throw a little light on the situation 'quamuis domini et prelates non multum sapiens'. He says that, if he had wished to please the king more than God, he might have had everything for

his pleasure. 'But lest it seem vain to begin such matters, here is what compelled me to take on such hardships', and he produced the (in Grandisson's words) *consuetudines execrabiles*. Though Grandisson omits much from Alan's account, he includes the drama. When the archbishop asks his hearers whether he could support or even tolerate such provisions without loss of eternal salvation, he does so 'cum gemitu'. Again Grandisson records how the company were moved to tears, but they affirmed the universal Church.⁵⁷

At the meeting in the secret chamber on the second day, Thomas had given his episcopal ring into the pope's hands along with the honour it signified, because he had not reached the pontifical heights canonically, but through royal power. He would not cause the Church to endure more. Grandisson rehearses some of the arguments made by the cardinals in their deliberations which, he says, are 'non modica deceptacione perhabita'. Then follows Thomas's absolution by the pope. Grandisson's method of abridging the text is evident from comparison with the speech of the pope quoted by Herbert, in which the pope reproaches Thomas for approving the Constitutions and perhaps trying to rise too fast after being consecrated, but he 'weighs out' (*impendimus*) to Thomas the benefit of absolution, as to others who humbly seek it. Thomas was fully restored in his pastoral office, but urged to take on a life of poverty.⁵⁸

Thomas became a monk at Pontigny. Grandisson says that, because Thomas had given away almost everything belonging to the monks of the first foundation at Canterbury, he felt that he could not take back the archbishopric at the hands of the pope. Therefore, he requested a monk's habit from the pope. Henry confiscated all of Thomas's goods and disenfranchised his relatives and friends, who were compelled under oath to 'seek him out and bewail his misery with him'. Grandisson, using John of Salisbury's expression, says, 'The bestial furor continued'.⁵⁹ Thomas was not to be given even the support of prayers. He succeeded in some efforts through his letters. The king of France and the nobles and prelates of the land 'cherished' Thomas and his household. Thomas took on a life of extraordinary austerity, wearing bristly underclothing, and eating rough or insipid food which affected his health. His friends admonished him to eat soberly, but food more suited to his system.⁶⁰

The pope tried to arrange a meeting 'ad pacis reformationem', but the king would not come into the archbishop's presence. Later, although Thomas wished only to serve God with a quiet mind, the king threatened the abbot of Pontigny, a hostile act which Thomas understood. Grandisson, following Herbert in this, has Thomas say: 'He who feeds the birds of heaven and clothes the lilies of the field will provide for me and my fellow exiles', and he appealed to 'that King of the Franks, Louis, whose deeds cannot be imitated'; Grandisson's own admiration for King Louis shows through.⁶¹

Grandisson records that, when Thomas was praying at the altar, he heard a voice saying, 'Oh Thomas, Thomas, in your blood My Church will be glorified', and Grandisson adds, 'From then on he desired to accomplish only the more certain end of a martyr for Christ'.⁶²

The king of France offered to provide all sustenance for Thomas to live anywhere in his kingdom. Thomas chose Sens. As he was leaving Pontigny, he related to the abbot his dream: how when he was defending himself at the Papal Curia, with the cardinals against him, suddenly four knights seized him and cut off his scalp, after which they left immediately. Thomas associated this with his other vision, and after his martyrdom these predictions were recalled.⁶³

Henry II was extremely angry at the generosity of King Louis, who gave the archbishop money from his own purse. Henry held back the goods of priests of the diocese of Canterbury and seized the fruits of the Church during the vacancy. Worst of all he denied the papacy of Alexander. 'With Emperor Frederick, the schismatic, he conspired against the Roman Church with two mediating clerks, enemies of the archbishop, namely, John of Oxford and Richard of Ilchester. Then he sent his tyrannical mandates and diabolical subscriptions to justices and others of his ministers throughout England'.⁶⁴ Grandisson shows righteous anger against the king here, because of his deprivation of the Church and interference with the cure of souls. He lists all the king's reprisals upon those who brought in papal or archiepiscopal messages, punishments much more drastic than any in the known sources which say only 'capiatur et incarceretur'.⁶⁵

Grandisson omits Thomas's anathemas given at Vézelay, and ignores the diplomatic manoeuvres which involved the emperor Frederick to try to reach a solution. Grandisson applies the term 'saint' to Thomas for the first time when recording Thomas's objections to the papal legates: one, William of Pavia, was too much the friend of the king, and the other, Cardinal-Deacon Otto, was 'cupidus et avarus'. Thomas would rather be excommunicated himself than endure their judgment outside Rome.⁶⁶

Although Thomas objected to the legates, he met with them, Grandisson says, at 'Brucas'. The night before this meeting, the archbishop dreamed of drinking venom from a golden chalice.⁶⁷ The archbishop saw the legates approaching 'with many prelates and nobles in the King's party', and the bishop of London as spokesman urged the archbishop to resign his archbishopric in order to defend the peace and liberty of the Church; if he would do so, the king would relax his Constitutions. The archbishop responded that he did not see the scales of justice weighing equally, 'for the honour of the King and the salvation of his soul is to renounce his nefarious Constitutions condemned by the Lord Pope and by us. I, indeed, to save the honour of God and His Church, for these reasons ought not to renounce the archbishopric'.⁶⁸ When the legates found they could gain nothing, they withdrew.

Thomas summoned for support certain prelates, clerks of the realm, and laity of his own household, and then proceeded to excommunicate the bishops of London and Salisbury and with them Ranulph de Broc (who 'had held clerks in prison and seized the goods of the Church of Canterbury'), and all of the rest who might lay waste the ecclesiastical property of any clergyman in Anglia against his will.⁶⁹ In angry reaction, the King sent word to the pope not to consider any appeals from the archbishop nor his household.⁷⁰ King Louis tried to persuade the pope to absolve those whom 'the holy and just man' had excommunicated. Grandisson says that the pope, 'being pulled in every direction' decided that nothing would suffice except amicably to work to inspire peace.

In January, 1169, at Montmirail, various contingents representing the pope and King Louis met again with the archbishop and the king. Thomas humbly submitted himself to arbitration, but added the fatal words, 'saving

the honour of God and the Church', at which the king angrily accused him of pride and haughtiness, saying to the king of France, 'Whatever displeases him he claims is contrary to divine honour. But lest I seem only to be contriving maliciously, I beg that that which the better and holier of his predecessors did for the least of my progenitors, he should do for me, and I would rest my case'.⁷¹

The archbishop was silent for a little while, and then he responded: 'Although my antecedents were better than I am, as indeed I confess they were, they have let go by default many things for us who have entered into their labours, that we might be made sharers of their advantage. Many of them suffered, therefore, because they did not wish to leave the name of God unspoken, and should I neglect the honour of God out of favour for any man whomsoever? God forbid!'⁷² The nobles judged him arrogant, and the kings judged him unworthy of help.

After the aborted conference at Montmirail, the kings of England and France had reached a truce, and Thomas was out of favour with King Louis as a result. The archbishop tried to comfort his friends in their sadness that they no longer had a certain future. But not long after, King Louis invited Thomas to visit him. Grandisson relates how the king of France was contrite, coming to the archbishop on foot and kneeling before him, admitting how bad the royal counsel to him had been, and how the archbishop alone had seen clearly. Louis sought absolution, which Thomas gave with a benediction, and when Thomas returned to Sens, he was sustained by King Louis's beneficence until he left France.

Louis wrote ironically to Henry in response to Henry's protests at his giving Thomas sanctuary, that, 'according to the customs noted down by his grandfather', one did not send away such a valuable person. It was his custom and that of his prelates to cherish exiles, keep them, and protect them. He would write a full account to the pope of how the peace had been impeded between the archbishop and the king of England; for Louis understood that the pope, being gravely concerned, had sent nine nuncios to moderate the king's wrath. They had come to the king and diligently, frequently, met with him about this, with him always taking the opposite side or even shuffling back and forth. The efforts of the nuncios had been in

vain, and they had returned home, frustrated.⁷³

Soon after this, the king of England travelled to St Denis. The two kings and the nobles of both realms met auspiciously at the foot of the Mount of the Martyrs. According to Grandisson's abbreviated account, the king of France asked whether Henry would take back the archbishop into his grace, with the laws and the liberties of the Church which the archbishop's predecessors had had, and restore him wholly? Grandisson says that Henry assented, setting aside his anger, for he was in a tight place between the king of France on one hand and the pope on the other. However, Henry refused to give the kiss of peace, because of an oath that he had taken publicly when angry at another time. The archbishop in turn declared that he would never make peace except in the presence of the pope and his council. Henry left, swearing at the archbishop all the way. 'The hardships and weariness which had already been endured by the archbishop would have to be repeated'. Grandisson quotes Herbert of Bosham as saying, 'Today, Father, in the chapel close by was drawn up the peace of our Church, which I believe will come about only through your martyrdom'. Thomas replied, 'If only it could be freed by my blood'.⁷⁴

When Henry returned to England, he attended the coronation of his son Henry at Westminster, by the archbishop of York, assisted by the bishops of London, Salisbury, and Rochester, under the auspices of the Church of Canterbury. 'It was against the apostolic inhibition which certain of these very bishops had received before this coronation', states Grandisson, disapprovingly. 'Others who had received it had declined'.⁷⁵ Grandisson bypasses allegations that some bishops may not have received the inhibition and lists the evils which sprang from this action: the suspension of bishops and excommunication of the archbishop of York, the killing of the son in rebellion against the father, and the death of a true saint.⁷⁶

The archbishop was stunned at the coronation of the young king. He wrote in strong language to the pope about his fellow bishops, 'false brethren' who had attacked their father in defiance of the apostolic mandate. The pope finally took drastic action, ordering the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Nevers to put all Henry's lands under interdict, if

he remained stubborn in his opposition to peace with the archbishop. The pope directed letters of suspension to the archbishop of York and any others who had assisted with the coronation, stating that he would excommunicate the bishops of London and Salisbury 'for these and other reasons'; but he forwarded the letters to Thomas to carry out the sentences.

The final rendezvous took place at Fréteval in Normandy, where Henry and Thomas met with papal commissioners, the king of France, and the archbishops of Sens and Rheims. The mood of the papal commissioners was stern: 'neither by threats nor blandishments would they refrain, since the apostolic mandates were against the king. They would pursue him through his whole territory unless he quickly restored peace with the archbishop'.⁷⁷ Henry perceived his predicament, having to converse with Thomas in this meadow of traitors, while so many great men stood around. Afterwards it was called 'the day Magdalene's peace began', in reference to the time when the Lord secretly spoke to her apart. Grandisson says little about the deliberations and nothing about the kiss of peace, which was still not given. He says abruptly, that they left amicably one by one, and that the archbishop with a safe-conduct 'licence' returned to France, being wished well by his benefactors. Thomas sent letters to all his ministers in England about the peace that had been made, stating that he himself had been restored in everything.

Grandisson asserts that, because Henry had promised certain ancient feudal lands to be restored to the Church of Canterbury, Thomas sent to the king the 'noted' John of Salisbury, and Herbert of Bosham, 'who afterward wrote down brilliantly the life of this same martyr, his master'.⁷⁸ They sought restitution and were also to investigate who might be the archbishop's friends or enemies. They failed. Then Thomas went to Henry at Tours and was received coolly; he scolded the king for not fulfilling promises.⁷⁹ Henry reiterated his promises of restitution, this time in the presence of the Count of Blois. Henry wished the archbishop to return first to England, 'desiring', as he said, 'to see how the archbishop was keeping himself'.⁸⁰

The archbishop then left the king, 'not seeking anything but to recover friendship more fully'.⁸¹ Later the king received him 'in a fond and

complimentary way', saying, 'If you will do my will, I will turn over everything into your hands', which Thomas paraphrased to his own people as, 'All these things I will give you if you will fall down and worship me' (Matt. IV:9). Thomas withdrew to Sens and hurried to return to his own country 'as fast as a pauper could'. The nobles provided for him 'in the nature of things', and he took leave of King Louis, saying, 'Lord, now I am going to England to gamble with heads' (as stakes), to which Louis replied, 'So it seems to us; because if you will believe me, you will not submit yourself to your king without the kiss of peace'. The archbishop responded, 'God's will be done'. With safe conduct from the king and the magnates, he tearfully left France.⁸²

At Wissant, waiting for a ship, Thomas received a message from the Count of Bologna that there were those who sought his life and who were lying in ambush; to which the archbishop said that even if his members should be scattered, he would not leave desolate at the last the flock committed to him.⁸³ Grandisson attributes the alleged conspiracy to the bishops whom Thomas had suspended from office and others whom he had anathematized, and also names Reginald de Warenne and Ranulph de Broc, excommunicated for despoiling church property. Thomas's friends tried to persuade him not to cross the channel, but he said he wanted to go where he could find out whether or not his death was imminent.

Part III deals with Thomas's return. Grandisson says that Thomas landed at Sandwich in the seventh year of his exile and the eighth of his consecration, AD 1172 (the year is in error, for Thomas was murdered December 29, 1170). As Thomas journeyed toward Canterbury, he was received with joy by the people and especially by paupers who chanted, 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord', recalling Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem before the crucifixion.⁸⁴ Grandisson calls Thomas 'defensor inuictissimus' of his Church.

Grandisson records that the knights hurried after Thomas, protesting against their excommunications, but Thomas was firm that such usurpations as had taken place could not go unpunished, and he asserted that the excommunications had been made binding by the king. He acted on his suspension of bishops who had participated in the coronation, and he would

not listen to talk of absolution. When he arrived at Canterbury, he gave the brothers of the chapter the kiss of peace and preached on the text: 'For we have no lasting city here, but we seek one to come' (Heb. XIII:14)--perhaps a conciliatory gesture.

A delegation of bishops came seeking absolution. Thomas softened his attitude, saying he thought that he could give 'sufficient benefit' of absolution while they waited for the pope's official act. The bishops of London and Salisbury were inclined to accept his compromise, but the archbishop of York arrogantly opposed him, and he persuaded them instead to seek out the king in Normandy. 'Coming before the King prostrate, they set forth serious charges against the archbishop'. The king angrily protested that he himself would not be immune from sentence if all who had been present at his son's coronation were to be excommunicated.⁸⁵

Grandisson records Thomas's dealings with the young king Henry; when Thomas notified the young king of his arrival in Anglia and of the sentences which had been passed on the bishops who had taken part in the coronation, his messengers were sent away, with hostility. Thomas then decided to seek a personal audience with the young king, combining his journey with a visitation of his province. Grandisson says that Thomas was acclaimed by the people wherever he went, but he had not gone far outside London when the young king's uncle arrived with a message ordering Thomas to return to Canterbury and stay there. Thomas responded to him that except that the feast of Natalis Domini was approaching in which he did not wish to be absent from his Church, he would not stop for such restraints. Officials of the king then summoned elders of the clergy as well as foremost citizens who had met with him, to answer in the king's court as to why they had gone forth to meet an enemy of the king. Grandisson speaks disparagingly: 'Then his adversaries exulted on their great trumpets, especially that viperous progeny of Broc of whom one, a clerk called Robert, in contempt of the archbishop, when he met a pack-horse bearing necessities for cooking, villainously cut off its tail!'⁸⁶

Grandisson inserts a story about relics of St Lawrence and St Cecilia, brought to Thomas at Wrotham. When the archbishop inquired of the priest who brought them whether the relics were genuine, he was told that St

Lawrence himself had informed the priest that the archbishop's hair shirt had been split and, by supernatural power, subsequently mended. Since these were true facts, and Thomas had told no one that he wore a hair shirt, he accepted the relics as authentic.⁸⁷

On Christmas Day Thomas preached on 'Peace to men of good will' (Luke II:14), and he tearfully predicted that the day of his death was imminent. At the end of the sermon, he published the excommunication of Ranulf and Robert de Broc and 'many others of the King's familiars'.⁸⁸ Grandisson describes the events in the days before the archbishop's murder, with emphasis on the moods of the king who had been incited by the bishops to a devilish fury, for they wished him to take vengeance against Thomas. In his frenzy, Henry rained curses on all whom he had nourished and protected. He complained more than once of the archbishop who, he said, 'despised all his kind'. It was as if Thomas were the king's enemy, as well as the public enemy of the whole kingdom.⁸⁹ He had heard rumours of the misdeeds of his knights, named here by Grandisson: Reginald FitzUrse, Hugh de Morville, William Tracy, and Richard Brito, who had conspired and taken an oath to kill the archbishop. 'It is a wonder that their ships were in any way permitted to steer to port', says Grandisson, as he tells of their simultaneous arrival in England and of their meeting at the castle of Saltwood where, with Ranulf de Broc, they plotted to murder the *vir dei*.⁹⁰

On Holy Innocents Day the four knights came to Canterbury, but they were not yet bearing arms for fear of warning Thomas. Herbert of Bosham and Benedict report that the archbishop arose before dawn on the fifth day of Christmas, and that after nocturns, he sat with his clerks in his private rooms. The source of the remainder of Grandisson's Chapter V (Part III) is obscure. Grandisson states that the archbishop asked whether, by fleeing before daylight, anyone could successfully reach the port of Sandwich. His clerks replied that this could well be done, but they were ignorant of what his words portended; and then he said, 'Let him flee who wishes to'. Herbert describes how the archbishop's companions scattered, but Grandisson omits this, emphasizing instead that Thomas wanted to await here the fulfillment of God's will. Later at table, Thomas's servant handed him the cup, saying to him quietly that he should drink more than usual. Thomas responded: 'He who has much blood to shed ought also to drink much'. It was known that

Thomas would not be killed outside the Church, for a certain knight had intimated this secretly to a chancellor of Canterbury.⁹¹

Grandisson, following Benedict, tells how early in the day the four 'knights of the devil' had burst into Thomas's chamber. There was silence until one of the knights asked whether they should speak privately or openly, to which Thomas retorted, 'Do your work!' (John XIII:27) Then Reginald FitzUrse said that they had come from the king across the sea; that the archbishop should proceed at once to the young king to swear fidelity and to make amends for his transgressions. Thomas responded that he did not know how he had offended the king's majesty in any way, but the Church had prepared him to do what he ought. Reginald demanded that he absolve those who had been excommunicated or suspended. Thomas denied that he could do so, protesting, 'Not I, but the Lord Pope of Christ Incarnate has anathematized them!'

Reginald: 'This he did at your instigation'.

Thomas: 'If he vindicates my injury and the Church's, I confess I am not at all displeased'.

Reginald: 'Since you have presumed these things to detract from the king's coronation, it seems you wish to usurp his crown along with his kingdom'.

Thomas: 'By no means. As you say, I have rather desired many crowns for him. As for the bishops, to this act the King gave his consent'.

Reginald: 'Avoy! You accuse the Lord King of betrayal in this'.

Thomas: 'Go on--no secret agreement has been made among us. The archbishop and bishops with many magnates, nobles and knights as well as others were present--almost fifty in number. And you, Reginald, were there also'.⁹²

Reginald denied it vehemently. There was a great deal of shouting. The knights, having bolted the door, abused Thomas by saying that they had tolerated too much of him and his wealth, but, with menaces, they left.

After they had gone, those remaining understood that if they could not get the archbishop to seclude himself, they would have to stand guard; but the archbishop, rising up, told his followers, 'Do you think I will flee who have come to this point' and Grandisson adds, 'so as to lay down my soul for Christ and his flock?'⁹³ 'Here', Thomas said, 'let us await your fury. Truly

we shall not escape, even if we could'. In the general clamour and leave-taking, the archbishop put his hand to his head as if indicating where he would be struck down, saying, 'Here, here, you will certainly find me!'⁹⁴

John of Salisbury remained behind, and when the holy man had sat down again, John, 'afterwards bishop of Chartres', began to complain of the things the knights had said, as if terrified of his own death: 'What necessity was there, Father, that you should rise to the greater provocation of such evil men just as you are [that is, unprotected], and go after them right to the door? It is remarkable that you are following no one's advice'. Thomas replied: 'I have already received my counsel in full. I know well enough what will happen to me'.⁹⁵ Grandisson records the returning knights' full array of weapons: swords, clubs, battle-axes, two-edged axes, and 'all kinds of arms'. The monks urged the man of God to flee, but he remained motionless until they, fearing the shattering of bolts on the door which led from the chamber, persuaded him to enter the Church for vespers, that they might be absolved by God through their prayers.⁹⁶ Then the holy man hurried out with his cross borne before him, for he knew that the force of arms was coming; at the door of the cloister, he gathered them together and drove them all before him like a Good Shepherd.

In Part IV, Grandisson traces the events after the martyrdom. The knights plundered all the archbishop's property at the palace, including his horses; they attacked his servants in the shadows; stripped his furniture or tore it to shreds; carried off everything of value that they could. They wrote to the king in Normandy to obtain ecclesiastical privilege for Ranulf de Broc. (Grandisson gets ahead of his story here.) Then two monks found Thomas's hair undergarments which had been thrown away as worthless. Some, stupefied by the discovery of such secret devotion, said, 'Truly this man was holy' (Luke XXIII:47).⁹⁷

When the murderers were leaving, it seemed to the monks that the earth trembled as if to swallow up those evil men. Grandisson interjects that William Tracy afterwards confessed to his bishop, Bartholomew of Exeter. 'The night of the murder they all traveled for almost forty miles. In the morning they came to the archbishop's manor of South Malling. When they entered the hall, while taking off their gear, they threw their armor and

weapons down on the great table. The table, recoiling, threw them far from itself to deny its service to the defilers. This very table has been preserved and shown in the same place, in memory of the miracle'. (Grandisson's source is unknown.)⁹⁸

Grandisson describes the details of the scene after the murder: how the top of the head had to be fastened; how the monks lifted Thomas to put him near the high altar and found a hammer and a two-edged battle-axe underneath; how only one trickle of blood crossed his face 'like a diadem'; how his blood flowed all night, but in the morning he appeared only as though he were sleeping.⁹⁹

The monks prepared in the crypt a grave of new stone for the archbishop, fearing lest he be stolen or ravaged (Grandisson does not mention threats made by Robert de Broc), and when the monks were dressing him in his rough garments and cowl, they said: 'See what sort of person he was: what greed or treason or false pride was in that man who had suppressed in himself the delights of the world and the flesh in a way as hidden as it was powerful!'¹⁰⁰ He was buried in front of the altar of John the Baptist and of Augustine, Apostle of the English.

When Henry heard that the 'blessed man' had been killed by his own swords, he sent two clerks to Canterbury to attempt to lessen the blame for himself ('ad excusacionem suam'). Grandisson emphasizes Henry's concern lest evil happen to the kingdom because of the infamy. Since the king knew 'that their minds had always truly been dedicated to evil deeds', he immediately ordered the knights to be recalled to Normandy. 'He fasted, mourning bitterly, did not mount a horse, and for grief, postponed business throughout the whole kingdom'.¹⁰¹ Grandisson says that the king also by messengers pretended his innocence to Pope Alexander. The two cardinal legates provided salvation for the king and absolution for the excommunicated bishops, but when it came to the peace of the Church, the king refused to swear to obey the pope's absolute mandates; later on he promised that he would do whatever they enjoined him to do, and at Avranches he capitulated entirely. There he accepted three conditions: that he would keep two hundred knights at his own expense in the Holy Land for a year; that he would revoke the Constitutions of Clarendon, subjecting

earlier customs to papal review; that he would not only restore Canterbury's property, but also all those with whom he had been offended would be restored to his peace and grace.¹⁰²

Grandisson does not indicate the timing of any of these events. He says that the first contract was delayed because the papal envoys wanted also the consent of the young king Henry. At Henry's acceptance of the other conditions enjoined on him by the cardinals 'for the amendment of such great sins', Grandisson shows sympathy: 'It was said openly, "Thus he puts his body totally in their hands, so that to Jerusalem or Rome or any other place whatsoever they may command him to go, he will rise up ready to obey". Those who were present, seeing his humble devotion, could not restrain their tears'.¹⁰³ There is a brief notice of Henry's public penance at Avranches, and of the absolution of anathematized clergy, followed closely by an oath taken by the young king Henry to carry out anything unfulfilled by his father. Grandisson includes various measures, but telescopes events. His main emphasis is that the measures were acceptable; though his concern is with the restoration of the liberties of the Church, he reflects a forgiving attitude toward Henry.

Then war broke out between Henry and his sons. 'Henry heard of and certainly believed in the miracles which daily Christ performed at the tomb of his martyr Thomas; and mindful of their former close relationship with one another, and of the fact that he had performed holy penance for his transgressions, he trusted in divine forbearance'.¹⁰⁴ Grandisson gives details of Henry's pilgrimage to Canterbury in self-abasement (following Herbert of Bosham). But he adds what appears to be his own commentary concerning the Constitutions of Clarendon: 'Alas for sorrow! Now many more of these ['consuetudines'] either similar or worse arise daily, which will require blood to abolish, either of this same martyr or of some of his followers'.¹⁰⁵

'On the morrow when the King came from Mass, he heard the martyr's voice, that he should humbly without washing his feet nor refreshing himself, commend himself in prayer to the holy martyr and return to his patronage with certain hope'.¹⁰⁶ Grandisson says that at the hour when Henry was present at the Mass for the martyr, the king of the

Scots was captured.¹⁰⁷ The king ascribed to the martyr the peace which was brought to the land ('which was not wholly unmerited'). Grandisson generalizes, omitting much, that all who had rebelled against Henry had 'fallen in the pit', and even the son who rose against his father was quickly removed from this life.¹⁰⁸

Grandisson is more grim than his source when he describes the sufferings of the murderers: they had, in the eyes of all, begun a journey to Jerusalem, but their ways parted and they became ill so that their limbs 'putrified' and their flesh was torn away to the bare sinews, being stretched on the bones. They had all died within three years.¹⁰⁹ Grandisson does not discuss the individual miracles associated with Thomas; he says only, 'The dead shall rise and bring to pass miracles unheard of formerly'. Pope Alexander, through his legates, certified the miracles, and he canonized the blessed Thomas. He decreed that Thomas's name should be added to the catalogue of martyr saints and that his feast should be solemnly celebrated 'to the praise and glory of Our Lord Jesus Christ'.¹¹⁰

Grandisson did not need the accounts of miracles after Thomas's death to convince him of Thomas's sainthood; he had become convinced through the retelling of Thomas's story.¹¹¹ What did Grandisson understand by sainthood? First of all, saints are chosen by God to carry out His special purposes, and their chosen status is indicated by God through visions and other portents. Early in the narrative, Grandisson relates how Thomas's special status was signaled in the visions his mother had before his birth: 'She saw the Thames River as if it were her own stream flowing into his, which signified that he who would be born from her would rule many people'. 'And she even saw herself wishing to enter the Church of Canterbury and with her swelling womb scarcely able to do so'. 'Again, it appeared to her that twelve stars had fallen from heaven into her lap'. (The most likely association is with the twelve apostles, as if he too might 'shine forth' as they had done.)¹¹²

Thomas's special status was further validated by coincidences occurring through his being named after Thomas the Apostle. Grandisson says,

At last the boy was born into the world on the fifth day of the year [Dec.21] before the feast Natalis Domini. He was called 'Thomas' from Thomas the Apostle who, just after Natalis Domini on the fifth day, was born into heaven [Dec.29]. Bethlehem is said to be equally distant from India in which the Apostle is buried and from Canterbury in which the archbishop is buried: just so the two nativities precede or follow Natalis Domini with equal step.¹¹³

The only reason one can give for Grandisson's choosing to tell the tale of Thomas's mother (besides his possible interest in a romantic and interesting account) is that it helps to establish the special characteristics of Thomas's rise. Gilbert Becket, with his servant Richard, went to the Holy Land; was captured and imprisoned by the Saracens; served in chains at the emir's table; and was observed by the emir's only and very beautiful daughter who fell in love with him. The girl began to ask diligently about his fatherland, his origin and his faith; 'and when she had heard that he would die willingly for his God, she promised that she would become a Christian if he would take her in marriage.'¹¹⁴ Subsequently he escaped from his prison. Overcome with sadness at his departure, she decided to follow him, left the same night, and not without many unbelievable dangers including wandering beasts, she came to London.

When it was published throughout the city that a certain young woman with unknown race and speech had been roaming through the neighborhood with young boys following and deriding her, Richard, Gilbert's servant, came running, and recognizing her immediately, told his lord'.¹¹⁵ She was taken to Gilbert's mother, who ministered to her needs. Gilbert went for advice to the bishop of London at St Paul's, where a number of bishops had met to conduct the business of the kingdom. He explained the situation to them. The bishop of Chichester, 'who was present among the rest, with prophetic voice asserted that a divinely-created offspring who would follow, would raise up Holy Church.'¹¹⁶ Gilbert, with the counsel of pontiffs, was baptized by six bishops and solemnly led his betrothed in marriage. Thomas was conceived that night, and on the next day, Gilbert left again with Richard for Jerusalem, to be gone three years and a half.

There might be some prestige attached to Gilbert's having been a

'soldier of Christ' in the Holy Land, though there is no suggestion among other sources that he was of the knightly class. Grandisson is matter-of-fact about the sequel: 'Gilbert, not a little happy with the home and family which had been arranged, set out again for Jerusalem, having acquired the necessary goods'.¹¹⁷ However, the circumstances surrounding the meeting at St Paul's and the endorsement of the marriage by six bishops, had added lustre to the account of Thomas's origin and weight to the concept that he was specially chosen.¹¹⁸

Grandisson understood that the status of sainthood was not dependent on moral perfection. In choosing Thomas, God did not interfere with Thomas's freedom to make decisions. Grandisson was indulgent toward Thomas's weaknesses: his eagerness to become archbishop 'uncanonically' over protests by monks of Canterbury and by certain bishops; his vacillation concerning the Constitutions of Clarendon; his provocations of speech and manner; his inability to accept counsel-- Grandisson records these without judgment. Thomas's martyrdom was a matter of his own choice; certainly his friends, especially John of Salisbury (f. 42v), tried to persuade him to a more moderate course.

Finally, saints must be single-minded in their commitment. There is a change in Grandisson's attitude with Thomas's conversion (when Thomas 'put off the old man and ran to meet the new', f. 8r); afterwards Grandisson refers to him as *vir dei* and sometimes *beatus*. Thomas's cause was to defend the liberties of the Church against secular usurpation. Knowing Henry as well as he did, Thomas could not see Henry's yielding. Since the natures of the two protagonists were implacable (demonstrated by Grandisson), the quarrel could only be terminated by the death of one of them. God's fore-knowledge revealed to Becket what he already knew in his own heart--that he would be killed if he held to his beliefs. Becket seems to have understood that he and Henry were on a collision course. Only after he had decided to meet death (which he conceived as the only way to achieve the Church's liberty) did Grandisson call him 'Saint'.

The main matter with which the Life is concerned is the interplay between the powers of Church and State, and the relative spheres within which each should operate consistent with the will of God. Henry II and

Becket were ideally suited to dramatize the issues: they were well-matched. Grandisson showed no bias toward either Thomas or Henry: he had let events speak for themselves and reveal the purposes of God. The Life of Becket was like a grand drama in which the outcome was not to be known until the finale. Grandisson accepts that Thomas's scholarly attainments were not equal to those of Herbert of Bosham, but other qualities stand out: the phenomenal memory, the ability to plan and carry out strategies in politics and war, the seamanship of manoeuvring a small boat while steering by the sun. Henry's prowess is inferred by his success in military campaigns, which depended on his sagacity and his ability to move men and supplies quickly. His power was seemingly illimitable, his resources of money and men were so great. In Grandisson's time as in Becket's, the king's wealth and influence gave him control over the destinies, even the very bodies, of his subjects. Grandisson exemplifies Henry's cruelty in the sufferings of Becket's exiled friends, and in the mutilations performed on criminals. The Church's role was to admonish and reprimand the king in order to protect the welfare of the people. It could only stand against him by spiritual force, unswervingly asserting the right and arousing the people against the wrong.

Grandisson demonstrated that the Church's power was not inconsequential. It was betokened when the crowds of poor people Becket had championed gathered to meet him on his return from exile, shouting, 'Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord'.¹¹⁹

Grandisson's study of the problems of *regnum/sacerdotium* is indicated by his annotations in many books, among them the Bible, Augustine's *De civitati Dei*, and works of Anselm and Grosseteste, who may have served as role models. He annotated his copy of the Bible, no. 7, on kingship.¹²⁰ In I Kings VIII:11-22, he bracketed and marked *ius regis*, a subject which began negatively: 'This will be the right of the king who will reign over you'. (In summary): he will enslave your sons and daughters, will take your fields and vineyards and give them to his servants, take the tenth of your corn and tithe your flocks to give to his eunuchs and servants. 'And you shall cry out in that day. . . and the Lord will not hear you, because you

desired unto yourselves a king'. For this high price, the king would judge them, would go out before them and fight their battles. God had conceded a king to the people reluctantly, because of their vanity and frailty. The people already had God the King, who governed through Samuel the high priest.¹²¹

Grandisson noted the weaknesses of the kings who served as first models--Saul, David with Bathsheba, Solomon 'de uxoribus et concubinis' (with pointing finger), Joash who ransomed his country's wealth, and Ahab, whose vivid story Grandisson noted in several places: not a very illustrious collection with whom to build a concept of *regnum*. Two important ideas are emphasized in these accounts: that the king, in spite of his foibles, was chosen by God; and that the sign of his kingship was anointing by a priest.¹²² 'And Samuel took a little vial of oil and poured it upon his (Saul's) head, and kissed him, and said: Behold, the Lord hath anointed thee to be prince over His inheritance, and thou shalt deliver His people out of the hands of their enemies. . .' (I Kings X:1). Both kings and priests were the chosen of God--if they behaved humbly and justly, they prospered. If they did not, they met their downfall, and the people suffered, as well.¹²³

Grandisson made an extensive study of kingship in Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and marked passages relevant to the subject in the Cathedral copy, no. 32. Augustine had written, 'Without the slightest doubt, the kingdoms of men are established by divine providence', to which Grandisson commented 'God gives the right to rule' ('Deus dat regna'), adding a gloss to the effect that 'In the City of this world, God gives the kingdoms on earth to both the good and the bad'.¹²⁴ To indicate one of the most important passages (the so-called 'Mirror of Princes'), Grandisson wrote a heading in display script: 'Condiciones bonorum Regum', and below, 'Nota quales debent esse reges'.¹²⁵ Kings were required to fear God, to rule justly, and to live humbly. Though the passage acknowledges the necessity for the king to direct and protect the state, he must act with restraint and not indulge his appetites, even though free to do so.

Grandisson gave a page in the Life of Becket to the problem of criminous clerks, pointing out that ecclesiastical justice was not being meted out. The Church's canons were useful grist for Becket when he was

defending himself against accusations, but were not helpful to him in controlling the wanton actions of criminous clerks, for the Church's most extreme penalties were deposition, excommunication, incarceration, exile or confinement to a monastery--ultimately ineffective against contumacy.¹²⁶ Grandisson found a statement by Pope Innocent to Bishop Exuperius of Toulouse about those 'who either have employed torture only or else also carried out a capital sentence'. On this the pope said, 'We read nothing definite about them from the Fathers'.¹²⁷ (Grandisson marked this with a large floral emblem and 'Nota per optime'). *Capitula Angilramni* XLIV has this statement: 'For an informer the tongue should be taken away, or the head should be taken away from a convict', but a marginal note in book hand states, 'this "capitulum" is not canonical but is taken over from secular laws'. It would appear that Grandisson was unsuccessful in finding *auctoritates* about what was to be done with criminous clerks, except that all accused clerks were clearly to be tried in ecclesiastical courts, and directions were given to judges and accused alike as to court procedure. However, Grandisson labelled one section Nota de clericis petentibus iusticiam in curia regis, indicating that in his time, clerks could choose to have their cases heard in the king's court.¹²⁸

The Becket controversy was not the earliest conflict closely studied by Grandisson to determine the relative powers of Church and State. There had been controversy between Anselm and Henry I. Grandisson searched his considerable collection of the letters of Anselm (no. 16; see above Chapter IV), bypassing those concerned with Anselm's earlier life before exile, but annotating the later letters which had to do with Anselm's defense of the liberties of the Church. Nota monograms which Grandisson placed in his *tabula* indicate letters relevant to the controversy between Church and State, though he did not annotate the texts of all letters so marked. The date 1364 may be taken as the *terminus ad quem* of Grandisson's quest, for in that year he gave his copy of the Anselm manuscript to Archbishop Simon Islip.

The movement toward centralization of the Church was under way in Anselm's time. The most consistent characteristic of Anselm's letters is his reliance on the pope for direction and support. Anselm wrote to Pope Urban II (c.1098) wishing to be relieved of his archiepiscopate (Grandisson's

heading: * ad papam vrbatum secundum conquerando--Nota bene.) Anselm said that he had been archbishop for four years without profit; he would rather die outside England than live as he had been living, with his soul facing damnation because of his 'immensis et execrabilibus tribulationibus'. William Rufus had given Church lands to his own soldiers; had withheld the Church's temporalities; had exacted heavy servitude from Anselm such as had been unknown to Anselm's predecessors. 'He has buried the law of God', said Anselm, 'both canonically and by apostolic authority, through his willful practices'. Anselm desired to come to the pope at that time, but it was not possible.¹²⁹ Double Nota monograms beside the letter emphasize its importance to Grandisson.

The English Church had endured some of its greatest trials in the reign of William Rufus.¹³⁰ Grandisson followed the details of Anselm's subsequent exile; how Rufus abused the monks and converted the archiepiscopacy to his own benefit; how Anselm did not excommunicate him because he did not want to give Rufus an opportunity to mock him. The quarrel went on for more than three years. After his exile, Anselm thought of his alienation from his episcopate with regret, for during that time the property for which he had been responsible had been despoiled. He therefore sent a letter to the pope in which he restated his oath of obedience to the Holy See and the liberties of the Church (Grandisson: Nota).¹³¹ He had held on to what property he could, warning Samuel, bishop of Dublin for example, against giving away vestments and books to outsiders, and he had demanded restitution of the Church's property.¹³² To preserve the Church intact in every way was his life's commitment.

As we have observed elsewhere, Grandisson was in favour of a strong centralized Church, having, as he did, close relationships with popes rather than archbishops whom he sometimes regarded as time-servers, not *virī dei*. Thus he viewed with interest the contest between Canterbury and York over primatial status in an attempt to unify England under one head. Anselm had tried to act on the precedent established by Lanfranc that the archbishop of York should make his profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, and Pope Paschal supported him in a letter directed to Archbishop Gerard of York, dated December 12, 1102 (Grandisson glossed, 'Cantuar'/Eborac').¹³³ But early in 1101, Anselm had

requested the pope to send the pallium for Gerard, whom he had described at that time as 'vir admodum litteratus et in ecclesiasticis disciplinis eruditus'.¹³⁴ He could scarcely gainsay his former praise. Anselm did not receive his letter establishing the primacy of Canterbury until November 16, 1103; thus Gerard was able to evade the issue.¹³⁵ (Of little practical use to Anselm, the letter would nevertheless be important for Thomas Becket in his similar struggle.) Anselm required that Thomas, Gerard's successor, come to Canterbury to make his profession of obedience before receiving the gift of consecration; after that Anselm would give him the letters he required in order to receive the pallium.¹³⁶ Thomas made excuse after excuse for not complying, and finally he was put under interdict (this Grandisson headed, f. 161, 'Terribilis monicio contra Eboracum'). Anselm died on April 21, 1109, before the issue was resolved.

Grandisson had two precedents in Anselm and Becket, when dealing with the encroachment of the State upon the prerogatives of the Church. Bishop Grosseteste provided another model, but in a different situation, where the high priest, the pope, was at fault.

Although Grandisson viewed the pope's *plenitudo potestatis* as a God-given right, he nevertheless accepted the possibility of abuse of that power. Letter 128 of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253, concerns the provision by the pope's nephew, Cardinal Guglielmo, of Federico da Lavagna (another nephew) to a canonry and prebend at Lincoln.¹³⁷ Previously an indult from the pope had exempted Grosseteste from accepting any provision, since the *cura animarum* was his own primary prerogative. Leonard Boyle in 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care' states that Grosseteste's indignation was aroused by the pope's use of 'notwithstanding' clauses which ignored the seriousness of a bishop's pastoral duty.¹³⁸ Grosseteste said, 'Those who minister the cure of souls in a slipshod way stifle the life of God in the sheep committed to their care', and he spoke of 'cheating and defrauding the pastoral care'. Some weeks after Grosseteste's death Pope Innocent IV published an encyclical letter, *Postquam regimini*, in which he ruled that from then on, 'all prelates, chapters, convents, and patrons in general could themselves confer on persons of their own choice any prebends, benefices and incomes which might be granted to foreigners by the papacy or others in the service of the

papacy'.¹³⁹

Grandisson did not comment on Grosseteste's letter; he added apparatus to improve the *ordinatio*: numbered sections, labeled the conclusion and the final argument, and so on. Grandisson would have been impressed that a bishop (whose reputation he knew and admired) should point out error to the pope, as an obedient son behaves toward his father and mother. Having a similar commitment, he would also appreciate the strength of Grosseteste's commitment to the cure of souls. Here was a bishop who dared to speak out against error even in the highest places.

Contemporary circumstances provided the *raison d'être* for Grandisson's examination of Becket's life, for the situation in his own time recalled that of Becket's. Grandisson was no less certain than Becket that the liberties of the Church should be protected by her bishops. In practice Grandisson used diplomacy to accomplish his aims, and he rarely came into direct conflict.¹⁴⁰ Like Becket at one point, he may have felt he was 'not yet suitable to be a martyr'. By contrast with Becket his aims were achieved by firmness and patience. He strengthened ties with the pope and with his fellow bishops, so that he could appeal to their assistance if he needed it.¹⁴¹ He forestalled some problems with 'criminous clerks' by educating his clergy and examining them critically for worthiness before ordination.¹⁴²

A crisis occurred when Edward III failed to raise the revenues he needed to lay siege to Tournai, a campaign he had planned to launch in midsummer, 1340.¹⁴³ He was stretched financially far beyond his means, but he blamed his lack of funds on his regency at home whose acting head was John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury and, until recently, his chancellor. Parliament had agreed to taxation of a ninth for the years 1340 and 1341, but collection of the tax was slow. As a result, Edward lost Tournai; harassment by debt collectors became unbearable, and his personal animosity toward Stratford, vitriolic.¹⁴⁴ The tax-paying population was in a rebellious mood because of arbitrary exactions, and when Archbishop Stratford was accused in the general purge of Edward's administration, he appealed to the people, using the Cathedral pulpit as a rostrum. Speaking in English on St Thomas's Feast Day,

December 29, 1340, he told his hearers that he was 'not unfamiliar with the history of the martyr of Canterbury'.

In much the same way as Becket, Stratford blamed himself for having 'paid tithes to the king'; he then excommunicated all (except the royal family) 'who should violate the Great Charter, the peace of the land or the liberties of the Church'.¹⁴⁵ Grandisson published these sentences to the letter. The dean of Exeter Cathedral read out the mandate in Latin and 'postea in vulgari' on every Sunday from the Feast of Purification (Feb. 2) to Easter (April 8); Grandisson also sent the manifesto to the outlying archdeaconries.¹⁴⁶ In March Grandisson sent virtually the same letter in French to his cousin Hugh Courtenay, count of Devon, and 'his companions, Justices for certain Commissions of our Lord the King'.¹⁴⁷ Clause six sought to forestall arrests in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall by commissions of 'trailbaston'--a colloquial word for a commission which had unusual powers, especially to levy fines. Edward was displeased at Grandisson's firm action, but he granted Stratford's wish to be tried by his peers and called Parliament for April 23 (a Parliament Grandisson attended).¹⁴⁸ Stratford acquitted himself so well that the king excused him, and he was soon restored to the king's favour. In seven other instances Grandisson published general sentences of excommunication in order to protect the liberties of the Church, the latest recorded being in 1359.

In at least one other instance Grandisson put his life and reputation at risk by opposing commissioners of the king who had been sent into the West Country to investigate alleged outrages committed by clergy in Devon and Cornwall. Grandisson excommunicated these commissioners and was called to account at Westminster, September 29, 1342. Hingeston-Randolph summarizes the events, but does not indicate the extent of Grandisson's careful preparation of his case, nor the weightiness of the outcome.¹⁴⁹ Two sentences suffice to indicate the gravity of the occasion:

By a happy coincidence, as the Bishop tells us, the Provincial Council was in full session at the time, and he resolved to make the most of the opportunity. Accompanied by all the Prelates and other Magnates of the Realm, he appeared before the Council, which was presided over by the Duke of Cornwall (Edward, the Black Prince) in the King's absence; and the case was heard and

determined in the Bishop's favour by an unanimous vote, the sentences of outlawry (against the clergy) being declared null and void, and all other proceedings of the Commissioners within the two Counties suspended till the next session of Parliament.¹⁵⁰

Unlike Anselm or Becket, Grandisson never faced a royal challenge without the manifest backing of other bishops. Grandisson had considerable skills in diplomacy, but Edward III was more conciliatory than Henry II. Grandisson kept in touch with his fellow bishops (and with cardinals, popes, papal legates in England as well), sending his Official, William Nassington, to convey matters *viva voce* which were too sensitive or too complicated to put in letters. He gave his support to other bishops in need, as with John Stratford, but also as part of a contingent. He never asked for more than was right and just, and he knew the limitations of his position. Because he supported the king wholeheartedly when asked, the two had an amicable relationship, rarely coming into conflict. In 1342 Edward III had been violating for some time not only clerical rights, but rights granted to all free men by the Great Charter, in his desperation to finance the war with France. Grandisson decided to stop the injustice. One has only to think of Thomas of Lancaster to realize how badly this confrontation might have ended.

Though Grandisson carried out his study of *regnum/sacerdotium* over many years, his early research into the Life of Becket enabled him to be confident in the action he should take as a bishop against injustice, whenever he came into conflict with royal power. This confidence is characteristic of him throughout his long episcopate.

CHAPTER VI--NOTES

As Grandisson probably did not title his manuscript, I have extrapolated 'Life of Becket' from his first lines, and use it without reversed commas.

1. I am indebted to A. I. Doyle for his notes on the manuscripts at Rome, which I have not seen.
2. Not all manuscripts contained the Legend of Augustine (see Appendix II). MS Bodley 493 and CCCC MS 177 both contain it.
3. Three successive bishops of Canterbury showed an interest in Grandisson's Life of Becket: Thomas Cranmer (1532-1553), who autographed and annotated CCCC MSS 464 and 298; Cardinal Reginald Pole (1556-1558), who possessed Bodleian MS Bodley 493, but did not annotate it; and Matthew Parker (1559-1575), who inscribed in red crayon CCCC MS 275 (f. 216v) and wrote various other notes in small black script. Parker's annotations were principally for purposes of identification.

Besides the Corpus Christi College manuscripts, Archbishop Cranmer also autographed and annotated Grandisson's copy of the letters of Anselm (no. 16). His notes show that he was also researching *regnum/sacerdotium*, and his notes overlap with Grandisson's. They can be distinguished from Grandisson's by the fact that he used black ink, whereas Grandisson used brown. The asterisks, underlining in black ink, and occasional notes in a small script, are Cranmer's. Professor Dearmaid MacCulloch, University of Bristol, is studying Cranmer and confirmed Cranmer's hand in CCCC MS 298.

4. See T. D. Hardy, *Cat.*, II, pp. 346-48. Robertson printed the Brussels edition in *Mats* but not the Paris one, adding some (by no means all) significant variations of the Paris edition verbatim in footnotes. Of the two manuscript copies of the Evesham manuscript cited by Hardy, one, MS Bibl. du Roi 5372, was copied in 1411 and begins Book I, ch. 8. The other, Bodleian Library MS Bodley E. Mus. 133 (SC 3512) is a fragment. As I have been unable to locate a complete copy of the Evesham manuscript, I have cited Grandisson's sources from the readings which most nearly agree with his.

The sources cited are given here in the order in which they are printed in *Mats*: Wm. (William of Canterbury), Benedict of Peterborough), John of Salis. (Salisbury), Alan (of Tewksbury), (Edward) Grim, Wm. F-S (William Fitz-Stephen), Herbert (of Bosham), Anon. (Anonymous I, II), and Quad. (Quadrilogus).

5. See Itinerary, *Reg.* III, 1524, 1526. Grandisson praises the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, in his letter of transmittal of 1357. (M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, p. xlv). He visited Canterbury in Dec. 1326, Feb. 1327, and October 1331; he was at Lambeth April 25, 1331, and in London for most of October 1331, and February-March, 1332. His last recorded trip to London was in May 1356. The records are undoubtedly incomplete (*Reg.* III, 1530n33). Grandisson could also have been

assisted by his protégée, John Bloyou, canon of Exeter, who became Official of the Court of Canterbury, Oct. 1328 (*Reg. I*, 182-83). Adam Murimuth, canon of Exeter and Grandisson's friend, had many associations with Canterbury; thus Grandisson was not without contacts for obtaining his source materials.

6. Grandisson sent a gift of a book to each of the popes in his forty-two year episcopate, except Innocent VI, (coronation Dec. 1352) for which the record may have been lost.
7. *Reg. I*, 117: 'In consimili namque Beatus Thomas, Martir, inter Missarum solempnia, cantantibus clericis, contemplabatur; cujus Vitam, ex multis scriptoribus in manipulum per me noviter redactam, ex causa certa, Sanctitatis vestre oculis destino intuendam.'
Grandisson had bought the manor and advowson of Ottery with his own money from the Chapter of Rouen Cathedral to whom it had been given by Edward the Confessor in 1061. The date of conveyance is June 13, 1335, and royal licence for the foundation of the College is dated Dec. 15, 1337. No doubt Grandisson in his enthusiasm wrote his former tutor as soon as he received the conveyance, but Benedict XII withheld his approval, and Clement VI finally issued the foundation bull dated Avignon, June 27, 1342 (Oliver, *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, Exeter, London, 1846 pp. 259-60).
8. Hingeston-Randolph citing Oliver, *Lives*, p. 85, says that this manuscript was Supellex Library MS.G.75 (*Reg. I*, 117n1). HMC Appendix to *Reports V*, VIII, IX, 1876-83, and *Various Collections I*, 205, J. B. Sheppard, ed., records Grandisson's letter in Canterbury Cathedral Register E, Appendix A, p. 32.
9. f. 1r) 'Prologus vite beati Thome martiris compendiose et historice a Johanne de Grandissono Exoniensi episcopo collecte . Archi presulis necnon et archimartiris anglorum Thome vitales <vi>te finisque flores et fructus sequencium sensibus breuiter ut potui inserer(e). cupiens ipsos rogo lectores. quatinus miserum Johannem Exoniensem. nomine non re de Grandissono dei matri et eius martiri recommendent'.
10. (f. 3r) 'Benedictionibus diuine dulcedinis preuentus insignis martir et pontifex Thomas cuius capiti testa pro cristo abrasa corona est imposita de lapide precioso'. Thomas's status among the chosen is indicated by his being 'marked' (as by the mark of Cain, which was protective, or by the sign of the Cross); *praeuentus* is usually used for the 'prevenient God' who goes before His people indicating the Way. I believe the resonance ('crown of head'... 'crown of precious stones') is intentional. The crown of the head with its tonsured fringe was, in a way, sacred. To be attacked there made the outrage all the greater. The contrast presented from ignominy to beatitude is similar to the 'crown of thorns' versus the 'crown of glory'.
11. Grandisson's usual references to the protagonists are 'the archbishop' and 'the king'. Though Grandisson does not show bias, he occasionally shows moral outrage against an unjust or criminal act; his anger is against the perpetrator no matter who it may be. Contrast the clearly biased account of Guernes (Garnier) de Pont Sainte-Maxence, *Vie Saint Thomas le Martyr* (ed. E. Walberg, Lund, 1922), whose account favours

Thomas from the Prologue and throughout. See lines 881-956; ll91-1236; and passim. (Or see *Garnier's Becket*, trans. by Janet Shirley, London, 1975).

12. (f. 5r, line 14) 'Tantus eciam iuueni inerat amor veri quod numquam contrarium protulit ueritati'.
13. (Ibid., line 10) 'Ac venatui et aucupatui se indulsit vnde et quadam die talibus intentus fere extitit submersus'; from Grim, II, 360.
14. (Ibid., line 12) '...tanto ingenii urgebat acumine ut difficiles solueret questiones et semel audita memoriter retineret'; from John of Salis., II, 302.
15. (Ibid., lines 16-17) 'Animaduertens autem inter laicos contra honestatem cleri multa fieri et suo proposito aduersari. diuina potius quam humana gracia ab archiepiscopo Cantuar' Theobaldo in familiarem est retentus'
16. (f. 5v) from Wm. F-S, III, 16-17: 'Processu temporis et meritorum ejus, ordinavit eum archiepiscopus diaconum, et fecit Cantuariensis ecclesiae archidiaconum: post episcopos et abbates, in ecclesia Anglorum hic primus et dignior est personatus. . .', p. 17
17. (f. 5v, line 7) 'Videns archiepiscopus Regem iuuenem prauorum consilio clerum et populum pretextu iuris ut aiebat regii pregrauare. vt Thomas eius archidiaconus Regis efficeretur cancellarius procurauit' (Wm., I, 4-5). 'Itaque Thomas moribus et pompis regalibus se conformans. quantum sibi licuit iura semper ecclesiastica deffendebat' (ibid.)
18. 'Et licet mundus fallax sibi in omnibus arrideret. quod in talibus rarum est carnis semper mundiciam conseruabat Quamuis ^{autem} ^{pro} Regis honore et prouincialium utilitate ad bestias curie pugnaret (John of Salisbury's phrase, borrowed also by William of Canterbury) ^{tamen} contra regias oppressiones et usurpaciones quodam presagio dimicabat Vnde tot difficultates. labores. afflictiones et insidias perpessus est. ut archiepiscopo et amicis lacrimando diceret se vite sue tedere'. Grandisson paraphrases more than one source here: Wm., I, 5, and John of Salis., II, 304-5; see also *Quadrilogus*, IV, 273-74. On Thomas's dual roles, see Barlow, p. 82. See Knowles, *TB*, p. 28, and n3.
19. As he sometimes does elsewhere, Grandisson has telescoped time here: John of Salisbury tells of scourging after Thomas's consecration as archbishop. (f. 6r, lines 7-8) '...quociens ei uacabat secretas disciplinas nudo corpore capiebat In oculis hominum et humilibus humilis. et elatis feros extitit et inuictus'; from Wm. F-S, III, 22. Thomas's chastity is a quality much emphasized by the sources. See W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), p. 449 and references cited; Knowles, *TB*, p. 41 and n3.
20. (f. 6r, lines 4-6) 'In tantum regis promeruit gratiam ut filium suum et heredem henricum cum multis coetaneis nobilibus ei traderet educandum'; from Herbert, III, 176-77.
21. (f. 6r, lines 9-13) 'Qualiter autem in obsidione ciuitatis tholosane et

multorum castrorum capcione et domini sui Regis anglie contra insultus regis Francie seruitio sese strenue gesserit. non possit breuibus explicari'; Wm. F-S, III, 29-35. See Knowles, *TB*, p. 38; Barlow, pp. 57-58; Warren (note 19, above), p. 401.

22. (f. 7r, lines 1-4) Much abbreviated from John of Salis., II, 306.
23. (f. 7r, lines 4-8) 'Statuebat enim in corde suo aut eam ab indebita seruitute liberare cum indignacione eciamsi oporteret regia. aut animam pro cristi grege ponere eo quod cerneret publicam potestatem indifferenter ecclesiasticas causas ad examen convocare vetitum'; John of Salis., II, 306.
24. (f. 8r, line 15) 'Thomas occurrit obuam nudus pedes Ex tunc ueterem hominem cum eius actibus exuens. nouum induit a domino recreatum'; Grim, II, 370; John of Salis., II, 306; Wm. F-S, III, 37. On the vision, Herbert, III, 186. On Thomas's nocturnal devotions, John of Salis., II, 306-8; Herbert, III, 199-202.
25. (f. 9r, lines 1-3) 'Secum eciam viros sciencia et moribus excellentissimos retinebat plures. ex quorum consorcio et alloquio quotidie proficiebat'; Herbert, III, 523-30. See also Knowles, *TB*, pp. 56-57; Barlow, pp. 77-79.
26. (ff. 9v-10r) Herbert, III, 226, 208-11; John of Salis., II, 307. On the metaphor (f. 10, line 12), Herbert, III, 250.
27. (f. 10, lines 15-17) 'Secularibus enim negociis eum pro temporalibus dispersis ecclesie sue congregandis et habitis conseruandis oportuit implicari'. Knowles, *TB*, pp. 77-78, discusses Becket's moves to restore church power.
28. (f. 10v, lines 6-9) 'Rex uero quia archiepiscopum diligebat auditum a talibus auertebat et responsum usque ad reditum suum propinquum in angliam differebat'.
29. (Ibid., lines 9-16) 'Cumque apud Southampton' rex applicuisset. archiepiscopus et regis primogenitus ei accurrentes. cum maximo gaudio sunt recepti Auxit et regi non modicam leticiam quod tunc primo Cancellarium suum videbat archiepiscopum et quia multa sanctitatis eius merita secrecius audiebat Quod de eodem queruli sui audientes ulterius tacuerunt'
30. (f. 11r, lines 1-3) 'Quem dominus papa benignissime suscepit quia eum diu desiderauerat uidere de quo tot bona audierat predicari.'
31. (f. 11r, line 5) '...archiepiscopus in Anglia reuersus et a rege more solito benignissime susceptus est'
32. (f. 11rv) 'Nichil enim in mundi prosperis uel humanis actibus diuturnum Videns enim hostis humanus tantam regni et sacerdocii vnitatem inuidit et eam subuertere quamtocius procurauit Et primum quidem seminarium sumpsit quod archiepiscopus pastoralis officio uolens intendere et deo plenius seruire ac uacare. rogauit regem vt de alio sibi prouideret Cancellario. quia ipse duobus officiis non poterat

- intendere nec duobus dominis deservire'; Herbert, III, 261, as a prelude to discussion of criminous clerks. Grandisson uses it as a prelude to Thomas's request to be relieved of the chancellor's duties, following Wm., I, 12. This request was made sometime between Thomas's consecration, June 3, 1162, and October 1163. See Barlow, p. 82.
33. (f. 11v, line 13) 'Sacerdos quidam cum clericis peruersis de criminibus accusati in carcere. tenebantur Cumque sacerdos de homicidio in curia regis dampnatus propter ordinis priuilegium episcopo saresburiensi traderetur et tam a propinquis defuncti quam regis officialibus ecclesiastica iusticia instantissime peteretur.' Herbert, III, 264-67.
 34. (f. 12r, lines 11-14) 'Quod quidam regii iusticiarii (MS 464: 'consiliarii') iuris utriusque periti allegabant scilicet canones faciendum in quibus sepius reperitur quod tales dentur curie seculari'
 35. (f. 12v, lines 6-7) '...sed rex nichil ex hoc sedatus sed magis prouocatus dicebat aciem pontificum contra se firmatam.' (lines 11-20) 'Turbatus est itaque rex et omnis curia cum illo ita quod pernimis eorum quidam fratres sessissent (cessissent) nisi archiepiscopus obstetisset Sic igitur tota die in cassum consummata et consumpta Rex insalutatis pontificibus recessit et episcopi ad hospicia redierunt Mane autem facto rex tam municiones quam honores et omnia que archiepiscopo in custodiam tradiderat. repetita recepit et de londoniis spretis pontificibus recessit Vnde episcopi turbati commocione facta in clero et populo. regem sunt persecuti timentes se omnia temporalia perdituros'
 36. (f. 13r, line 3) 'quia mens eius fundata erat supra petram', John of Salis., II, 309. Knowles says (*TB*, p. 87) that Thomas gave in, vacillating, thus damaging his cause.
 37. (f. 13r, lines 7-12) 'quod nichil in preiudicium ecclesie ratione consuetudinum peteret insistebat obnixius Tandem quasi urgente caritate et suadente pietate archiepiscopus illa uerba que regi displicebant se mutaturum promisit. unde aliquantulum contra archiepiscopum rex inicius agebat. uolens tamen obligationum publice ab archiepiscopo et aliis episcopis fieri de regiis consuetudinibus obseruandis'. See Knowles, *TB*, p. 86, who says 'The King was insistent merely to save his face before his barons. He would not abuse any accommodation that was made'.
 38. (f. 13v, lines 2-14v) Constitutions of Clarendon, translated in *English Historical Documents, 1042-1189*, ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, (1953; second ed., London, 1981), II, 766-70; otherwise in *Mats V*, 71-79; *The historical works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS [73] (London, 1879-80), I, 178-80; Wm., I, 18-23; *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the earliest times to the reign of Edward I*, ed. W. Stubbs, (1870; ninth edn rev. by H. W. C. Davis, 1913; repr. Oxford, 1929), pp. 161-7. On the retention of these customs of the realm in later times, see Stubbs's introduction, p. 161.
 39. (f. 15rv; f.15v, lines 16-20 to f. 16, line 3) 'tunc uidens et ex hoc regem magis contra eum prouocatum statim ad eum accedit Cui rex non

honorem solitum exhibens sed extranum (MSS 464, 467: 'extraneum') irrisorie improperavit quod terram suam deserere Voluit quasi regnum ipsos simul capere non ualeret'; see Herbert, III, 294.

40. (f. 16, line 11) 'Tunc archiepiscopus auctoritate et exhortatione apostolicis roboratus'; (f. 16v, line 9) 'Tandem ab episcopis desertus deo sibi soli quod relictus immobilis permanebat', Herbert, III, 311; (lines 16-18) '...si archiepiscopi uoluntas procederet. dignitas regia depiret et ille demum rex foret quem clerus eligeret quamdiu eciam placeret archiepiscopo regnaturus', John of Salis., II, 310.
41. (f 17r; f.17v, line 3) Herbert, III, 299-300.
42. Knowles, *EC*, Appendix V, pp. 167-8, has examined the subject in detail. For the events at Northampton described on folios 17-20v, Grandisson uses Alan, II, 326 *et seq.*; Wm., I, 32, line 3, 'iliaca passione'; Herbert, III, 300-304. See also Quad., IV, 315-16. All of Grandisson's narrative is considerably paraphrased.
43. (f. 18v, lines 5-9) 'Et timens quia non dum martirio se sensit idoneum ex consilio cuiusdam religiosi uiri statuit... missam de sancto stephano prothomartire ne in eum preualerent aduersarii celebrare'. The 'religious man' was his confessor, Robert of Merton, deduced from Anon. I, IV, 45. See Knowles, *TB*, p. 96; *EC*, pp. 75-76.
44. (f. 19, line 10) 'Finita missa et ad quorundam familiarium consilium ammoto pallio cum infula ceteris uestibus sacris indutus superiecta pluuiali capa'. Anon. I, IV, 45, describes Thomas's wearing apparel. Anon. II, Wm. of Cant., and John of Salis. omit the Mass of St Stephen. Alan has details, II, 330, and Grim, II, 394; Wm. F-S. very briefly, III, 56. Herbert has details, III, 304-5.
45. Even at this point, the bishop of London said (*ibid.*, lines 19-20) that if the King saw Thomas enter thus, perchance he would brandish his sword against the archbishop's head ('quod si rex eum taliter uideret intrare. forte in eius caput gladium vibraret'). To which Thomas replied, 'Let what God wishes be done'. ('Cui cum archiepiscopus responderet Quod deus uoluerit fiat.') Sources disagree on the events, statements, etc., made here. Grandisson is following Alan, II, 330 and Herbert, III, 304.
46. (f. 19r, line 16) 'Iustius est ut eam banilem ut tali uexillo protectus non dubitem sub cristo "militare" (marked for revision) principe'. (Both MSS 464 and 467 have 'militare' in the text.) On the position of the various rooms, see Knowles, *EC*, Appendix VI, pp. 169-70.
47. (f. 19v, lines 7-12) 'dicebant vnanimis eum semper uanum et superbum fuisse et merito hoc regi accidisse qui talem uoluerit promouisse Vnde omnes palam et passim eum proditorem regis asserebant. qui eciam ingratus non solum honorem terrenum sicut iurauerat non seruasset. sed perpetuam ei ignominiam irrogasset'. This section is rewritten by Grandisson from Herbert, III, 306-8. Guernes, lines 1706-1716, speaks of the threats to Thomas conveyed by 'the King's closest confidants'.
48. (f. 19v, lines 14-16) 'Cumque regis hostiarii cum clauis suis et uirgis de

cenaculo ubi rex erat descenderent ac vultu minaci et digitis extensis archiepiscopum respicerent'. (f. 19v-20r, lines 16-20, 1) 'Clerico ad eius pedes sedenti herberto de Boseham dixit Timeo tibi fili ne tamen timeas. quia corone mee particeps fies At ille nec mihi nec tibi pater est timendum qui sub tali principe et tali uexillo militamus Fuisti regis Anglorum quondam signifer inexpugnabilis. nunc regis angelorum sis pugil inuincibilis'. Herbert, III, 307-8.

49. (f. 20, lines 13-15) 'quod archiepiscopum super crimine periurii ad romanam sedem appellarent. et ad eiusdem depositionem pro iuribus laborarent'. See Warren, (note 19, above) p. 487, as to what the bishops revealed to Henry, and p. 488 for the conspiratorial plan. On the report of the bishops to Thomas, f. 20r, Grandisson draws from Alan, II, 331-2; Quad., IV, 320-21; Herbert, III, 308. See also Knowles, *EC*, p. 73, whose account draws principally from Alan, II, 327. He says, pp. 73-74, that FitzStephen (III, 55) was probably the most trustworthy witness, having been present throughout. On Bartholomew of Exeter (f. 20, line 4), see Knowles, *EC*, pp. 73, 81.
50. (f. 20v, lines 8-16) 'et in electione mea liber et quietus ab omni nexu curie redditus ecclesie fuerim. ideoque super hiis non teneor respondere Insuper quanto melior est anima corpore. tanto mihi loco dei magis quam regi obedire tenemini. nec aliqua lege uel ratione spiritualem patrem filii poterunt iudicare Ad solum iudicem meum sub deo summum pontificem appello et sub eius proteccione me et ecclesiam mihi commissam suppono Et vos eciam et coepiscopos ad idem iudicium voco '. From Alan, II, 332-33.
51. (f. 21r, lines 6-7) 'Archiepiscopo uero in dampnum ecclesie id facere recusante ad regem reuersi eius iram uehemencius acce<n>derunt' (in both MS 464 and 467); from Alan, II, 334. See Knowles, *TB*, p. 99, and *EC*, p. 88. On the withdrawal of the knights, Wm. F-S, III, 69; Herbert, III, 311. Grandisson takes his account of Thomas's escape from Alan, II, 334-35.
52. (*Ibid.*, lines 15-16) 'Et quia causa ecclesie nondum plene innotuerat. ad tempus fugere cogitabat'; John of Salis., II, 313, who adds, 'in morte ejus pateretur occasum'.
53. Grandisson drew from Grim, II, 399-401; Wm. F-S, III, 70; Herbert, III, 324-5; John of Salis., II, 313.
54. (f. 24r) 'Secunda pars de hiis que post eius exilium acciderunt Ut igitur historie series plenius texetur ad quedam pretermissa primitus reuertamur'. Grandisson follows Herbert's account, III, 322-23.
55. (f. 25rv) Herbert, III, 334-35. On the motivations of the Cardinals, see Guernes, lines 2286-2291. On the accusations of the king's party, Grandisson uses Alan, II, 337. The accounts are very much abbreviated and paraphrased.
56. (f. 25v, line 2) 'Male ad portum uenisti.'
57. (f. 26v, lines 8-9) 'Sed ne videar inaniter talia inchoasse ecce quid compulit tam ardua presumpsisse', Alan, II, 342. See also Herbert, III,

- 341, last paragraph. This is in contrast to the times of William the Conqueror and Lanfranc when the Church in England was nearly autonomous. In the present contemporary ecclesiastical thinking (toward centralization), the Church could not allow England to go its own way.
58. (ff. 26v-27v) 'Et quia hactenus diuiciis et deliciis affluxisti. de cetero te volumus vera paupertate contentari' (f. 27v, line 7). In Grandisson's account there seems to be no waiting period, as suggested by Alan of Tewksbury and the Saga, except for the time the pope and the cardinals were deliberating (see Barlow, p. 123). For Grandisson's abridgement of the pope's speech, see Appendix I.
 59. (f. 28r, lines 7-8) '...expeterent suam apud eum miseriam deplangentes; (line 8) 'Processit adeo furor beluinus'.
 60. Herbert, III, 376-77; Grim, II, 412-13, followed by Alan, II, 346-47, but much paraphrased.
 61. (f. 28v, foot) 'Dicebat enim quod qui volucres celi pascit et agri lilia uestit sibi quoque et coexulibus prouideret', and (f. 29, line 1) 'que gesta fuerant nunciando', Herbert, III, 398, 402.
 62. (f. 29, lines 4-5) 'O Thoma, Thoma, in sanguine tuo gloriabitur ecclesia mee Ex tunc certior finis effectus solum pro cristo martirium concupiuit'. From Wm. F-S, III, 83; Grim, II, 418-19.
 63. (ff. 29r; 29v, lines 1-8.)
 64. (f. 29v, lines 16-20; f. 30, line 1) 'Cum imperatore Frederico scismatico mediantibus duobus clericis nunciis archiepiscopi Johanne scilicet de Oxonia et Ricardo de Iuelcestria contra romanam ecclesiam coniurauit vnde misit iusticiariis et aliis ministris suis per Angliam mandata tyrannica ac diabolica infrascripta'
 65. (f. 30, lines 4-6) These 'novae constitutiones' of Henry II are in Wm., I, 53, but not with the specific punishments which Grandisson lists: For bringing in a letter of interdict, 'Et si aliquis regularis illas attulerit pedibus truncetur. si clericus oculos et genitalia amittat. si laicus suspendatur. si leprosus conburatur'.
 66. (f. 30v, lines 4-6) 'ita quod excommunicari se malle dicebat quam extra romanam (*sic*) eorum iudicium subire'; from Wm., I, 64-66.
 67. (f. 30v, line 14) 'In crastino enim conuenientibus legatis cum multis prelatis et proceribus ex parte regis. exul Archiepiscopus cum coexulibus suis adest', Herbert, III, 409-10. See also Barlow, pp. 172-73.
 68. (f. 31, line 4) 'Nam regis honor et anime sue salus est renunciare consuetudinibus suis nephandis per dominum papam et nos condempnatis. ego uero saluo honore dei et ecclesie ex hiis causis archiepiscopatus non debeo renunciare'; from Wm., I, 66-70; Herbert, III, 410. 'Nephandis' is Grandisson's term.

69. (f. 31v, lines 3-5) 'qui clericos incarceratos detinebat et bona Cantuarien' ecclesie occupabat Omnesque qui bona ecclesiastica in anglia contra uoluntatem suam de cetero deuastarent' (see Quad., IV, 359).
70. (Ibid.) Herbert, III, 415; Quad., IV, 359.
71. (f. 32, line 1) 'Quicquid sibi displicet diuo honori contrarium asserit Sed ne videar malignari solummodo peto. ut quod melior et sanctior predecessorum suorum fecit minimo progenitorum meorum mihi faciat et quiesco'; from Alan, II, 347-8; Quad., IV, 361.
72. (f. 32, lines 6-12) 'Licet antecessores mei meliores me ut uere fateor fuerint. multa nobis qui in eorum labores intrauerimus ad promerendum dimiserunt ut eorum premii participes efficeremur Plures eorum ideo passi sunt quia nomen dei subticere noluerunt. Et quoniam ego pro hominis cuiuscumque gracia.dei honorem debeo preterire Absit inquit absit'. Grandisson used Alan, II, 347-8, for this account.
73. (f. 32v; 33r, foot-33v, line 1) 'Qui ad Regem uenientes et diligenter ac frequenter eum super hoc conuenientes. cum eum semper contrarium ac eciam tergiuersantem uiderent'; from Alan, II, 351; Quad., IV, 365; Wm. I, 72; Herbert, III, 439 *et seq.* (paraphrased). Grandisson gives the events of the meeting at St Denis from Herbert, III, 445-51; and Wm., I, 75.
74. (f. 33v, line 16-f. 34, line 1) '.labores et tedia que per eum sustinuerat repetendo.' 'Hodie, pater, in capella martirium tractatum (est) de pace ecclesie vestre. quam ut credo per vestrum martirium solummodo consequetur. Cui archiepiscopus vtinam in sanguine meo inquit liberetur'; Herbert, III, 451; Quad., IV, 367.
75. (f. 34, lines 6-9) 'ac eciam contra apostolicam inihibicionem. quam quidam episcoporum ipsorum ante ipsam coronacionem receperant aliique recipere recusarant'; Wm., I, 81-83; Herbert, III, 459.
76. (f.34v) Herbert, III, 460-61. On the meeting at Freteval, Herbert, III, 465-67. See also Barlow, pp. 209-13.
77. (f. 35, lines 5-7) 'nec minis nec blandiciis parcerent quin mandata apostolica contra eum et totam terram suam exequerentur nisi cicius pax archiepiscopo redderetur'; Herbert, III, 463-64.
78. (f. 35v, line 8) 'qui vitam eiusdem martiris magistri sui postea luculenter conscripsit'; cf. Herbert, III, 468.
79. Barlow says, p. 214, that they 'had a fierce quarrel', apparently from Herbert, whom Grandisson is following.
80. (ff. 35v, foot; 36r, line 1) 'Volebat tamen quod archiepiscopus ad Angliam primo rediret. uidere desiderans ut dicebat qualiter archiepiscopus se haberet'; Herbert, III, 470.
81. (f. 36, line 2) 'non ut aliquid peteret. sed ut plenius eius amiciciam

recuperaret'

82. (f. 36, lines 14-16) 'sic inquit nobis uidetur Quia si michi crederes regi tuo nisi cum pacis osculo te non committeres At ille fiat uoluntas dei'. From Wm. F-S, III, 113; Herbert, III, 471. On 'playing at heads', Barlow, p. 219. On the importance of the kiss of peace in contracts, see Barlow, pp. 188-89.
83. (f. 36v, line 3) 'si membratim discerpendus foret. gregem sibi commissum ulterius non relinqueret desolatum'; from Wm., I, 86; Herbert, III, 476.
84. (f. 38v, lines 4-6) 'ibi cum plebis et presertim pauperum gaudio suscipitur illacrimantibus (sic, both MSS 464, 467 have 'acclamantibus' and omit 'et dicentibus') simul cunctis et dicentibus Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini'--in all four Gospels, see Matt. XXI:9.
85. (f. 39, lines 10-13) 'ante eum prostrati graues querimonias contra archiepiscopum proposuerunt Quibus rex nimium commotus inter cetera dicebat Se non immunem a sententia si omnes excommunicati forent qui filii sui interfuerant coronacioni'. So far in Part III, Grandisson has chiefly drawn from Herbert, III, 477-81; Quad., IV, 378-381; but also from Wm., I, 122-23.
86. (f. 39v, lines 7-10; 12-16) 'Cui archiepiscopus constanter respondit quod nisi festum Natalis domini instaret in quo ecclesie sue (sic) abesse noluit inhibitionibus huiusmodi non parceret Officiales uero regii eos tam maiores cleri quam primiores ciuium qui ei occurrerant euocari fecerunt ad respondendum in curia regis quod inimico regis obuiam processerunt Tunc adversarii in altum cornua extulerunt. maxime progenies illa viperea de Brok' quorum vnus Robertus nomine clericus quidem in contemptum archiepiscopi iumentum quoddam sibi obuium portans quedam necessaria coquine viliter excurtauit' (MS 467, 'iumentum quoddam sibi obuium quedam necessaria portans pro coquina'; MS 464, 'pro coquina portans'); Wm. F.-S., III, 125-26.
87. (ff. 39v-40r.) See Barlow, pp. 231-32.
88. (f. 40rv) Herbert, III, 484-85; Wm. F.-S., III, 130.
89. (f. 40v, lines 1-8) 'rex pater existens in normannia incitantibus ut supra dictum est episcopis in furorem versus diabolicum palam et sepius de archiepiscopo quasi de suo et tocus regni hoste publico conquerebatur Inter cetera uero eciam insanie sue uerba maledixit omnibus illis quos enutrierat et promouerat qui eum uolebant de vno maledicto presbitero vindicare qui totum ut dicebat genus suum (regium) uilipensit'; Herbert, III, 487. (f. 40v, line 13) 'miro que modo licet uarios portus ad nauigandum'; Wm. F.-S., III, 129-30; Herbert, III, 488. Barlow says of the four knights' crossing, 'They had the luck of the devil', p. 237.
90. For the account of the martyrdom, Benedict is the chief source, II, 1-19. See also Wm., I, 127 *et seq.* For the setting Grandisson drew from Herbert, III, 486 and Benedict, II, 1.

91. (f. 41r, lines 11-14) 'Ipsa uero die in mensa cum cippi sui minister ei tacite diceret quod plus solito biberet. respondit quod qui multum sanguinem emittere habebat. multum etiam bibere oportebat'; see also Benedict, II, 12.
92. The account begins with the last line of folio 41r. It continues on folios 41v, lines 18-20; 42, lines 1-11. 'Hec ad tuum fecit instinctum Et sanctus Si meam et ecclesie vindicauit iniuriam hoc fateor mihi minime displicere Roginaldus dixit Cum hoc in derogacionem regie coronacionis presumpseris uidetur coronam regiam tibi cum regno cogites usurpare Cui sanctus nequaquam inquit Roginalde nequaquam ut dicis ad hoc aspiro (sic). quin potius multas coronas exopto Quo ad episcopos uero. Ad id quod actum est regius accessit consensus Ad quod dictum exclamans roginaldus. Avoy inquit Avoy. dominum in hoc regem de prodicione accusas Absit hoc ait archiepiscopus. quia non clamdestine concordia inter nos est facta eo quod archiepiscopi et episcopi ac multi magni et nobiles milites ac alii fere quingenti numero interfuerunt. immo et tu Roginalde presens tunc eras'
93. (f. 42, lines 19-20; f. 42v, lines 1-2) 'Numquid me fugere putatis qui ad hoc ueni ut animam meam pro cristo et grege suo ponamur et uestram rabiem hic expectemus. Vere inquit. non effugies (sic) si possumus'; from Benedict, II, 8. (See p. 171, above, and n23.) I believe Grandisson intends Becket's companions to say 'We would not flee even if we could', but the conversation is somewhat unclear in the sources.
94. (f. 42v, lines 3-4) 'Hic hic me certe inuenietis manu ad caput imposita quasi locum designans quo eum fuerant percussuri'
95. (f. 42v, lines 9-13) 'Que necessitas fuit pater ad maiorem malignorum prouocationem tantum virum sicut estis surgere et post eos usque ostium ire Mirabile est quod nullius sequimini consilium Cui archiepiscopus Consilium meum iam totaliter est acceptum Scio satis quid mihi futurum sit'; from Benedict, II, 9. The knights came 'cum gladiis et fustibus. securibus et bisacutis', listed by Grim, II, 433-34; Benedict, I, 9; Herbert III, 491.
96. Grim, II, 434; Wm. F-S, III, 138, on the Good Shepherd. Benedict, II, 9-14.
97. (ff. 45-46v) On other persecutions and depredations, Grim, II, 439; Benedict, II, 14, 'aliis famulos illius caedentibus', Herbert, III, 513; Wm. F-S, III, 144. On the hair shirt, Grim, II, 442; Benedict, II, 17; Herbert, III, 521; Wm. F.-S., III, 144. On the earthquake, Herbert, III, 522.
98. (f. 46v, lines 10-16) 'Et illa quidem nocte tota per quadraginta fere miliaria itinerantes. mane ad manerium archiepiscopi quod Southmallyngg' dicitur peruenerunt. ubi aulam ingressi cum exuentes arma super mensam magnam proicerent. tabula resiliens ea longius a se proiecit. suum sacrilegis ministerium denegando Monstraturque ibidem ipsa tabula in memoriam miraculi conseruata'

99. (f. 47r) Herbert, III, 520: 'placide dormiente similis'. Grandisson gives details of usual death-changes which are absent in this case, deriving them from Herbert, III, 519; Wm., I, 135-6; and Benedict, II, 15.
100. (f. 47v, lines 9-12) 'Ecce qualis hic erat Quid cupiditatis aut prodicionis uel elacionis illi inerat qui seculi et carnis illicebras tam occulte quam potenter in se represserat'; Herbert, III, 522; Benedict, II, 16-18; Wm. F.-S., III, 147-48. See also Knowles, *TB*, p. 149, and Barlow, p. 249. On the place of burial, John of Salis., II, 322.
101. (f. 48, lines 2-5) 'Et cum audisset sciens eorum animos semper maleficiis deditos Veritus ne quid mali ad regiam accideret infamiam. statim eos iussit reuocari'. (Ibid., lines 8-10) 'per multos dies amarissime lugens ieiunabat et equum non ascendit. sed et per dolore omnia regni negocia postponebat'. Grandisson paraphrased Wm., I, 124-25, 'veritus ne quid ageretur quod in regiam redundaret infamiam', and Herbert, III, 542.
102. (f. 48, lines 11-17; f. 48v, line 6-f. 49, line 1.)
103. (f. 49, lines 3-8) 'Ad que omnia rex benignissime consensit in tantum quod palam diceret ita corpus suum in eorum manibus totum ponere. ut siue iherosolimam siue romam aut quocumque ire precipere paratus existeret obedire Vnde qui aderant uidentes eius humilem deuocionem. se a lacrimis non poterant cohibere'. The account of the negotiations between the King and the Cardinals is paraphrased from Alan in *Quad.*, IV, 414-16.
104. (f. 49r, line 20-f. 49v, line 6) '(Rex) audiens et certissime credens miracula que quotidie cristus ad tumbam martiris sui Thome operabatur. memor familiaritatis pristine inter se et sanctum quod que penitenciam egisset de excessibus suis confisus de diuina clemencia. a normannia ubi rebellio maxime contra eum feruebat exiens. martiris limina quamtocius expetebat'; *Quad.*, IV, 416-17 (Herbert, *Liber Melorum*, III, 544-45).
105. (f. 49v, lines 15-18) 'Sed heu pro dolor iam multe illarum (consuetudines) plures quod aut consimiles uel deteriores indies pulularunt. que uel eiusdem martiris uel alicuius sui sequacis sanguine indigent aboleri', *Quad.*, IV, 418; Herbert, III, 546. On this subject Herbert says, 'Quarum (consuetudines) tamen abdicatarum sic nonnullae, etiam ab ecclesia damnatae, per regnum observantur adhuc. Quod si rege sciente et approbante factum sit, rex ipse viderit; Deus nolit'.
106. (f. 49v, lines 18-20; f. 50r, line 1) 'In crastino itaque rex ut peregrinus missa de martire audita pedibus non ablutis nec refocillatus sese humiliter sancto martiri recommendans cum certa spe (ipsius) patrocinii recessit'; *Quad.*, IV, 418 (Herbert, III, 547).
107. His source is Herbert, *Quad.*, IV, 419, who said Henry II told him this. Herbert is also responsible for the judgment that the peace is 'not wholly unmerited' (*loc. cit.*).
108. (f. 50r.)

109. (Ibid., lines 16-18) 'ita ante mortem tabefactus est. ut eius membra computrescerent et frustratim dilacerata caro nudis neruis et ossibus proiceretur'
110. (f. 50v, lines 2-8) 'mortui que suscitarentur et inaudita prius miracula patrarentur. Alexander papa per duos legatos predictos quos ad regem miserat de ipsis miraculis certificatus. beatum Thomam canonizauit et sanctorum martirium Cathologo addendum decreuit. eiusque festum solemniter celebrandum Ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri iesu cristi'
111. I think that Grandisson did not append the accounts of miracles to the Life, even though he may have had access to copies of the collections made by Benedict of Peterborough and William of Canterbury, since he borrowed from their other biographical material. CCCC MS 464 has the miracles added by the same hand as the Life, but their addition must have been the choice of the person for whom the book was copied. As I have pointed out elsewhere, Grandisson did not accept the accounts of miracles unless they had been thoroughly investigated. The text of CCCC MS 464 is in twenty long lines, written space 100 x 70 mm; foliation iii + 146 + v. The Life ends f. 68v and the miracles begin imperfectly with 'quasi qui operi', f. 71r. The first set of miracles is of the collection of Benedict of Peterborough (printed RS II, p. 26, last line to p. 261). The second set is of William of Canterbury (RS I, 439-482). Part of Benedict's Prologue is missing in the manuscript, but Book I is complete. Comparison of this manuscript with James Robertson's notes reveals that the Benedict section has the same stemma as Trinity College Cambridge MS B.XIV.37. The miracles of both collections are roughly sequential with the printed texts, and generally word for word. They do not follow any theme or thesis, but are selective in that the gruesome or outlandish accounts have been omitted, and they favour clerks, women, and knights. Though place names are given, well-known individuals (such as Gilbert Foliot) who figure in some of the printed accounts have been omitted.
112. (f. 4v, line 3) 'vidit enim thamensem fluuium quasi sum suo influxum. Quod ex ea nasciturum multos significauit populos recturum' 'Visum est sibi eciam ecclesiam Cantuar' ingredi se uelle et tumescente utero vix potuisse Iterum indebatur sibi duodecim de celo stellas in suum gremium cecidisse' ; Grim, II, 56-57. See Benedict, II, 31-33, on the visions in which Thomas is raised to the glory of the apostles after his death.
113. (f. 4v, lines 8-14) 'Natus est tandem puer mundo ante natalem domini die quinto. et Thomas a Thoma vocatus apostolo. qui demum post natalem die quinto nasciturus erat celo Equaliter eciam Bethleez distare fertur ab India quo idem apostolus et a Cantuaria quo archiepiscopus occubuit sicut utriusque natale. domini nativitatem precedit uel sequitur pari passu'. At the end of the biography of Wm. F-S, III, 154, is, 'Beatus Thomas apostolus passus in India fide illuminauit orientem. Hic beatus Thomas martyr passus in Anglia totum illuminauit occidentem. Jesus Christus passus est Jerosolymis, et extremitatem mundi lux communis, lux uera, illuminans omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, quasi medio termino

conjuncturus extrema. Et quae est locorum, eadem est contemplatio festivitatum eorum; Nativitatem Domini mediam, quinto die festivitate apostoli praecedente, martyris consequente'. Perhaps Grandisson did not quote William exactly because in his own time he did not find it true that Thomas 'in Anglia totum illuminavit occidentem'.

114. (f. 3v, lines 4-6) 'Et cum eum pro deo suo libenter moriturum audiret. se cristianam fieri si eam in uxorem duceret sponndit'. (Ibid., line 12) 'Tandem non absque multis et incredibilibus discriminibus peregrinis se associans angliam applicuit'
115. (f. 3v, lines 16-20) 'Cumque diulgaretur per uillam quod quedam puella genere et sermone ignota pueris eam sequentibus et deridentibus per vicos euagaret. ricardus Gilberti seruator accurrit et eam recognoscens statim domino suo nunciauit'
116. (f. 4, lines 7-9) 'Qui inter ceteros aderat uoce prophetica asseruit hoc diuinitus factum prolem que secuturam que sanctam ecclesiam sublimaret'
117. (f. 4rv) 'Gilbertus non modicum letificatus domo disposita et familia assumptis que necessariis iterum iherosolimam est profectus'
118. This legend is found in the second *Quadrilogus* (printed 1495), British Library MS Cotton Vitellius C.XII and in the chronicle which bears the name of John Brom[p]ton (*Scriptores* X, ed. Twysden, col. 1052, *et seq.*). It is printed in *Mats*, II, 453-458. From *DNB*, 'Thomas', vol. 19-20, article by Kate Norgate: She thinks the legend may have been connected with the chapel, first founded at Acon in 1191 by William, a chaplain of Ralph de Diceto. The order of the Knights of St Thomas sprang up in Palestine very soon after the martyr's death. Hubert Walter constituted an order of canons at the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr in Acon, which Richard I ordered to be built there in 1192. 'Such a legend is perhaps more likely to have been invented in Palestine than in Europe.' The legend is found in British Library MS Harley 978, ff. 114v-116, and the portion of the manuscript in which it is included dates from 1264-1270. However, the words with which the account opens indicate that the legend 'was an extract copied out of some previously existing work'. There is also a possibility that Grandisson may first have heard about it through his uncle, Otho Grandisson, who fought in crusade with Edward I in 1271.
119. (f. 38v.)
120. (f. 62) This habit of turning to the Scriptures may be a legacy Grandisson gave Richard FitzRalph in the winter they spent together 1347-1348. Aubrey Gwynn ('Richard FitzRalph at Avignon' in *Studies* (Irish Quarterly Review), XXII, (Dec. 1933), pp. 591-607) says that in the *Summa de Erroribus Armenorum* 'scholastic theology is set aside in favour of a direct appeal to the evidence of the Scriptures' (p. 606). He continues, 'This absence of scholastic method might be explained by the exigencies of a controversy in which the authority of the Scripture and the Fathers of the Church is undoubtedly of far greater value than the accepted doctrine of Western theologians'. Gwynn seems inclined to attribute FitzRalph's practice to the influence of Nicholas of Lyra,

but much closer to the publication time of the *Summa* (1347-1352) is the influence of Grandisson (who himself was undoubtedly influenced by Nicholas of Lyra). For the date of the *Summa*, see K. Walsh (Ch. IV, note 103), p. 131. Miss Walsh speaks of FitzRalph's 'conversion' to the Scriptures from scholasticism, p. 48.

121. I Kings VIII:7. See also I Kings X:19; XII:12-25.
 122. Although the oil Samuel used to anoint Saul is not indicated as different from that used to consecrate priests, still it is not specified as the 'oil of unction' (Exodus XXIX:7), which post-Gregorians considered to be superior. Grandisson was silent on that issue.
 123. Both the sons of Eli (Heli), I Kings II, and the sons of Samuel, I Kings VIII, though of the priestly class, failed to measure up to the examples given by their fathers. The corruption of kings gets more emphasis in the biblical text than does moral deterioration in the priesthood.
 124. (f. 53v) *De civitate Dei*, V, ch. xxiv.
 125. (f. 52v) V, ch. i. 'Nota civitatem quare regna terrena dat deus bonis et malis' with cross-reference to Book I, ch. viii, where Augustine explains God's impartiality.
 126. On Grandisson's success in this matter see Hingeston-Randolph's summary, *Reg.* III, Preface lv-lvi. Grandisson was usually successful in gaining cooperation, eventually.
 127. (Eton MS 97, f. 119rb) (Hins., p. 532, III) 'Quaesitum est etiam super iis qui post baptismum administrauerunt et aut tormenta sola exercuerunt aut etiam capitalem protulere sententiam. Nichil de iis legimus a maioribus definitum.'
- Capitula Angilramni XLIV (Eton MS 97, f. 234rb): 'Delatori aut lingua capuletur aut conuicto caput amputetur. Delatores autem sunt qui inuidia produnt alios.' 'Hoc capitulum non est canonicum. Sed a secularibus legibus sumptum.' (Grandisson emphasized the first sentence.) The Capitula Angilramni are included in Eton MS 97, ff. 232va-235ra, and Exeter MS 3512, f. 214-220; Hins., pp. 757-69; no. XLIV, p. 765.
128. (Eton MS 97, f. 285ra.)
 129. Grandisson no. 181, f. 91v; Schmitt IV, no. 206, p. 99 (hereafter abbreviated G. for Grandisson and S. for Schmitt).
 130. G. 182, f. 92v; S. 210, p. 105.
 131. G. 301, ff. 129rb-129va; S. V, 338, p. 276.
 132. G. 247, f. 111vb; S. IV, 278, p. 192: 'Eum admonet, ne rebus, quae ad opus ecclesiae a Lanfranco archiepiscopo datae sunt, velut de suis disponat'.
 133. G. 365, f. 143rb; S. 283, p. 200.

134. G. 186, ff. 93v-94; S. IV, 214, p. 111.
135. G. 291, f. 125v; S. IV, 303, p. 224.
136. G. 392, f. 156v; S. V, 445, p. 398.
137. See Chap. II, above, pp. 27-28.
138. *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education, and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981), pp. 3-51; 23.
139. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
140. *Reg.* I, Letter 5, p. 93, lines 31-43.
141. Ibid., Letter 48, pp. 181; 450-51, to bishops of London, Worcester and Winchester.
142. *Reg.* II, pp. 1192-93.
143. Summarized from McKisack, Chapter VI, 'Edward III and Archbishop Stratford, 1330-1343', especially pp. 162-179.
144. Ibid., pp. 166-167.
145. Ibid., pp. 169-170.
146. *Reg.* II, 933-36.
147. Ibid., 943-45.
148. McKisack, p. 171; *Reg.* III, 1529.
149. *Reg.* III, Preface, lv-lvi.
150. Preface, lvi.

CONCLUSION

The collection of books owned and used by John Grandisson in the early- and mid-fourteenth century has principally been identified in this essay. Thomas Cobham and Richard de Bury had large collections, but none of Cobham's books has been identified, and few of de Bury's. By contrast, we can identify Grandisson's by the presence of his handwriting, and comments in his hand reveal not only his attitude to the books, but much about the man himself.

His annotations show the breadth of his interests. He worked through the myriad topics of Isidore's *Libri etymologiarum*, annotating every page. He showed a marked interest in medicine, in how the plague was spread, in descriptive astronomy, and in the properties of metals and chemicals. In Augustine's *Confessiones* he commented upon how children learn, and he remarked on Augustine's understanding of the ten categories of Aristotle. In contrast to his contemporaries Thomas Bradwardine and William Rede, he showed little interest in mathematics (he did not annotate the *De computo* of Rabanus Maurus, nor Augustine's *De musica*, but he was curious about Pythagoras).

Grandisson's dedication to the office and responsibilities of a bishop is indicated through the glosses he wrote in which he isolated the qualities that such a man must possess and contrasted them with the self-seeking motives of lesser men who attain such office. He expressed openly his approval or disapproval of persons and qualities. He searched out in Scriptures the ideal priest as described in the Old Testament and followed up with Christ's charge to his disciples in the New, and the 'Bishop's Rule' given by St Paul in I Timothy. The notes in his first collection of works show him weighing the attributes of good and bad bishops, exploring the meaning of 'episcopal', chiefly as exemplified in the lives of Augustine and Ambrose. He collected and studied the rules for living in the letters of Seneca. In histories and in the letters of past bishops and popes, he found many examples of good and bad behaviour which he marked for emulation (Nota, Nota) or disparaged, as the case might be. He read history not only for object lessons in the lives of the protagonists, but apparently also for enjoyment of the narrative. The many books which he used in this genre

point to his imagination and love of variety.

Grandisson's vision of his role caused him to study carefully the sources of canon law, from their inception in papal decretals or councils, to their later codification by Gratian and clarification by others. One can draw inferences about happenings in the diocese by following Grandisson's glosses in these law books (incidents of heresy, the building of unauthorized chapels, unseemly conduct of clergy, for example). Theology was an ongoing study: how did prayers of the living help the dead? Did bodies lost at sea have no hope of resurrection? Was the virginal state more virtuous than the married state? Grandisson marked especially discourses on free will, on the nature of creation and of the attributes of God, on penitence, but he took without question the statements of Augustine on these subjects and many more. He held firmly to the traditional view that the Scriptures supplied all that was necessary for faith, and he relied on *originalia* of the Fathers for further elucidation.

One of the most valuable, but time-consuming, efforts Grandisson made for his clergy was to prepare a new Ordinal with its accompanying legendary. While engaged in this project, Grandisson worked through the Cathedral books, adding apparatus to make them more accessible to the clergy; no doubt he added books as well, but this is difficult to determine because so few have survived.

The Custumal which accompanied the Ordinal specified the duties of each of the Church officers and gave detailed directions for the ceremony of the liturgy on every occasion, thus assuring that each service would be executed with appropriate decorum. The Precentor had virtually all responsibility for regulating the Office: the *tabula*; the education and discipline of the boys and their admission to choir; the assignment of readings and chants and instruction in them; and the care of the boys of the choir 'in all necessary things'.¹ Grandisson awarded the dignity to Adam Murimuth in 1330, no doubt as an honour, but to a lawyer who had dealt with kings and popes, herding small boys must have been uncongenial, and when he had the opportunity to exchange benefices with Master John Shareshulle in 1337, he did so; Shareshulle remained as precentor for nearly thirty-seven years.²

Grandisson's work with books reveals his commitment to education: he appropriated the churches of Holne and Yarnscombe to the Hospital of St John, Exeter, for the support of grammar school boys in Exeter, and recruited John Sovenaisse, rector of scholars of Stapeldon Hall in 1325 and of St Mildred's parish church in April 1326, to become 'Master of Scholars of our City of Exeter' in 1329.³ Sovenaisse and Shareshulle may partially have made up for Grandisson's lack of success with the absentee chancellor, Walter Meriet, collated to the dignity by Bishop Stapeldon, January 23, 1323, but increasingly absent from the diocese thereafter.⁴ The Chancellor was responsible for lectures in canon law or theology; carried on the canons' correspondence and paid their expenses; saw to it that there were enough service books and corrected them.⁵ To support his office, the churches of St Newlyn and Stoke-Gabriel had been annexed to it (in 1283).

Meriet did not fulfill his duties, but Grandisson was unable effectively to sequester the fruits of his benefices, because Meriet had the support of Edward III.⁶ During the period of Meriet's chancellorship, Grandisson himself was working assiduously with the Cathedral books, buying some, correcting many, and he was assisted to some degree by John Sovenaisse as clerk.⁷ Meriet continued in his office until his death in 1345. After him, Thomas Buckingham was collated, March 25, 1346, and then John Wyliet (Wylyot), who served from April 1349 to April 1377. Both of the latter Chancellors had been Merton men and illustrious scholars.⁸

The letters dimissory which Grandisson signed permitted almost anyone who asked, to take a year or more for study, with the fruits of his benefice for support. Some candidates, like William Doune and Stephen Pempel, had their licences renewed for seven years. Grandisson had a strong interest in the state of education in the diocese and beyond, especially in providing an educated clergy. When he visited Launceston Priory in 1342, he ordered that the poor should be fed daily in the refectory, along with the old and 'any poor boys who are suitable and apt for being taught Grammar'.⁹ He arranged for the support of a theology student at Rewley Abbey, Oxford (Cistercian), founded in 1281 by his father's patron, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall. All the fruits and provisions of the Church of St Stythian, Cornwall, would go to maintain the student except for a 'canonical

portion' for a perpetual vicar to be in residence.¹⁰ He also reformed and strengthened with appropriations the Collegiate foundations in the diocese, especially Crediton, Glasney, and Ottery St Mary (founded in 1337).¹¹ He reorganized St Crantock's Collegiate Church completely in 1352, an old foundation fallen into decay.¹² He assisted with the establishment of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in June 1351, by appropriating to it the Church of St Stephen's-by-Saltash, and in February 1362, he gave twenty pounds toward the support of a vicar.¹³

Grandisson's commissaries visited the Royal Free Chapel of Bosham in May 1363; this, too, was a Collegiate foundation perpetually in conflict because of claims made to its jurisdiction (and visitation and revenues) by the bishop of Chichester. Grandisson supervised it, collated responsible canons to it, reformed it on occasion.¹⁴

Grandisson's concern to preach and teach truth instead of error caused him to become involved in topical issues of his time with doctrinal implications about which his protégés, such as Thomas Buckingham and Richard FitzRalph, were much more vocal than he. He researched the subject of poverty, including but not exclusively, the poverty of Christ, putting the heading 'paupertate' wherever the subject occurred in his reading.¹⁵ He had no quarrel with the friars of his diocese; he respected them for their learning, and bequeathed them books and money.¹⁶ But after the plague years of 1348-49, mendicants and impostors became a problem in the diocese, which Grandisson first tried to control by requiring all the archdeacons to appoint penitentiaries in their archdeaconries, certifying them to himself.¹⁷ Later he issued two mandates which forbade 'questors' to preach, March 4, 1356, and February 10, 1359.¹⁸ His language leaves no doubt concerning his frustration: '. . . propter nephandorum questorum abusus dampnabiles et excessus detestabiles, Catholicorum auribus abhorrendos'. Grandisson worked very hard to provide benefices for his clergy, and he was adamant against abuses by those 'qui peccuniarum questui solum operam impudenter impendunt, et non profectum animarum querunt'.¹⁹

Grandisson's research into the issues which confronted Thomas Becket stemmed from his own practical problems. Becket had taken a clear

stand for separation of the affairs of the Church from the affairs of the State--a stand which Grandisson might anticipate he would need to defend, and indeed did need to defend again and again from 1340, if not before. It is probable that in the course of writing a *Life of Becket*, he clarified his own position in defending the Church from then on. The *Life of Becket* did not put an end to his quest. He continued to study the problems of Church/State into the 1360s.

Grandisson's books have been dispersed widely, in part through his own intention. They went to the pope, to royalty, to archbishops and bishops, to the clerical community both at Exeter Cathedral and elsewhere, to his family and friends but only those who could benefit from them, to scholars--and in some cases, they were sold.

Grandisson sent Pope John XXII one of his early efforts (we do not know what it was), and in 1335 he wrote to the newly enthroned Pope Benedict XII, his former tutor, stating that he was sending a copy of his *Life of Thomas Becket*. In his Will, he gave Pope Urban V a copy of the *Sermons of St Bernard*. In 1363 he sent Archbishop Simon Islip his fine copy of the letters of Anselm (no. 16). This was a gift of friendship to one whom Grandisson had known since 1331, when Islip used his skills as a lawyer on Grandisson's behalf in the Court of the Advocates.²⁰

Grandisson's legacies to royalty were mainly gifts of plate and jewelry befitting the station of the receiver. His books had sentimental value and were a measure of his esteem for the person to whom they were given. Thus the gift of his best Psalter (no. 26) to Isabella, daughter of Edward III, is a higher compliment than some of his other more ostentatious gifts to the royal family.

Grandisson was open-handed with his gifts to his bishop successors, giving them his pontifical books and other useful and expensive service books--missals and books of the Gospels 'as they are read throughout the year', portable graduals and his best Bible, books of homilies 'to be read in their presence, and the larger antiphonary and Psalter which lie in my chapel'. He gave his successors a great book of the *Meditations and Prayers of Blessed Anselm and Blessed Augustine* (not identified). To the clerical

community of the Cathedral he gave two antiphonaries, two graduals and two psalters, 'the larger and better of those belonging to my chapel and the Book of the Gospel of St John in antient writing covered with silver gilt'. Service books without *Ex Libris* are almost impossible to identify, and many have not survived.

'Writings of a better class', Nicholas de Lyra and Nicholas Trevet on the Psalter (the latter, no.6), and the complete works of the Fathers, were to be deposited among the archives. To priests who had been with Grandisson three years or more, he bequeathed 'some vessel or jewel or book'. His copy of Augustine's *Confessiones* (no. 1), with the other works contained in that codex, was given to the Cathedral, along with no. 10, Augustine's short works; the *Libri Dialogi* of Gregory the Great (no. 12); Bede on Luke and Mark, and the Lives of the Saints contained in no. 13. A Bible of Grandisson's (no. 7) was deposited in the Cathedral archives, and also his copy of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent Beauvais (no. 22) which he had acquired from Robert Hereward. Both of these are listed in the benefactions from the Cathedral Chapter to the Bodleian Library, 1602.²¹ His copy of the *Liber Miraculorum* of Gregory of Tours (no. 23) subsequently went to Trinity College, Cambridge.

Bodleian Library MS Bodley 132, short works of Augustine (no. 8), was given to the Bodleian Library by the Dean and Canons of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1612. Since we know that Grandisson gave a Mass of the Virgin to Windsor, it is possible that he sent other books to that fledgling foundation of Edward III.²² He may also have sent his copy of Anselm's *De similitudinibus* (no. 15) to Dore Abbey, as he had done with books of Aquinas, sending them to the Dominican Convent of Exeter because 'Aquinas was of their order'. The *De similitudinibus* is in the Cottonian collection.

Grandisson tried to assist young clerks, his own nephews and friends, in their aspirations to an education. His nephews William and John Montacute do not seem to have been very bookish, and so he left other kinds of gifts to them. In his Will, he does not even mention his other nephews, John and Otho Northwode, whom he advanced greatly during his lifetime. But clearly his grand-nephew Philip Beauchamp (god-son of Philippa of Hainault) was a favourite. Bishop Grandisson's Psalter (Oxford, All Souls

College MS 6, no. 27) may have been the one he bequeathed to Philip, who received the Breviary and Psalter of Grandisson's 'chambre', together with a 'small and beautiful missal'. As Philip died at the very young age of thirty-two, his books may have entered the general market instead of being bequeathed as Grandisson's were. Grandisson's Psalter came to All Souls as the gift of Daniel Lysons, MD, of Bath, a fellow of All Souls in 1751.

Master William Courtenay, Grandisson's cousin later to become archbishop, was permitted to have any book of theology or canon law that the executors might select. Courtenay became bishop very soon after Grandisson's death (provided to Hereford, August 17, 1369). As he could claim the privilege of kinship, he may have been able to acquire other Grandisson books. A student of Courtenay's books might find that some of Grandisson's books had accompanied Courtenay to Hereford, London, and Canterbury, in all of which he served during his long career (1369-1396), ending with the College of Maidstone. One might also find among his books the missing Concordance which Grandisson had bequeathed to William's predecessor at Hereford, Bishop Lewis Charleton (died May 23, 1369).

By far the greater number of beneficiaries were scholars, who were to have all of Grandisson's theological books of moderate value. No doubt he sent quite a number to Stapeldon Hall (Exeter College), but the list has been lost. His copy of Augustine's *De Trinitate* (no. 9) went there, and the *De civitate Dei* with comment by Trevet and Waleys went eventually to Merton College, Oxford (no. 11). Grandisson's Hebrew books, the Grammar, Psalter, and Pentateuch, all seem to have been used by Oxford students of Hebrew. The Grammar and Psalter (nos 3, 4) came to the Bodleian Library, and the Pentateuch (no. 5) was given by Bruarni, Regius Professor of Hebrew, to Christ Church, Oxford, before it found its way to Westminster Abbey.

Copies of Grandisson's *Life of Thomas Becket* have appeared as far away as the Vatican (see Chapter VI). It may be that some of his other works will be found even further afield because of sales. Two such books are in the Advocates Library (National Library) of Edinburgh, having been bought by Sir James Balfour from booksellers in London. Balfour spent much of his life acquiring books, especially histories, from 1628 to his death in 1657. In London in 1628, he made the acquaintance of R. Dodsworth and William

Dugdale, then leading historical antiquaries. There is probably a link between this friendship and Balfour's purchase of Grandisson's copies of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (no. 20) and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (no. 21). Catalogues of the major collections of such bibliophiles might reveal more of Bishop Grandisson's manuscripts of which the whereabouts are unknown today.

Grandisson has received some notice among scholars of the fourteenth century: May McKisack referred to him and to Walter Stapeldon as 'two magnificent prelates of Exeter', and she documents Grandisson's opposition to a number of governmental actions.²³ W. A. Pantin lists Grandisson among the few scholar bishops of the fourteenth century and calls him 'a scholar and patron of art, and one of the most interesting bishops of his age'.²⁴ Katherine Walsh says, 'He ruled his diocese with a deep sense of commitment', and drawing from Oliver's *Lives* and evidence of his *Register*:

The bishop of Exeter was a model for his contemporaries, not only because of the way in which he built his cathedral, endowed its library, or provided for the poor, but in the administration of his diocese.²⁵

Finally, M. R. James says that Grandisson 'did wonders for the chapter library of Exeter' and that he was 'better qualified to judge of a library than almost any other man of his time'.²⁶ When one thinks of the great book collectors of the fourteenth century--Thomas Cobham a little before and William Rede a little after Grandisson, with Richard Bury his exact contemporary--one suspects that they amassed great numbers of books without poring over them as he did. In quantity, no doubt each exceeded him. The outside limit of the books Grandisson had available to him probably does not reach four hundred books. But when one considers what he did with them and the trails he left behind that inform us, which none of the other collectors mentioned have done, John Grandisson was assuredly more than a good judge of libraries: he showed us how books can shape the character of a man and make him a good bishop.

CONCLUSION--NOTES

1. Edn . I, 3.
2. Murimuth became precentor April 2, 1330. Shareshulle was admitted July 25, 1337. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 278.
3. Appropriation, April 1329: *Reg.* I, 483; Nov. 1332, *Reg.* II, 663-64; 666-69. On Sovenaisse see Emden, *BRUO*, s.n.'Sevenaysshe' and *Reg.* I, 240.
4. *Reg.* Stapeldon, p. 211.
5. Edn I, 4.
6. Appropriation: Oliver, *Lives*, p. 47. On Meriet, Oliver, p. 281; *Reg.* Grandisson II, 910-11. Meriet could lawfully supply a trained substitute; Grandisson's quarrel with him was that he took all of the fruits of his benefices without giving anything in return.
7. *Reg.* I, Ltr. 169, p. 240. The load of secretarial work was taken by William Nassington and Benedict Paston (the younger), as bishop's chancellors, who served in this period and beyond.
8. Oliver, *Lives*, p. 281; *Reg.* III ('Bokyngham'), 1352; 1360. Wyliet, *Reg.* III, 1383, and *Reg.* Brantingham, p. 154; Emden, *BRUO*, s.n. 'Buckingham, Thomas de', pp. 298-99; 'Wylyot, John de', p. 2119.
9. *Reg.* II, 955.
10. *Reg.* II, 1132-33.
11. Oliver, *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, pp. 76a; 48b; 260, 275.
12. *Reg.* II, 1112-14.
13. *Reg.* II, 1102-05; III, 1237.
14. *Reg.* III, 1241-47.
15. See above, Chapter IV, p. 179.
16. *Reg.* III, 1553, 1555; trans. 1517, 1519.
17. *Reg.* II, 1143-47, dated Feb. 1, 1355.
18. *Ibid.*, 1178-79; 1197. On providing benefices, see Pantin, *Engl. Church*, pp. 115-16.
19. *Reg.* II, 1178.
20. *Reg.* II, 616.
21. Oliver, *Lives*, pp. 376-78. On the distribution of Exeter books to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, see J. L. Lloyd, *The Library of Exeter*

Cathedral, pp.13-14.

22. Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, 1362b, in an Inventory of books of St George's Chapel (AD 1384-85): 'Unus liber de legendis et missis de commemoratione beate Marie de dono domini Iohannis de Grandissono episcopi Exon'.
23. McKisack, p. 299. In an analysis of good and not-so-good bishops in the fourteenth century, of whom she says: 'The task of the bishops was to make the system work, to defend their churches against royal and papal usurpation, to execute justice and, as heretics began to multiply, to defend their faith' (p. 295), McKisack lists (pp. 295-302) as worthy, archbishops Bradwardine, Islip, Courtenay, Langham, Sudbury, Greenfield, Melton, Zouche; and bishops Stapeldon, Grandisson, Bateman, Cobham, Bury, Rede, Wykeham, Brinton, Woodlock, Gynewell, and Trefnant. She cites sanctity, intellectual eminence, industry, devotion, and integrity, as her criteria (p. 295).
24. Pantin, *Engl. Church*, pp. 15, 151.
25. *A Fourteenth Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 64; 67. Her compliments in the main are for Grandisson as administrator: 'One of the most successful diocesan administrators of the fourteenth-century English Church' (p. 231), and of Grandisson and Northburgh of Coventry and Lichfield, in zeal for the good order of the diocese: '. . . exemplary among their fourteenth-century English colleagues' (p. 237).
26. *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. xlvi.

APPENDIX I

The following examples are Latin texts produced to illustrate Grandisson's method of excerpting material. They are two accounts of a speech made to Thomas by Pope Alexander.

Account by Herbert of Bosham, from *Quadrilogus* IV, p. 343:

Veruntamen, frater, etsi tuus et fratrum tuorum coepiscoporum grandis fuerit excessus et enormis, tecum tamen agendum parcius; qui, etsi, ut confiteris ipse, cecidisti; mox post casum resurgere conatus es, propter casum multa jam gravia et dura perpessus. Et statim ut cecideras, cum adhuc esses in Anglia, a nobis quaesisti et meruisti de clementia nostra per litteras nostras absolutionis beneficium: et quasi haec non sufficerent adhuc, eo quod confessio fieri per nuntium vel per scriptum non soleat, nunc demum apostolicam sedem casum tuum devote et humiliter confitens in labore plurimo et variis adisti periculis unde et dignum est, et nos tibi hoc indulgemus.

Account by Grandisson, ff. 26v-27:

Tecum tum frater initius est agendum, quia post casum citius surgere conatus es et inde tam gravia sustinere; sed quia de clementia nostra beneficium absolutionis alias tibi humiliter supplicanti impendimus, et offensam misericorditer indulgemus.

APPENDIX II*

There is appended to some of the manuscript copies of Grandisson's *Life*, an account of a miracle performed by St Augustine, Apostle of the English, which concerns the refusal of tithes. It begins with the words 'Est in pago Oxoniensi vicus, sex miliaribus distans a loco qui dicitur Wodestoke, Cometoria [Combe] nomine.' Besides being found in Bodleian Library MS Bodley 493 used in Chapter VI as primary reference, the legend is included in a miscellany of religious tracts which was given to Oxford University College by Bancroft, now item 3 of University College MS 29, pp. 371-75, s.xv. The fragment of Grandisson's 'Life' found in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 177, s.xv, is followed by the Augustine legend, which seems to be complete, catalogued as item 21 (f. 121). The question is whether Grandisson appended this legend to his original, a matter of about four folios.

Tithing, both ecclesiastically and politically, was much more of an issue in Grandisson's time than in Becket's, and the miracle would have no relevance at all to the Becket story except in allegorical terms. As the gist of the legend goes, a priest complains to St Augustine concerning his lord's withholding tithes, on the ground that everything belongs to God; and it is with this recognition that a portion should be returned to Him. By a stretch of one's imagination, the priest could be Becket, complaining against Henry II who (in terms of Grandisson's 'Life') did not render to God what belonged to God and to Caesar what belonged to Caesar in proper proportions (that Henry actually wanted to keep everything for himself is without proof). As Grandisson does not tell us what his interpretation of the story is, ours must be pure speculation. It is odd that this story appears in at least two copies of Grandisson's 'Life' if he did not put it there; if he appended it, its symbolical allusions must have meant more in his time than I am able to discover. Without further evidence, I regard this story as a fifteenth-century adulteration.

The story is found in print in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. Maii VI, 396, from the appendix to the chronicle of John Bromton (printed in Roger Twysden's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X* (London, 1652), cols 725-1284), who also carried the tale of the Saracen princess. However, as Bromton flourished about 1436, he could not have served as Grandisson's source, and his account is simpler than Grandisson's and easier to read. According to Sir T. D. Hardy, a previous compilation may have been made by a person connected with the diocese of Norwich. Hardy also said of Bromton, 'The work (chronicle)... has been the means of importing many fables into our history'.

* T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, 3 vols, RS [26] (London, 1862-71), II, 539-541. See also Dugdale's *Monasticon*, V, 567. On John Bromton, *DNB*, II, 1313, s.n. 'Bromton'. On tithing in the fourteenth century, see Pantin, *The Engl. Church*, pp. 203-4.

SUPPLEMENT

91. **Exeter Cathedral MS 3500, Exon Domesday--(1086?)**

Grandisson shows his interest in this manuscript by pointing fingers and by one specimen in display script, 'Northam', f. 194 (339).¹ Grandisson's younger brother, Otho, had purchased the manor of Northam from the Abbot and Convent of Caen, and appropriated to the Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary the revenues of the Church of Northam (except for an allowance for a perpetual vicar); thus Grandisson's interest in labelling this page and its contents.

The subject matter of Grandisson's notes and pointing fingers was of this kind (f. 120v (330, 318)): 'Nota de domibus episcopi in Excestre qui pertinent ad ecclesiam' (printed, p. 417). There is a pointing finger to an entry concerning St Stephen's and the amount of tax it paid (f. 120v; printed, pp. 417-18n1), and a pointing finger to the account of the bishop's manor of Sidbury (f. 507v; printed, p. 549). A short Grandisson note (f. 505v) says, 'Exon' pro prioratu sancti Nich' (Nicholas) and pointing fingers show his interest in entries for the abbot of Battle (f. 505v) and the Abbot of Tavistock (f. 506; printed pp. 548-49).

From such short entries Grandisson could put together a picture of Exeter in its early years as an episcopal see, together with a view of the abbeys (such as Tavistock) under episcopal jurisdiction. There were places, such as St Olave's Church on Fore Street, and the Bear Inn, which still existed in Grandisson's time. The relative wealth or hardship of monastic and ecclesiastical institutions in the late eleventh century could be assessed. Grandisson noted a few place names, 'Nota dicitur Conatona' (Colitona) and 'Rouerigge' for 'Rotomagensis' (ff. 194v, 505v). This Domesday Book, indeed, was William I's description of Anglia, as Grandisson observed in a note in the *Historia Anglorum* (no. 21), which led me to search this manuscript.²

92. **London, Sion College MS Arc. L. 40. 2/L. 13--s.xiii²**, is a collection of the Epistles of St Bernard and other materials. On f. iv in Grandisson's hand is a list of contents:

In isto libro habentur ista.

Primo. tractatus beati Bernardi contra quemdam hereticum
nomine petrus Abalardus

Item aliquae (*suprascript CX*) Epistole Bernardi notabiles

Item deuotissime salutaciones beate virginis Cum meditacionibus
mixtis inter eas, que totam vitam virginis et progressum continent
euangelii et vsque ad assumcionem

Item vna medi<tacio> <....> profunda de tota vita hominis. vsque
ad mortem.;

Grandisson headed f. 3 with **P** Epistole Bernardi.³ He added punctuation, the diastole to separate words, ^{hairlines} to *is*, Notae, and brackets. He made corrections (see f. 49va and f. 113). His pointing fingers appear ff. 23vb, 36va, 37ra, 37rb, 50va, 97va, and passim to the end of the manuscript, f. 135va. He wrote comments, usually with accompanying brackets, as on f. 48va (Epistola 42), 'Quales consiliarii sunt assumendi'; f. 48vb (ibidem), **P** Contra uestes prelatorum; and several notes pertain to Bishop William of York, ff. 107va-108vb: 'Contra electum Ebor' Willelmum. qui transi postea sanctus est', for example. He headed f. 129 with '**P** Meditacio beati Anselmi suauissima et deuotissima ad humanam dignitatem et cognoscedam et dilectionem dei in nobis accendam. et ad penam reproborum sunt gaudia <b...> considerandum.;.' No wonder Grandisson was sometimes accused of being prolix.

Two of the letters annotated by Grandisson are printed as separate tracts: Letter 77, f. 13v, to Hugh of St Victor, is 'on account of its importance', printed under the title *Liber de precepto et dispensatione*. Letter 42, f. 48va, to Henry abbot of Sens, is on the duties of a bishop and included as *De moribus et officio episcoporum tractatus*.

93. **E. K. Schreiber, New York, Catalogue Twenty-nine (1993)**, pp. 63-64 describing 'Seneca. *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 79.7-18, *Epitaph*, and opening of *De Beneficiis* on two consecutive MS leaves on vellum'. The leaves are from Northern France, c.1150. They were 'apparently collected in a florilegium for private use by a student or scholar'. The '*Expliciunt epistole Senece' of the facsimile on p. 64 undoubtedly represents Grandisson's hand, for the preceding 'star' and underlining are characteristic. The duct and aspect, with 'reclining' *e*'s with

hairlines, and the curved form of S in 'Senece' are typical. Although the capital *E* and the *x* are not complete in the replica, they, too, appear to be Grandisson's customary forms. I believe he used this manuscript when he was gathering material for the manuscript which became Exeter Cathedral MS 3649B (no. 2).⁴

Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 519--s.xv, ff. 79-93, is a copy of Grandisson's Life of Becket contained in a manuscript of many other works, as listed in HMC Appendix to IV Report, p. 597, section E. It is recorded also in *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, edited by M. L. Colker (Aldershot, Hants, 1991), II, 1013. I have not seen this manuscript.

SUPPLEMENT--NOTES

1. See Ker, *MMBL*, II, 800-807. The folio numbers cited are the original ones, with the new numbers in parentheses, followed by the page references to the printed edition: *Victoria County History-Devon*, I (London, 1906), 375-572.
2. Chapter IV, p.144.
3. Ker, *MMBL*, II, 274-75. My thanks to Malcolm Parkes for calling this manuscript to my attention. I use the pencil numeration for all folios. Bernard's letters are contained in *PL* CLXXXII. Letters annotated by Grandisson which I have been able to identify are (*PL* numbers and columns), no. 78, f. 19v, col. 191; no. 254, f. 23, col. 459; no. 126, f. 60rb, col. 272, sect. D; no. 211, f. 88va, col. 376; no. 221, f. 97va, col. 386; no. 18, f. 98rb, col. 120; no. 187, f. 105rb, col. 349; no. 239, f. 107va, col. 431; no. 236, f. 108rb, col. 424. The letters end on f. 111v. As shown by the *tabula*, Grandisson did not realize that the Anselm meditations were spurious, and he annotated them.
4. Thanks to Ian Doyle for sending the notes of this catalogue to me.

MANUSCRIPTS IN NUMERICAL ORDER

Manuscripts Grandisson Owned

1. London, Lambeth Palace 203
2. Exeter, Cathedral 3549B
3. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley Or. 135
4. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley Or. 621
5. London, Westminster Abbey 1
6. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 738
7. _____, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D.1.18
8. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 132
9. London, Lambeth Palace 141
10. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 150
11. _____, Merton College E.1.6 (Coxd 256B)
12. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 230
13. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 732
14. Exeter, Cathedral 3511
15. London, Brit. Libr., Cott. Cleop. C.XI
16. _____, Brit. Libr., Cott. Claud. A.XI
17. Cambridge, Trinity College 727
18. London, Lambeth Palace 104
19. _____, Lambeth Palace 1106
20. Edinburgh, National Libr., Advocates 18.5.1
21. _____, National Libr., Advocates 33.5.4
22. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 287
23. Cambridge, Trinity College 0.10.23
24. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 290
25. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 293
26. London, Brit. Libr., Add. 21926
27. Oxford, All Souls College 6
28. _____, Bodl. Libr., Rawlinson G.170
29. London, Brit. Libr., Add. 17443
30. Paris, Bib. Nat., Lat. 6299
31. Cambridge, Gonville-Caius College, 803/807 (40)

Manuscripts Belonging to Exeter Cathedral

32. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 691
33. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 193
- 34.-36. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 289, 272, 273
37. _____, Bodl. Libr., 849
38. Eton College 97
39. Exeter, Cathedral 3512
40. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 810
41. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 237
42. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 94
43. Exeter, Cathedral 3514
44. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud Misc. 627
45. London, Brit. Libr., Cott. Cleop. B.XIII
46. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 377
47. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 380
48. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 707
49. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 725
50. _____, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D.2.8
51. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 93
52. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 201
53. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 335

- 54-55. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 683, 253
56. _____, Exeter, Cathedral 3520
57. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 239
58. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 137
59. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 301
60. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 804
61. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 291
62. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 190
63. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 482
64. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 148
65. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 717
66. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 229
67. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 149
68. _____, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D.1.13
69. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 783
70. _____, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D.infra 2.9
71. _____, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D.2.7
72. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 318
- 73.-74. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 734, 473
75. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 792
76. Exeter, Cathedral 3525
77. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D.1.12
78. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 92
79. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 206
80. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 808
81. _____, Bodl. Libr., Lat.bib.d.10
82. _____, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 314
- 83.-84. Exeter, Cathedral 3504, 3505
85. _____, Cathedral 3518
86. _____, Cathedral 3510
87. London, Brit. Libr., Harley 863
88. Exeter, Cathedral 3515
89. _____, Cathedral 1/2 Missale fragments
90. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191

SUPPLEMENT

91. Exeter, Cathedral 3500
92. London, Sion College Library Arc. L. 40. 2/L. 13
93. New York, E. K. Schreiber, *Catalogue Twenty-nine* (1993), no. 80,
'Seneca', pp. 63-64, with facsimile of Grandisson's hand

Manuscripts Previously Identified on the Basis of Grandisson's Display Script

1-3, 5-6, 8-14, 16-19, 21, 23, 26-27, 29-35, 38-39, 42, 44, 46-47, 63, 83-84,
89, 9

Manuscripts in which Grandisson's Hand Has Not Previously Been Recognized

4, 7, 15, 20, 22, 24-25, 28, 38-41, 43, 45, 48-61, 65-70, 72-82, 85-88, 90,
91, 93

Manuscripts in which Attribution of Annotations to Grandisson is Less Certain

48-50, 53-58, 66-82

MANUSCRIPTS LIST

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library
~~79~~ — 93

177 (fragm.)
 191 (no. 90)
 275
 298
 464
 467

_____, ^{2nd}Gonville, Caius College Library
 328

803/807 (40) (no. 31)

_____, St John's College Library
 12

_____, Trinity College Library
 0.10.23 (formerly 1475) (no. 23)
 727 (no. 17)
 B.11.16
 B.14.37

Dublin, Trinity College Library 519

Edinburgh, National Library
Advocates 18.5.1 (no. 20)
 33.5.4 (no. 21)

Eton College Library
 97 (no. 38)

Exeter, Cathedral Library
 3502
 3504 (no. 83)
 3505 (no. 84)
 3505B
 3509
 3510 (no. 86)
 3511 (no. 14)
 3512 (no. 39)
 3514 (no. 43)
 3515 (no. 88)
 3518 (no. 85)
 3520 (no. 58)
 3525 (no. 74)
 3549B (no. 2)
 3625
 3630C
 Misc.1/2 Missale fragm. (no. 89)

London, British Library
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 C.XI (no. 15)
 Nero D.VIII

Vitellius C.XII

Harley 863 (no. 87)
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 104 (no. 18)
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 203 (no. 1)
 1106 (no. 19)

_____, Westminster Abbey Library 1 (no. 5)

Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin 24 ('Crawford')

Oxford, Bodleian Library

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D.2.8....(no. 50)
D.infra.2.9 (no..63)
D.5.10
F.2.8

Bodley 92 (no. 68)

93 (no. 51)
 94 (no. 42)
 132 (no. 8)
 137 (no. 60)
 148 (no. 73)
 149 (no. 54)
 150 (no. 10)
 190 (no. 76)
 193 (no. 33)
 201 (no. 53)
 206 (no. 69)
 229 (no. 52)
 230 (no. 12)
 237 (no. 41)
 239 (no. 64)
 253 (no. 57)
 272 (no. 35)
 273 (no. 36)
 287 (no. 22)
 289 (no. 34)
 290 (no. 24)
 291 (no. 75)
 293 (no. 25)

301 (no. 66)
 312
 314 (no. 78)
 318 (no. 80)
 335 (no. 55)
 377 (no. 46)
 380 (no. 47)
 473 (no. 82)
 482 (no. 65)
 493
 683 (no. 56)
 691 (no. 32)
 707 (no. 48)
 717 (no. 79)
 725 (no. 49)
 732 (no. 13)
 734 (no. 81)
 738 (no. 6)
 783 (no. 67)
 792 (no. 59)
 804 (no. 72)
 808 (no. 70)
 810 (no. 40)
 849 (no. 37)

Canon.Pat. Lat. 210
 229

Digby 37
 Laud Misc.627 (no. 44)
 Lat.bib.d.10 (no. 71)
 Or.135 (no. 3)
 Or.621 (no. 4)
 Rawlinson G.170 (no. 28).

_____, All Souls College Library 6 (no. 27)
 _____, Keble College Library 49
 _____, Corpus Christi College Library 44
 _____, Magdalen College Library 181
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PLATES 1-12 Grandisson's Handwriting with the Principal Variations

Plate 1 London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f.106, with colophon in Grandisson's glossing hand, and pointing finger (actual size)

Augustine's *Confessiones*, s xii

*Hucusque'ego .J. de Grandissono correxi et non ultra, |
secundum librum hugonis de Sancto Victore. ab eo ut dilcebatur
correctum, | dum studerem parisiis. Anno domini | .mccc. xiiii.
quando templarii combusti sunt, | proximo | Anno post concilium |
viennense,

To this point I John Grandisson have corrected and no further (according to a book of Hugh of St Victor said to have been corrected by him) while I was studying in Paris: In the Year of Our Lord 1314, when the Templars were burned, the next year after the Council of Vienne.

The hand is clearly Grandisson's, as the first person pronoun and verbs imply. This and a smaller version was used for marginal glosses throughout the codex, and is typical of his early glossing or 'student' hand.

Typical features (see Plate 5) are the split ascenders, long-tailed *r*'s and *s*'s, 'bitten' *de*, and two forms of *a*, one 'belted' (more usual), the other an adaptation of the tall *a* (*ab eo*, line 2). The whorl or star (*) preceding the colophon is a common Grandisson Nota used for headings or to indicate important information to follow in a gloss.

The narrow hand with long pointing finger showing the nail and joints is a Grandisson hallmark. The cuff (in various styles) with buttons is typical. As here, it frequently appears with his glosses.

'Expliciunt' is Grandisson's, a small version of his display script.

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Ex synonymis

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10

[illegible]

[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten Latin text from folio 10v.]

[Faint handwritten Latin text from folio 9v]

[illegible]

Plate 2 London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 118v, a page written in Grandisson's early text hand (actual size)

Excerpt from Isidore's *Synonyma*, s.xiv: PL LXXXIII, cols 833-35, begins 'Transeunt' (sec. 26); ends 'Iusto dei iudicio iudicaris' (sec. 34).

Headings in Grandisson's hand:

'*Ego .J. de G. scripsi hec | dum studerem parisius |'

'* Ex synonymis beati ysidori hypsalensis ep. manu .J. de G.'

Lines 30-36: Si times. illas penas time. iste finem habent. ille perpetue sunt. | In istis moriendo tormenta recedunt. in illis moriendo eternus dolor succedit. si enim conuersus fueris. emendacio est quod pateris. conuersas namque flagella a peccatis absol- | uunt. conuersos instantes plage ad purgacionem proficiunt. Qui enim hic castigatus corrigitur. illic liberatur. Qui uero nec sub | flagello corrigitur et temporali pena et eterna dampnatur. et in hoc prius iudicatur seculo et illic denuo in futuro. hiis duplex | dampnacio est. hiis gemina percussio est. et hic habent initium tormentorum et illic perfectionem penarum. Scito autem | homo nullum tibi aduersari posse. nisi deus potestatem dedisset. nec habuisset potestatem aduersarius nisi. permetteret deus. uniuersa | que tibi acciderunt.

This hand was also used for glosses of approximately the same size. Though a formal hand, split ascenders (line 30, 'ille'), and long-tailed *r*'s and *s*'s give the writing a feathery look. Note 'capital' form of *S* used in initial and final position (lines 30, 'Si', and 31, 'pateris'), shape of *g* (line 33, 'plage'), three shapes of *a* (line 33, 'instantes plage ad') but belted *a* most persistent, and hairline 'dotting' of *i*'s to define the minims (line 34, 'initium'). Grandisson's habit of adding a hairline above the *i* helped greatly in legibility. He used the Tironian (7-shaped) *et* (line 33, '7 temporali pena 7 eterna'). He usually underlined headings and glosses.

igitur illi quod si comā
a illi spm q' ignomi
mito peccōr. Q' nō i c
tato: peccōr. p' edos
ntes in chro p'stinn
e me est semper. Q' ci
oies. q' cūis i puluē
ipū fci sūt. t'nde i pua
ntes a deo malis q' factis
rē unde sup'ci sūt. redi
ere penitens deplorat
cōpūcto peccator. i cine
r. Q' i cūis i utioq' peni
lre agnoscantur p'ntia
flagellō cineris. perpendi
cādo peruenimus. p'
atholica i spe indulgētie
post unū baptisimū sacra
r cōmendatū. sollicitudo
eternale remedio penitē
remedio egere se cūti
ut humane fragilitatē
i cō nō possumus. hōr
ita ut sacerdotib' r leuitis
stante corā deo sollempnē
a cōfessio. q' temerariū
ratur cōtraxisse. neglex
iniquitates remitti. ut
redimus imputari. ita
uola. unūla fateamur
anteuū. ap' dñi. pro
h' i q'libet sūt magna
ill' dñi mīa despemda.
e supradictū est. n' tū
qm dolore cor r cōtri
ruit. p'ceptū q'nta m
pte mīa. intentionē de
tendo. Duplex aut' peni
agimus q' male gessi
pere debemus. Ite enī
i nec penitere p'terita
entia cōmittit. Qui n'
finitio. i m' peccare
mūclationē nō habet.
iūtitū p'eturbat i
tionē relecta uicia cor
bone cōuersationi no
rat i cōfessu ut opere.
uioy cogitationes. nō
occasio subeundi dic

crimini. s; potius ad augende uirtutis. Etiam:
q' cura finē suū per penitentia desinit cē malus. nō
deo debet cē desperatus. q' i timo: ultime uite
positus. Qm deus nō respicit q'les fuimus. s; q'les cē
finē uite exaltim'. Ex fine u' hie nūquēq' aut iusti
fiant. aut dēpnat. sicut scriptū est. Ipē iudicat ex
trema fte. Talibi vniūsoz finē ipē considerat. Pro
iude si dubitamus cura finē iustificari hominē. p'
penitētie cōpūctionē. Si q' raro id fieri solet. metu
entō: ne dū ad finē differitur cōsilio. aū mēti occu
per mois. q' subueniat penitētia. p' q' re. i bona ē
ad extremū cōuersio. tū melior: que lōge aū finem
agitur. ut ad uitā seruū transseatur. Ex
ter sententiarū bi p'sidonē q'.

ma

j. 8. y. i

Job. xxi.

ul' in fpa

ul' ab p

i. S'mo b' Augustini.

Supplio frēs b'm. r pater-na pietate cōmones. ut
quociensq' oratō inditūy. qui forte p' aliq' infir
mitate nō p'test genua flectere. r dōxi curuare.
ul' ceruicē humiliare nō differat. Quid tibi p'dest. q'
fideliter psallis. si postea quam psallere desinis. d'
supplicare noluieris. Et ideo unūquīsq' quando
psallere cessauerit. cū oī humilitate oret. r sup
plicet dō. ut q' uerbis p'tulit ex ore dō auxiliante
implere mereat in opere. Sic est psallere fr's. q'modo
agriū sequare. Sic est orare. q'm sementē rēu. i arādo
sepillere ul' tegere. Sicut. n. qui seminat in agro.
si hoc arando cōpūe dūmīlauert. ueniet uolūcs
r totū q' seminatū ēē uidebat. d' r p'it. ita qui
in agro cordis sui seminauerit. ubi dei psallendo
ul' legendo assueuerit. n' postea orando in corde suo
recedet. r q'modo sepillierit. uenient uolūcs
id est cogitacōes s'ch hui' uolūtices. manes et
uacue. r rapūt q' in corde fuerat seminatū.
Et ideo n' cessauerit aliq's psallere. nō cesset orare.
si uult in ag' cordis sui mellem mīe diuine p'ficere.
Rogo uos fr's. q'ies in altario orat. r uos incli
nate capita u'sa. ne forte stantes si uultis
orare. impleatur in uob' illud q' de phariseo scriptū ē.
qui stans orabat. Plus. u. placuit dō publican'. qui
incuruauat. accusabat p'ccata sua. quē ille phar
iseus. qui stans laudabat mīta sua. Et illud
obsequate fr's. ne forte dū alii orat. alii o'cōis
fabul' occupent. ne de medicamentis vlnera
faciat. r inde se p'dat. unde se libet. t're potu
erat. Qui hec faciūt. r p' se. r p' alios quos r
p'diūt malam p'ccatū sūt in die iudicii red
dituri. Et hoc ammones siml' r rogo fr's.
quociens clamātū fuerit. r uos b'ndictiōni

Plate 3 Exeter Cathedral Manuscript 3549B, f. 169rb,
Grandisson's copy of a sermon in his own hand, formal text
script (magnified 1.6)

Augustine's Sermon 285, s.xiv (*PL* XXXIX, cols 2284-85)

Grandisson Heading: '* Sermo beati Augustini'

Lines 1-6: Supplico fratres karissimi. et paterna pietate
commoneo. ut quocienscumque oracio indicitur. qui forte pro
aliqua infirmitate non potest genua flectere et dorsum
curuare. uel ceruicem humiliare non differat. Quid tibi prodest
quod fideliter psallis. si postea quam psallere desinis deo
supplicare nolueris.

Grandisson's text hand was influenced by the style and value of
the book in which he wrote. Here, in a fine-quality book, he
seems to be making an attempt at uniformity, and his hand
imitates to some degree the scribal hand on the page: note
finishing strokes (feet to the minims), and wedge-shaped
ascenders in place of split ascenders, giving a sharp or pointed
aspect, whereas the former aspect (Plate 2) was rounded. The
long-tailed *r* has been shortened with pronounced throat and
shoulder; *s* ends at the line. Note the '2-shaped' *r* in 'oracio'
(line 2) and 'dorsum' (line 3), and *g* has lost its calligraphic
flourish (line 3) (but see 'rogo' in the penultimate line). Other
features of his hand (belted *a*, dotted *i*'s, Tironian *et*) persist.

Plate 4 Exeter Cathedral MS 3505, f.1, Grandisson's display script as used for inscriptions (reduced)

Third part of the Legend, the Sanctoral, which Grandisson compiled for the Cathedral, s.xiv

Heading in Grandisson's display script: 'Ego Johannes de Grandissono Exoniensis: Do ecclesie Exoniensis librum istum cum pari suo | *manu mea.;

'I John Grandisson of Exeter give to the Church of Exeter this book with its companion, with my own hand'.

Features of Grandisson's style are the underlined heading; long-tailed *r* and *s*; biting of *de*, *Do* and *xo*; split ascenders ('librum'); typical punctuation of 'manu mea' (see Plate 5). The shape of the *m* in initial position, rounded with long finishing stroke curved under the letter, is usual with Grandisson.

In hoc libro continentur

Dialogus beati Gregorii ^{libri .iii.} pp.

Item Tractatus sancti Benedicti

et sororis sue beate Scolastice

In ecclesia sancti Leonardi solet legi

ad collationes in .xlv. & die

logo beati Gregorii. et sic potest

alibi quicquid si placet.

Similiter pastorale beati Gregorii.

valde competet ad tunc legendo

Plate 5 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 230, facing f.1 (actual size), Table of Contents in Grandisson's display script, illustrating letter forms and other significant features of his hand

Gregory I's, *Libri Dialogi*, s.xii

* In hoc libro continentur. | Dialogus beati Gregorii pape.;.
[superscript 'libri iiiiior'] | Item. Translacio Sancti Benedicti. | et
sororis sue beate Scolastice.;. | * In ecclesia Sarum legatur
[superscript 'vel'] solet legi | ad collaciones in .xl.i de dia- | logo
beati Gregorii. 7 sic potest | alibi quandocumque si placet.;. |
Similiter. pastorale beati Gregorii. | valde competeret ad tunc
legenda.

* In this book are contained | the Dialogues of St Gregory, Pope,
four books. | Also, Translation of St Benedict and his sister, St
Scolastica. | * In the Church of Sarum is read, or may be read, at
Collations in Lent [Quadragesima] from the Dialogues of St
Gregory, and thus it can be [read] elsewhere whenever one
chooses. Similarly, the Pastoral of St Gregory is very suitable to
be read at that time.

Note Grandisson's star or whorl which precedes his headings
and notes and the positura (end of lines 2, 8). These are almost
always found with his headings.

One can distinguish in this example the way that Grandisson
shaped his letters: The 'belted' *a* consists of a single-stroke loop
made from left to right with cross-stroke just below the middle
and feet curving to the right (lines 1, 2), or made with three
strokes (lines 4, 6). A form of tall *a* appears as a variant in lines
6 and 8. Letters *b* and *l* have split ascenders (lines 1, 9); *r* and *s*
are long-tailed (line 3, 'Translacio Sancti'), *r* with pronounced
shoulder (second stroke) and open throat, the 2-shaped form of
r ('sororis', line 4), being used in mid-word. Letter *d* has a
looped ascender, and in 'dialogo' (line 6) seems to be made
from left to right--the bowl first and the stem of the letter
second without lifting the pen--whereas the *d* of *ad* (line 6) is
made with two strokes, part of the bowl first, completed by the
descender. There is biting in *de* (line 6): a second stroke
completes the *e*, broken to end with an otiose stroke, another
distinguishing feature of the hand.

Note the hairlines over the *i*'s, the Tironian *et* (line 7), the
varying shapes of *g*, the open capital letter *D*, all characteristics
of Grandisson's display script and of his letter forms in general.

On *positura* and paraph marks, see M. B. Parkes, *Pause and
Effect* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 301, 306.

Plate 6 *Episcopal Registers: Diocese of Exeter: John de Grandisson*, ed. F. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1894) II, facing title page, facsimile of letter copied into the *Register* for 'vii Idus September', 1328, from Abbot Bonus of Tavistock, which Grandisson annotated

Grandisson drew lines through the text of the letter from Abbot Bonus, and added 'fatui' to the marginal heading which is 'Responsio Abbatis de Tavistoch' ad Literas sibi missas per Dominum (Grandisson)' in the hand of the Registrar (probably John Chaille who signed the first year's entries). Grandisson wrote in the margin below this entry: 'Iste Abbas, qui dicebatur bonus, erat pessimus quasi hereticus'. ('This Abbat, who is called Bonus, was the worst, like a heretic': Bonus's letter is transcribed and printed in *Reg.* I, 395.) Bonus resisted episcopal jurisdiction and visitation; his letter is arrogant: he wants the bishop to collude with him in his dissolute living; he will make it worth the bishop's while. Grandisson's anger is restrained, considering the provocation.

Although Grandisson's hand on this page has calligraphic features which show he tried to match the style of the hands above and below his notes, his letter forms remain constant, and the unevenness reveals his untrained hand. Writing is with a sharp pen (the descenders end in a point, like those in the engrossing hand above) and letters are joined more than usual. Note calligraphic effects of approach strokes to *I* ('Iste'), and *A* ('Abbas') (see Plate 17 below), and the exaggerated loop to the *d*. The *b*'s show biting, *b* and *h* have split ascenders, and the limb of the *h* curves under the letter, typically. The *r*'s have horns (contrast the form of *r* in the other annotations).

Note that the so-called 'reversed *e*' appears at this date: see the last entry, 'Mandatum de supersedendo, pro Domino Ricardo de Hywische.' Grandisson did not adopt this *e*, except perhaps for a short time as an experiment.

Plate 7 *Register Grandisson* II, facing title page, draft of a letter written in French, showing Grandisson's informal hand

Undated letter (c. 1338-1347) to an anonymous person, perhaps John Warren, Earl of Surrey (transcribed *Reg.* II, p.308, no.268).

Treshonorable Segnur e tresame Chosin, sil vous plest, nous avvons receu [*superscript* 'novelement'] voz lettres pur cely moingne qyl se dyt Priour de Seint Jake pres dexcestre.

Very honourable Lord and dear Cousin, if you please, we have recently received your letters concerning that monk who calls himself Prior of Saint James near Exeter.

In this rapid hand, there is an effort not to lift the pen; however, approach strokes and split ascenders still persist. Cursive s is used initially and finally ('sil. . . avvons') more often than in earlier hands. The aspect is quite different from other examples, chiefly because it is current, and the minims are crowded and less distinct.

illinc allegor. unū ē tam q̄ pue
quā se exptū ēē nemo pot̄ dicē
uite nom̄ audit. Absit dñe. a
gaudio gaudeā beatū me pu
colunt. quoz̄ gaudiū tu ip̄
te ipsa ē. et n̄ ē altera. Quia
ipsū uerū ab aliq̄ tñ imagi
ē qd̄ om̄s ēē beati uolunt. c
es. n̄ utiq̄z uitā beatā uolum
ūsus sp̄m. et sp̄s adūsus ca
ualent eo q̄z c̄tenti s̄t. q̄z illi
ualeant. Nā q̄ro ab om̄ibz. i
tā n̄ dubitant dicē de uerti
le. Beata q̄ppe uitā ē gaudi
es. Dñs illuminatio mea ē
uolunt hanc uitā. q̄ sola b
uolunt. Multos expt̄ sū
nouer̄ hanc uitā beatā. n̄
falli nolunt. Et cū amant
utiq̄z amant etiā ueritatē
eoz̄. Cur ḡ n̄ de illa ga
in alijs q̄ pot̄ eos faciū
runt. Adhuc enī modicū
eos tenebre cōprehendant
eis homo tuus uerū p̄di
tate. n̄ q̄z sic amat uerū
ēē ueritatē. & q̄z falli noll
oder̄ ueritatē. quā puer
Quia enī falli nolunt. et

· XVIII ·

De gaudio

· XVIII ·

Inde h̄ autem
uenerunt

De h̄ autem
opione

De

Plate 8 London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 203, f. 74v, detail (enlarged approximately 2:1) of marginalia with variations of Grandisson's glossing hand, chapter numbers, and symbols

Augustine's *De Confessiones*, s.xii, Book X

1) 'Nota hic membrata de gaudio', ('Note here the parts of joy') with chapter numbers .XXIII. above and .XXIII. below. Note the otiose strokes on the superscript *a*, on *g*, and the curve of the suspension mark over 'membrata'. The loops of the *d*'s are large with heavy diagonals, and Grandisson has used two-compartment *a*'s.

2) 'Nota* vide hic attente del veritate.;.' (Note, see here carefully concerning integrity)--a formal script with care taken to make each letter distinct. Grandisson has written his most usual Nota symbol.

3) '*Nota. bene. bene 7 optime'--variation of Nota symbol, and Tironian *et*. Above, faint pointing finger with cuff and buttons.

4) 'Nota' with *notabilia N*.

De p[er]p[et]ratib[us] scilicet
sentit iterum a timore
adiutis et a
corruptio leticie

De p[er]p[et]ratib[us] scilicet
sentit iterum a timore
adiutis et a
corruptio leticie

De p[er]p[et]ratib[us] scilicet
sentit iterum a timore
adiutis et a
corruptio leticie

miserere mei. U. m. U. ce uiu
cor et miser su. U. uq. n. tept
thas et difficultates. Tolera
et si tolerare amat. qui sen
ret. d. sp. in adu. sis desido. ad
n. sit humana uita teptatio. q
deno p[er]p[et]ratib[us]. et q. ipsa adi
n. teptatio e uita humana sup
in magna ualde miseria tu
tia. Et cu. scire ait qda. q. nen
pientie. scire cui e. donu. E
aq. in multa defuyum. O in
amat. O amor q. semp. aude
de me. Continentia iubes. da
a. cupiscentia carnis. et a. cu
cubitu. et de ipso euigio. me
cum e. et anteq. dispensato
ria mea de q. multa locut. su.
Et occurrant in uigilanti qd
delectatione. s. etia. usq. ad
let. imaginis illusio. in an
uisa p[er]suadeant. qd. uigilan
Et tñ. tantu. int. e. int. me ip
seo. ut huc inde retuseo. Vbi
Et si resipse ingerant. in cu
cu. sensib[us] corpis. Et unde se
atq. in eo castissim[us] p[er]manem
tam tantu. int. e. ut cu. alit. a

Plate 9 London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 203, f.75v, enlarged detail of Grandisson's marginalia, with book hand, chapter numbers, pointing finger, glossing hand with bracket

Augustine's *De Confessiones*, s.xii, Book X

1) Grandisson's use of book hand with *signe de renvoi* for correction (see same symbol in the text): 've prosperitatibus seculi. | semel 7 iterum. a timore adversitatis 7 a corrupcione leticie.' with chapter number XXX. (In printed text, about five lines before chapter xxx.)

2) Faint note in glossing hand: 'C De continencia 7 amor dei' followed by Nota ('Of continence and the love of God').

3) Grandisson pointing finger adjacent to 'XXXI' in his hand. Note the abnormally long finger with nail and joints defined, the long cuff with buttons.

4) 'Nota de pol[l]encione | in sompno. ;.' ('Note the power in sleep') in glossing hand, followed by broken-line bracket to foot of page.

Grandisson said that he 'laboured long in correcting' this book (f.7) against Hugh of St Victor's exemplar, and his hand is the only one making the corrections. He seemed to be influenced by the aspect of the page (possibly also by mood), but his earnest when he used this kind of hand was to make his writing indubitably clear.

rum celestium. in pulvis quod sum. Si in
 pulvis fecisti hominem. et perierat et in
 pulvis fuit. que talia dicente afflatu
 ma posui inquit in eo quod me confortat. C
 et inbe quod ius. Iste se accepisse credit.
 alium rogante. ut accipiat. Aufer a
 Un apparet. sced s mis te dare cū sit.
 bone. omnia munda mundis. Si mali
 ducat. et omne creaturā tuā bonā ē
 actione percipit. et q̄ esca nos n̄ com
 et in potu. et q̄ manducat n̄ mand
 manducante n̄ iudicet. Didici hec
 meo. pulsatorum aurium meorum illud
 temptatione. Non ego immunditia
 piditatis. Scio noe omne carnis ger
 pmissu. helia cibo carnis refectione
 animalibus. hoc ē locustis in esca ca
 lenticule concupiscentia decepti. et
 phensu. et regē nr̄m n̄ de carne

H. q. delicata comedat
 nō est peccatū. 63 q̄m
 cibū ē vñ an p̄p̄t
 concupiscentia & immunditate
 est peccatū;

Plate 10 Lambeth Palace MS 203, f.76v, enlarged detail of Nota symbols, bracket, and gloss in Grandisson's hand

Augustine's *Confessiones*, s.xii, Book X, chapter xxxii

1) Grandisson Nota .

2) Grandisson Nota and bracket; gloss in formal hand: 'Nota quod delicata comedere | non est peccatum. sed quicumque | cibum 7 vilem acipere cum | concupiscencia 7 aviditate | est peccatum.' (Note that to eat with restraint is not a sin, but it is a sin to take any food and wine whatever with concupiscence and greed'.) Grandisson has added feet to the minims and the descenders come to a point; *l* and *b* have wedge-shaped ascenders, and most of the letters have horns, especially *m* and *n*, *p*, *r*, and *t*; *d* has lost its loop; he uses Anglicana *s* as well as long-tailed; note the slant of *e* with hairline finishing stroke; the distinctive form of Tironian *et*.

Plate 11 Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 83, enlarged detail of marginalia showing Grandisson's book hand with *signes de renvoi* for corrections, and chapter numbers.

Augustine's *Confessiones*, s.xii, Book XI, chapter viii.

- 1) Grandisson chapter numbers, 'VIII', 'IX', 'X'.
- 2) Grandisson's 'Tunc esse incipit | 7 tunc desinit' ('begins then and leaves off then'), correction preceded by *signe de renvoi*.
- 3) Grandisson's 'vel fecisti' ('or, 'you have made') with *signe de renvoi* (chapter ix, Grandisson's chapter x).

Letter forms are heavier than in the glossing hand and approach textura in style; descenders end at the line, and there are no otiose strokes.

d'et r'p' qua diffinitione. & cu
 uid em' metior obsec' ds m' et dico
 illud. aut etia' definite dupli'e
 n' futu' q' n' d' e'. s; n' metior pre
 stitu' q' n' e'. Q' d' g' metior. An pre
 stitisse ait' ds m' et attendite
 plu' nos. attende u' albescit ueritas.
 & sonat. et adhuc sonat. Et ecce de
 a e'. et n' e' i' uox. futa erat anteq'
 et n' n' pot' q' i' n' e'. I' g' potat
 s; et t' n' stabat. ibat em' et p'eri
 endebat' in aliq'd' spatiu' t'p'is quo
 u'. Si g' t' potat. ecce puta alta ce
 lore sine ulla diffinitione metiam'
 erit. et n' erit q' possit metiri. Nec
 dhuc sonat. nec metiri pot' n' ab uni
 u'it'. Ipsi q'ppe inuallu' metim' ab
 p'p'e uox q' n' d' finita e' metiri n' pot'
 i'ci aut eq'lis alicui aut ad aliq'u'
 n' f'uerit. i' n' erit. Quo pacto g'
 ea q' n' d' f'uerit. Nec futa g' n' p'uta. nec
 metim' t'p'ra. D's creator omiu'. Versus
 l'nat sillabis. Quor' itaqz breues.
 q' tuor' longas scda. q' t'ra sexta oc
 duplu' h'nt t'p'is. P'numtio. et renun
 esto q' n' u' sens' manifest' e'. Breui
 e' bis tantu' q' alia bis tantu' p' alia
 i' tenebo breue. et q'm' ea longa me
 m' h'beat. q'ndo q'd' e' longa sona
 ipsaqz longa n' p' sent' metior q'n
 titio e'. Q' d' e' g' q'd' e' metior. Vbi e' q'
 Ambe sonuer' auolauer' p'cier' i' a
 eo. q' n' u' exercitato sensu' f'idit' u'
 scilicet t'p'is. Neqz hoc possu' n' q'

n' ea q' i' a' s'nt. n'
 ea q' n' illa mora
 et tendit' n' ea q'
 t'nuos n' h'ent.

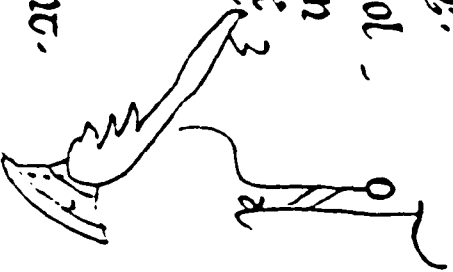
Plate 12 London, Lambeth Palace MS 203, f. 87, detail of marginalia showing correction in Grandisson's hand with *signe de renvoi*

Augustine's *Confessiones*, s.xii, Book XI, chapter xxvii

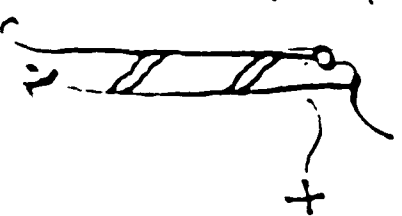
- 1) Grandisson's chapter number XXVIII.
- 2) Grandisson's correction preceded by *signe de renvoi*: 'nec ea qui iam sunt. nec | ea qui ulla mora | ei tenduntur. nec ea qui | terminos non habent.' ('neither those which no longer are, nor those which are lengthened out by some pause, nor those which have no .bounds') (chapter xxvii; Grandisson xxviii).

Grandisson's hand somewhat imitates the scribal hand (in size, breadth of stroke, spacing, and general aspect). Note use of two-compartment *a*; *s* ends at the line; descender of *q* is short.

1.^o Sed
 gestis. iu
 uenab;
 tre cogit
 audis hu
 luas &
 ost quam
 ius. legib;
 sacisq; pol
 ortulum
 a orta. ē
 in bello
 uio. ē. ē.
 hi abierant.
 ia. festina
 iohb; ob
 iusq; ar
 tuat ppu
 i portabant.
 is benefi



cuenta ai couer
 ē recto uolum
 ias. ē. negare pre
 uq; amplectim;
 xi confitemur.
 hoc ut bene ui
 uat. si de dō non
 e a nob ei negare
 uctinus quo ad
 crimus. Proinde
 gationes. & exor
 rationes. quia
 ut. & ualent plu
 rias ē. p̄scūit.
 ipeanda quise
 p̄scūit. & in
 ipeccat supph
 ni ideo n̄ peccat
 rui ē. p̄scūit.
 p̄scū peccare cū
 ientia falli non
 tuu. non aliqd
 rui ē. p̄scūit.
 eat. Sed si peccare



PLATES 13-16 Variations of Grandisson's Principal Nota Symbols

Plate 13 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 691, f.147, detail of Grandisson marginalia

Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, s.xii

The upper Nota monogram (of the original page) is a clear example of Grandisson's most frequent symbol, with exaggerated curves, flourish to the superscript *a* and internal decoration. To set it off further he puts a point on each side.

The Nota monogram below is also frequently used, and shown here in one of its most elaborate aspects, all parts carefully elucidated (the slanting bars of the 'capital' form of *N*, the *o*, the flourished head-stroke of *t*, and the *a* clearly written *infrascript*). This form is frequently used, as here, to bracket several lines of text. The '+' mark with its approach stroke is not Grandisson's.

Plate 14 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 691, f. 23, detail illustrating Grandisson's Nota monogram and pointing finger

Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, s.xii

Grandisson's Nota monogram is used here as a bracket for approximately three lines of text. The pointing finger and the 3 show where to begin, and indicate that this is important. Though this hand is somewhat hastily drawn, its abnormally long index finger and cuff, with the Grandisson Nota monogram in conjunction, identify it as Grandisson's.

ut boni patres: ne uos lux
nec defleat. Audio enim
de hereticis et impioribus hominibus. qui dicunt
abstinere a uirginitate
et uirginitate

q. d. inquit fecerit: inquit se
fidelitatem putant. Glori-
amur redigo: ne alius pda
corpi sui. ut uoluit. predicare al-
bi. qui ad legem. ad
citatem libidinis. illecebras
cupiditatis. Quis istos epie
sed impiorum: ut ipsi aunt. q
castimoniam nulli. usui. de-
Nec; enim pudet dicere. qd di-

uina haurit. in. monaste-
inducti ludibriosos dispen-
te. ab. de. de. uolentes
ta. que debet. auere. mo-
itaq; dissimulare talia cep-
inducibilis. taliter. utiq; q

et. tanq; pudicitie: ut illo
dicta monstrum erat. n. um
quod uirgo audire exp-
milit. Cuiq; uxor. que
ue uicio mederet. fecissem
olere. Laudanda in utroq;
ut uiri uirum. et si parient
ris sui. n. uxoris fastidio. sed
f. sedm ducit mariti. hoc
minor. cu. quere. Ab ea
beret. respondit. n. se inue-
Quo dicto eleganter ostendit
qua pudicitia. et multos n.
i. sane res. qua. aucta. con-
et. quere. que. die. habe-
libitor. que. ita. uirum. qu-
. cogitabat. Breue. portam
uirgine. Sed. maria. in-
e. e. uirum. potuit. po-
se. uirum. applicuit. se-
rioris. indulgentis. uincul-
ut. alteri. uirum. nubere. et
re. quaq; in. hoc. facit. Si
ab. n. nolo. emere. ne. dam.

W. offe-
r. d. i. l. s.

Plate 15 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 94, f.135, detail of Grandisson's gloss with bracket in facial shape

Jerome's treatise *Contra Jovinianum hereticum*, s.xii2

Grandisson has drawn a small ugly face to accompany his gloss 'Nota os fetidum et cetera' at 'Is iam senex et trementi corpore'. Such faces serve as brackets, and usually accompany some unsavoury subject

Plate 16 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 94, f. 94v, detail of Grandisson's subject heading and pointing finger

Ambrose's *Epistola ad Vercellensem Ecclesiam* (modern Vercelli), s.xii2

1) Grandisson's 'Nota de hereticis dampnatibus abstinentiam et virginitatem' ('Note the abstinence and virginity of damnable heretics') at 'Audio enim venisse aduos sarmacionem et barbacianum'--'For I hear that Sarmatio and Barbatianus have come among you', says Ambrose: they preached that there was no merit in abstinence, no grace in a frugal life, none in virginity.

This hand has many of the features of the early glosses: split ascenders, long-tailed s, belted *a*. Note the underlining.

2) Grandisson pointing finger: compare the style of cuff with preceding plates. The text here is 'Hoc delicati non potuerunt ferre'--'This these men of delicacy could not bear'. They had entered the monastery but could not stand the austere life. They departed and when they desired to return were not received.

caid nuntio delicti nuntio illot & c

Quod est in adione q' dicitur facit

[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]

9

॥ अथ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

• १८० •

PLATE 17 Grandisson's Working Copies of a Concordance

Plate 17 Gonville-Caius College, Cambridge, MS Fragments 803-807 (40), s.xiv, showing Grandisson's work on a concordance of works of the Fathers (see list of works, no. 30)

Side 1

Grandisson's small glossing hand appears in the inscription 'Liber Johannis' at the head of the page, and in the same hand as a rubric: 'C Attende in toto libre p<...>s brital preedit autoritatem s<....>aco seq.'. 'KYLEWARDEBY' is in Grandisson's display script in a different style and colour of ink than the inscription, and written at a later time, at head of column 1; 'epi Exon' is written in same ink and style in upper right-hand corner. Subject headings in Grandisson's hand are written at the foot of the page: 'Abraham', 'Abimelech', 'Abyssus', and 'Abstinencia'.

Side 2

The *paragraphus* marks preceding the names of works (rubricated) are probably Grandisson's (left-hand column), and the paraph in the second half. Subject headings at the foot of the page are in Grandisson's hand: 'Abhominacio', 'Abortinus', 'Achademici', 'Accedere', 'Actio'. Grandisson's hand can be recognized by the form of 'capital' A with approach stroke, belted a's, long-tailed s, 'dotted' i's. Wedge-shaped ascenders are used in place of split ascenders, and the d has no loop. The example represents his early handwriting (compare Plate 3).