THE LITERARY FORM OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PASTORAL MANUAL

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO

THE SPECULUM CHRISTIANI

AND SOME RELATED TEXTS

Volume 2

Notes and Appendices

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. R.M. Haines, 'Education in English Ecclesiastical Legislation of the Later Middle Ages', in Councils and Assemblies, ed. G.J. Cuming and L.G.D. Baker, Studies in Church History, 7 (1971), 161-75 provides (p. 161, n.1) a list of the basic discussions of clerical education during the medieval period. To this list should be added a recent important study by R.M. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy in the later Middle Ages with particular reference to the Manuals of Instruction', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, 1976). The examination of candidates for ordination is discussed in H.S. Bennett, 'Medieval Ordination Lists in the English Episcopal Registers', in Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, ed. J.C. Davies (Oxford, 1957), pp. 20-34.

2. The legislation is available in Councils and Synods, II (1205-1313), ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, 2 vols (Oxford, 1964). Subsequent references are to C. & S. An important but neglected analysis of the significance of the legislation is C.R. Cheney, 'Some Aspects of Diocesan Legislation in England during the Thirteenth Century', in Medieval Texts and Studies (Oxford, 1973), pp. 185-202.

3. C.R. Cheney, English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century (Oxford, 1941, repr. with new intro. 1968), pp. 62-7; C.R. Cheney, 'The Earliest English Diocesan Statutes', English Historical Review, 75 (1960), 1-29; C. & S., p. 24.

4. F.M. Powicke, Stephen Langton (Oxford, 1928); B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Indiana, 1964), pp. 196-263; M. Gibbs and J. Lang, Bishops and Reform 1215-1272 (Oxford, 1934), pp. 25-9, 105-7; P.B. Roberts, Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante: Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton (Toronto, 1968).

5. Powicke, p. 34.

6. Powicke, p. 54; G. Lacombe, 'The Quaestiones of Cardinal Stephen Langton', New Scholasticism, 3 (1929), 1-18, 113-58; 4 (1930), 115-64.

7. C. & S., p. 23.

8. C. & S., p. 24.

9. C. & S., p. 26.

10. C. & S., p. 29.

11. C. & S., p. 32; cf. also Council of Westminster (1200), cap. 4 (C. & S., p. 32 n.2).

12. C. & S., p. 31. It is interesting to note that this syllabus does not include the Ave Maria which is often found in later statutes.

13. C. &S., p. 100.

14. C. & S., p. 115. Langton's famous exhortation that priests should not be canes muti (cap. 15) is based ultimately on Isaiah 56.10: 'Speculatores eius caeci omnes nescierunt universi: Canes muti non valentes latrare, videntes vana dormientes, et amantes somnia,' although the idea is also found in Gregory the Great's Cura Pastoralis, 2, cap. 4. It is frequently repeated after Langton.

15. Cheney, English Synodalia, p. vi; C. & S., p. 52.

16. Gibbs and Lang, p. 26.

17. Cheney, English Synodalia, pp. 53-4.

18. Thomae de Chobham: Summa Confessorum, ed. F.M. Broomfield, Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia, 25 (Louvain/Paris, 1968), pp. lvi-lxi discusses the probable dating of the Summa.

19. English Synodalia, p. 52.

20. Cheney, English Synodalia, p. 55.

21. Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 360; Cheney, English Synodalia, p. 58. The text Qui bene praesunt is discussed in detail below pp. 103-7.

22. C. & S., p. 61. The biblical quotation is also found in the Speculum Christiani, H. 11.4-5.

23. C. & S., p. 61. On the distinction between clerical and lay understanding of the same material see Haines, 'Education', 161-2, quoting Lyndwood's Provinciale.

24. C. & S., p. 96.

25. C. & S., p. 127. The clerical miscellanies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reflect the continuing concern for the proper execution of the Opus Dei and several treatises instruct the clergy in how to say the Office correctly. See below pp. 60, 123, 284-5.

26. C. & S., p. 367.

27. Gibbs and Lang, pp. 44-6; BRUO III, 2099-2101.

28. C. & S., p. 465.

29. C. & S., p. 467.

30. On the transmission of copies of the legislation, see Cheney, English Synodalia, pp. 45-7; C.R. Cheney, 'Legislation of the Medieval Church', English Historical Review, 50 (1935), 193-224, 385-417, pp. 208-17; Ball, 'The Education of the English

(n.30 continued)
Parish Clergy', pp. 79-117. Similar comments are found in Worcester II (1229) cap. 51 (C. & S., p. 179); Worcester III (1240) cap. 94 (C. & S., p. 319) and Durham II (1241x49?) cap. 52 (C. & S., p. 435).

31. pp. 90-141.

32. C. & S., p. 245.

33. C. & S., p. 247.

34. C. & S., p. 254.

35. Gibbs and Lang, p. 35.

36. Gibbs and Lang, p. 36; BRUO II, 830-33.

37. Quoted by W.A. Pantin, 'Grosseteste's Relations with the Papacy and the Crown', in Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop, ed. D.A. Callus (Oxford, 1955), pp. 178-215, p. 179.

38. J.H. Srawley, 'Grosseteste's Administration of the Diocese of Lincoln', in Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop, ed. D.A. Callus (Oxford, 1955), pp. 146-77, p. 168.

39. Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, 25 (London, 1861), pp. 50-4, p. 51.

40. e.g. CVII (Luard, p. 317) and CXII (Luard, p. 330). Grosseteste also wrote to the great canonist Raymond of Pennaforte praising his 'opera sapientialia referentium' (Luard, p. 128).

41. C. & S., p. 268.

42. 'Sciat insuper saltem simpliciter septem ecclesiastica sacramenta, et hi qui sunt sacerdotes maxime sciant que exiguntur ad vere confessionis et penitentie sacramentum, formamque baptizandi' (cap. 1), C. & S., p. 268.

43. See below, pp. 107-11.

44. Gibbs and Lang, pp. 194-5; BRUO II, 669.

45. See note 39. The echo from Augustine is based on his Sermon 46 (De pastoribus), 9 (Luard, p. 51).

46. cap. 1: '... Insuper sciat que sunt septem criminalia, que non solum verbo set exemplo sancte conversationis similiter populo sibi subiecto predicet sepius fugienda', C.& S., p. 423. The underlined passages indicate additions made by Farnham.

47. B.L. MS. Royal 8 B.IV, see Cheney, English Synodalia, p. 42.

48. Both tracts are printed in C. & S., pp. 214-26. For the dependence on the Moralia, see p. 215. Cheney, English Synodalia, p. 42, suggests the possibility of Dominican authorship of the tracts. On Stavensby's association with the Dominicans, see Gibbs and Lang, pp. 29-31.

49. e.g. in Chobham's Summa, ed. Broomfield, p. 48; C. & S., p. 220.

50. The Instituta are printed by Cheney in English Synodalia, Appendix II, pp. 149-52. This quote, p. 150. On his career, see BRUO III, 2017-8.

51. Cheney, English Synodalia, p. 151.

52. cap. 97, C. & S., p. 320. On his career, see BRUO I, 349-50.

53. cap. 20: De inquisitione facienda super litteratura ecclesiasticarum personarum, C. & S., p. 1017; Haines, 'Education', 166 points out that in cap. 56 (C. & S., p. 1059) the priests are encouraged to learn the statutes by heart.

54. C. & S., p. 1017, drawing on Decretum D.38, cap. 1.

55. C. & S., p. 1018, drawing on Statutes of Worcester III (1240) cap. 35 (C. & S., p. 305) and cap. 102 (C. & S., p. 321); Haines, 'Education', 166.

56. This preference for antiqui is found in many manuals, including the Cibus Anime and the Speculum Christiani. On the debate between antiqui and moderni, see M.D. Chenu, 'Antiqui, Moderni', Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, 17 (1928), 82-94. The Summa is printed C. & S., pp. 1060-77.

57. C. & S., p. 1061.

58. See D.W. Robertson jnr., 'A Note on the Classical Origin of "Circumstances" in the Medieval Confessional', Studies in Philology, 43 (1946), 6-14; C. & S., p. 1069.

59. 'Education', 167-70. The differing views on the function of the decree can be found in D.L. Douie, Archbishop Pecham (Oxford, 1952), pp. 133ff.; C. & S., pp. 887-8; L.E. Boyle, 'The Oculus Sacerdotis and some other works of William of Pagula', TRHS, 5th ser., 5 (1955), 82; D.W. Robertson jnr., 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England', Speculum, 24 (1949), 376-88, pp. 385-6.

60. 'Education', 170. For the use made of Pecham's decree by later compilers of manuals, see below pp. 148-62.

61. C. & S., p. 901. Pecham's views on the importance of preaching are stated in a questio printed in J. Leclercq, 'Le Magistère du prédicateur au XIIIe siècle', Arch. d'Hist. Doct. et Lit. du M.A., 15 (1946), 105-47, pp. 139-41.

62. Haines, 'Education', 174; Cheney, English Synodalia, p. 43.

63. Conciliae Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ed. D. Wilkins (London, 1737), 2, 176.

64. Wilkins, Concilia, 3, 10-11.

65. The Lyrics of the Red Book of Ossory, ed. R.L. Greene, Medium Aevum Monographs, New Ser., 5 (1974), pp. i-xxxi; The Latin Hymns of Richard Ledrede, ed. T. Stemmler (Mannheim, 1975); The Latin Poems of Richard Ledrede O.F.M., ed. E. Colledge (Toronto, 1974).

66. Wilkins, Concilia, 2, 501, 504.

67. Wilkins, Concilia, 3, 72. This was a continuation of the standard technique of transmission used in the thirteenth century, see above,n. 30. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', p. 96 argues that in the fourteenth century there was also a system for the distribution of unofficial manuals and their copying.

68. A.I. Doyle, 'A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries, with special consideration of the part of the Clergy therein', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Cambridge, 1953), 1, 31, n.2 points out that B.L. MS. Arundel 507's 'John de Caterick' is probably a better form of the name.

69. M. Deanesly, The Lollard Bible (Cambridge, 1920), p. 442; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 32. On this tract see C.F. Bühler, 'A Lollard Tract: On Translating the Bible into English', Medium Aevum, 7 (1938), 167-83; A. Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401', English Historical Review, 90 (1975), 1-18.

70. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 32, n.4; The Lay Folk's Catechism, ed. T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, EETS, O.S. 118 (1901), p. 3.

71. Simmons and Nolloth, p. 98, ll. 567-70 of the 'orthodox' vernacular version in Thoresby's register.

72. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 40. The Thornton miscellany can now be studied in facsimile, The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91), intro. by D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen (London, 1975). On the milieu of Thornton, see G.R. Keiser, 'Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe', Studies in Bibliography, 32 (1979), 158-79.

73. A brief account of Thoresby's life is provided by Simmons and Nolloth, pp. xii-xx; see also BRUO III, 1863-4.

74. The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, ed. J. Raine, Rolls Series, 71 (London, 1886), 2, 419-21, p. 420.

75. Raine, Historians, 2, 484.

76. Haines, 'Education', 171.

77. Simmons and Nolloth, p. xvi.

78. C. & S., p. 900. The text of Pecham printed by Simmons and Nolloth is defective in the opening paragraph.

79. Simmons and Nolloth, pp. 20-1. The text of Pecham here agrees with C. & S., p. 901.

80. Simmons and Nolloth, pp. 24-5.

81. e.g. Simmons and Nolloth, pp. 34-5.

82. Simmons and Nolloth, pp. 60-61.

83. Simmons and Nolloth, pp. 76-86.

84. Simmons and Nolloth, p. xv. It is, of course, improbable that Thoresby was not familiar with Pecham's legislation, although as it was issued for the Province of Canterbury it was not binding on the Northern province.

85. Simmons and Nolloth, p. xvii; IMEV 406.

86. H. 75.2-3.

87. Cf. also the related sixth chapter of Richard Rolle's Form of Living.

88. The text of Pecham printed by Simmons and Nolloth is disordered from l. 128 (p. 61) and not from l. 132 as claimed by the editors. The similarity between the order of Pecham and Gaytryge in this section is therefore spurious. The standard contents of a pastoral manual and their presentation is the subject of chapter 3 of this study.

89. Cf. the popular verse formulation of the requirements for a good confession printed by T.N. Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (Princeton, 1977), pp. 104-7.

90. Simmons and Nolloth, p. 66.

91. Walther, Versanfänge 20271.

92. Walther, Versanfänge 3225.

93. M.W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (Michigan, 1952), pp. 105-6.

94. 'Survey', 1, 32-3. Doyle discusses the manuscripts of the work pp. 33-5. The Register, Thornton and Trinity Cambridge MS. B 10.12 copies are discussed by D.A. Lawton, 'Gaytryge's Sermon, Dictamen, and Middle English Alliterative Verse', Modern Philology, 76 (1979), 329-43.

95. fol. 73v.

96. Other copies of the work which probably have connections with regulars are C.U.L. Additional MS. 6686; Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 155 (from Rievaulx) and B.L. MS. Arundel 507 (from Durham).

97. R.W. Hunt, 'The Library of the Abbey of St Albans', in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker, ed. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 251-77, this comment p. 256.

98. On Qui bene praesunt, see below pp. 103-7. See also M. Bateson, Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery Isleworth (Cambridge, 1898), pp. 188-98.

99. Hunt, 'Library', p. 274.

100. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 47-52.

101. e.g. B.L. MSS. Harley 1022, Harley 6615; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex MS. 55; Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91; Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B.10.12; Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B.14.9. Recurring texts include Benjamin Minor (Harley 1022 and, in Latin, B.L. MS. Arundel 507); The Scale of Perfection (Harley 1022 in the short version, and Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C.285); The Form of Living (Harley 1022; Rawl. C.285; C.U.L. MS. Ii.4.9 and Arundel 507); The Abbey of the Holy Ghost (Lincoln Cathedral 91 and Ii.4.9); The Chastising of God's Children (Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.19 and Harley 6615); and a vernacular treatise on the Deadly Sins (Jolliffe F.2(a); Rawl. C.288 and Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.19).

102. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 32, n.4; Simmons and Nolloth, p. 3.

103. The Thornton version of the text is printed in Middle English Religious Prose, ed. N.F. Blake, York Medieval Texts (London, 1972), pp. 73-87. The colophon is on p. 73.

104. 'Survey', 1, 33.

105. Items 35, 58, 32, 33, 36 and 59 in the facsimile. See p. ix for the quiring and division of the manuscript.

106. Rawl. C.285 contains the orthodox Decalogue (ll. 168-267); Ii.4.9 contains the orthodox Creed (ll. 83-167); C.U.L. MS. Dd.12.39 contains the orthodox Virtues (ll. 380-446) and the account of the Pater Noster also found in the expanded version (ll. 59-161 of L in Simmons and Nolloth); C.U.L. Additional MS. 24202 has the orthodox Sacraments (ll. 269-347) and part of the Virtues (ll. 372-435). I am grateful to Dr A. Hudson for several of these references. See note 101 above for recurring texts in these manuscripts.

107. See below pp. 163-6.

108. Three sections of the interpolated version are also found in York Minster Library MS. XVI.L.12; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 34. Doyle suggests that both copies were made for secular priests of lollard persuasion. Bodleian MS. Bodley 789 contained two sections of the interpolated version. The Lambeth version is printed by Simmons and Nolloth and line references are to their edition. Bodleian MS. Douce 274 parallels the second half of Lambeth (ll. 489-1429)

109. Simmons and Nolloth, pp. 102-3 point out the similarity of this text to that printed by T. Arnold, Select English Works of John Wyclif, 3 (Oxford, 1871), 93-7. The complicated textual history of this tract was first discussed by A.L. Kellogg and E.W. Talbert, 'The Wycliffite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments with special reference to English MSS 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 42 (1960), 345-77, and more recently by C.A. Martin, 'Edinburgh University Library MS. 93: An Annotated Edition of Selected Devotional Treatises with a Survey of Parallel Versions', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 75-112. Appendix 3, pp. 534-48 contains a detailed critique of Kellogg and Lambert.

110. e.g. Statutes of Canterbury I (1213x14) cap. 34 (C. & S., p. 31); Statutes of Coventry and Lichfield (1224x37) cap. 20 (C. & S., p. 213); Statutes of Winchester I (1224) cap. 51 (C. & S., p. 134).

111. M. Hussey, 'The Petitions of the Paternoster in Medieval English Literature', Medium Aevum, 27 (1958), 8-16; F.G.A.M. Aarts, De Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte (Nijmegen, 1967), pp. cii-cxiv provides a more detailed discussion than Hussey. See below pp. 128-39 for a discussion of the importance of the Pater Noster in the manual tradition.

112. In Bodley 789, Trinity College Dublin MS. C.5.6, B.L. MS. Harley 2385 and York Minster XVI.L.12. It is also found in C.U.L. MS. Nn.4.12. Printed Arnold, Wyclif, 3, 111-13.

113. l. 53 of the orthodox text, Simmons and Nolloth, p. 6.

114. The York copy omits the words in brackets and perhaps provides a superior reading, although the version printed in Arnold, Wyclif, 3, 114-16, agrees with Lambeth.

115. These three principles are derived according to Simmons and Nolloth, p. 111, ultimately from Augustine, but the same threefold division of beliefs is also found in a manual preserved in Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 23 (fol. 100 v). No doubt it was commonplace.

116. Arnold, Wyclif, 3. 117-8; cf. B.L. MS. Harley 237, fol. 97 r/v, and B.L. Additional MS. 15237, fols 55r-57r (Tabula Fidei Christiane). Both these brief manuals treat the Senses in summary fashion. Bodleian MS. Bodley 938, which contains texts covering most of the points of the teaching syllabus assembled into an ad hoc manual, as well as wycliffite material, also contains (fols 243r-246r) 'A schort declaracioun of worching of þe five inward wittis of a mannis soule' (Jolliffe, D.1), followed (fols 246v-247v) by a complementary discussion of 'þe five wittis of þe flesch'. These texts appear to form part of the catechetic scheme of the manuscript.

117. IMEV 3685. The same technique is found in the Speculum Christiani, H. 16-39, and these same verses occur in two copies, Cambridge Sidney Sussex College MS. 55 and St Cuthbert's College Ushaw MS. 28 (D.7.8).

118. Simmons and Nolloth, p. xxiv. The arguments for Wycliffe's authorship of the 'expanded' version and for Thoresby's consent and co-operation in the procedure are, of course, implausible. For an example of the Lollard view of the duty of the priesthood, see Selections from English Wycliffite Writings, ed. A. Hudson (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 119-22.

119. Similar attacks on Chantries and confraternities are contained in the Decalogue exposition (Simmons and Nolloth, p. 57) and on assuming the habit of an order before death in the discussion of the Virtues (Simmons and Nolloth, p. 57).

120. Dr Hudson's comments are in a private communication dated 28.3.1979, where she stresses the provisional nature of her findings. Although analysing the manuscript from a different viewpoint, my own findings independently corroborated her opinion.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. L.G. Boyle, 'The Constitution Cum ex eo of Boniface VIII', Medieval Studies, 24 (1962), 263-302.

2. Boyle, 'Cum ex eo', 264; K. Edwards, English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1967), pp. 185-205.

3. Boyle, 'Cum ex eo', 266. This legislation was incorporated into the Decretals in 1234.

4. Boyle, 'Cum ex eo', 269-70.

5. R.M. Haines, 'The Education of the English Clergy during the Later Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Operation of Pope Boniface VIII's Constitution Cum Ex Eo (1298)', Canadian Journal of History, 4 (1969), 1-22, pp. 4-5. Further statistics on Cum ex eo licensing are provided in K. Edwards, 'Bishops and Learning in the Reign of Edward II', Church Quarterly Review, 138 (1944), 57-86.

6. 'Cum ex eo', 274.

7. 'Observations', 7-8, 16.

8. Haines, 'Observations', 10.

9. C.J. Godfrey, 'Non-Residence of Parochial Clergy in the Fourteenth Century', Church Quarterly Review, 162 (1961), 433-46.

10. 'Observations', 14-15; R.M. Haines, 'The Practice and Problems of a Fifteenth-Century English Bishop: the Episcopate of William Gray', Medieval Studies, 34 (1972), 435-61, espec. pp. 451-2.

11. 'Observations', 7-8, 11-12, 16. On p. 16 n.69, Haines prints the popular Latin poem on the ideal priest (inc. Sacerdos debet esse sanctus) which is also found incorporated in the Speculum Christiani (H. 231.9-14). See below, n.139.

12. The Register of Bishop Philip Repingdon 1405-1419, ed. M. Archer, Lincoln Record Society, 57 (1963), p. xxvi.

13. Haines, 'Observations', 10. L.E. Boyle, 'Aspects of Clerical Education in Fourteenth-Century England', The Fourteenth Century, Acta, 4 (1977), 19-32, attempts to re-assert the influence of Cum ex eo by discussing several rectors who did serve their parishes faithfully after enjoying licensed absence (the most notable example being William of Pagula). His argument is inconclusive and fails to answer Haines' criticisms of this view; it is, indeed, little more than a modified restatement of his earlier arguments.

14. N. Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages (London, 1973), pp. 12-21; J.R.H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 102-9; Bennett, 'Medieval Ordination Lists in English Episcopal Registers', 20-34.

15. Orme, pp. 66-7, 220-1.

16. E. Bishop, 'On the Origin of the Primer', in The Prymer or Lay Folk's Prayer Book, ed. H. Littlehales, EETS, O.S. 109 (1897), pp. xi-xxxviii. See also E. Hoskins, Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis or Sarum and York Primers (London, 1901), pp. vii-xxii; C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, The Old Service-Books of the English Church (London, 1904), pp. 248-55. For the later popularity of Primers, see C.C. Butterworth, The English Primers (1529-1545) (Philadelphia, 1953).

17. V. Leroquais, Les Livres d'heures MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale, I (Paris, 1927), pp. xiv-xxxii.

18. The Prymer ab. 1400, ed. H. Littlehales, II (London, 1892), pp. 2-10, espec. Nos. II, III, IV, VI, VII, VIII, XII, XIII. See also G.A. Plimpton, The Education of Chaucer (London, 1935), plates IX.1-IX.15; Orme, p. 62; Hoskins, pp. xii-xiii.

19. Orme, p. 62; Plimpton, plate IX.1. It is interesting to note that the Speculum Christiani begins with an exhortation to use the Sign of the Cross, H. 3.1-3.

20. Printed by Plimpton, pp. 34-5. Paraphs and alphabets are referred to in a Passion lyric where Christ's body and wounds become a Primer for mankind, printed in A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book, ed. E. Wilson, Medium Aevum Monographs, New Ser., 2 (1973), 42-9.

21. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1966), VII, 503-15. He could, of course, have learned his prayers at home; the legislation discussed in ch. 1 frequently envisages religious instruction by parents and god parents.

22. 'Chaucer's "Litel Clergeon"', Modern Philology, 3 (1906), 467-91, p. 484.

23. Cf. nos. III and XIII in Littlehales (1897). This manuscript will be fully discussed in The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577 with an Introduction and list of contents by Edward Wilson and an Account of the Music by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, forthcoming). For Winchester songs or some of the rudiments, see E.J. Dobson and F. Ll. Harrison, Medieval English Songs (London, 1979), pp. 62-3.

24. Quoted by Brown, 485; Orme, p. 62. Orme, p. 69 suggests that 'Grammar was certainly taught in some schools whose range was otherwise elementary.' This may explain Grandisson's emphasis that the pupils should be able to construe.

25. Orme, p. 62.

26. Biblia Sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria (Antwerp, 1617), 3, col. 424.

27. Biblia Sacra, 3, col. 424.

28. Orme, p. 63.

29. Gilbertus Porretanus, Prologus Commentarii in Liber Psalmorum in [D. de Bruyne ed.], Préfaces de la Bible latine (Namur, 1920), p. 111.

30. H. Gneuss, Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter, Buchreiche der Anglia Zeitschrift für englische Philologie, 12 (Tubingen, 1968), pp. 194-206. Gneuss (p. 194 n.1) gives a bibliography of the sparse Expositiones literature.

31. E. Pafart, 'A Group of Early Tudor School-Books', The Library, 4th ser., 26 (1946), 227-61, pp. 255-61.

32. L. Thorndike, University Records and Life in the Middle Ages, Records of Civilisation - Sources and Studies, 38 (New York, 1944), p. 68.

33. Gneuss, pp. 200-1. This prologue and commentary became standard in Expositiones of the Sarum use.

34. Printed Gneuss, p. 265. On the role of David as Christian poet, see C.G. Osgood, Boccaccio on Poetry (Princeton, 1930), p. 46, citing Isidore, Jerome and Eusebius. Skelton cites and translates Jerome, Epistola 53 (PL 22, col. 547) in his defence of inspired poetry in A Replication against Certain Young Scholars Abjured of Late. David's role is bound up with the development of Biblical and Theological Poetics, on which see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W.R. Trask (London, 1953), ch. 12; A.S.D. Fowler, Protestant Attitudes to Poetry 1560-90, unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1957), pp. 64-75 and passim.

35. Gneuss, p. 265.

36. Gneuss, p. 265.

37. Biblia Sacra, 3, col. 423; on Lyra's discussion of David's literary function see A.J. Minnis, 'Discussions of "Authorial Role" and "Literary Form" in late-Medieval Scriptural Exegesis', Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 99 (1977), 37-65, pp. 47-9.

38. Préfaces, p. 111.

39. Gneuss, p. 265.

40. Gneuss, p. 265.

41. Accessus ad Auctores: Bernard d'Utrecht, Condrad d'Hirsau: Dialogus super Auctores, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden, 1970), pp. 97-8.

42. C.U.L. MS. Ff.1.14, fol. 180v. The sequence of texts in this manuscript is also called 'Tabula quedam devota et maxime necessarie pro oratione facienda' (fol. 179r). The same sequence is found in Bodleian MS. Hatton 97, fols 120r-124r and Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 66, fols 134r-136r. The De Horis Canonicis is found separately in B.L. MS. Harley 237, fol. 73v, and C.U.L. MS. Ee.5.13, fols 123r-125r. Ball, "The Education of the English Parish Clergy', p. 262 claims that it is drawn from part 4 of the Pupilla Oculi. I have been unable to locate it there.

43. For a full discussion of this subject see A.J. Minnis, 'Medieval Discussions of the Role of the Author: A Preliminary Survey with particular reference to Chaucer and Gower', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Queen's University of Belfast, 1976); Minnis, 'Discussions', passim.

44. On the accessus ad auctores, see below p. 69. This prologue is also found in Expositiones of other uses. Early editions are listed by Pafart, 257-60.

45. Expositio Hymnorium secundum Usum Sarum [Cologne, 1496] [STC 2 16110], fol. 1r.

46. On the role of compilator, see M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to R.W. Hunt, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1975), pp. 115-41; A.J. Minnis, 'Late Medieval Discussions of Compilatio and the Role of the Compilator', Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 101 (1979), 385-421.

47. Expositio Hymnorum [1496], fol. 1r.

48. On the hierarchy of authorities, see Bonaventura's comment: 'Sunt ergo quatuor genera scriptuarum, circa quae oportet ordinate procedere et exerceri. Primi libri sunt sacrae scripturae, secundi libri sunt originalia sanctorum, tertii sententiae magistrorum, quarti doctrinarum mundialium sive philosophorum', Collatio XIX in Hexaemeron, in Opera (Quarrachi edn.), V (1891), 421.

49. Expositio Hymnorum [1496], fol. 1r.

50. e.g. B.L. MS. Harley 683 contains the Liber Equivoca of John of Garland and an incomplete verse treatise with marginal and interlinear glosses; B.L. Additional MS. 17724 contains a Regula Versificandi, a treatise on accentuation and several works on orthography and dictamen, including a tabular treatise; Gneuss, pp. 196-7; on the position of 'business studies' in the syllabus, see Orme, pp. 70-9.

51. A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 171 (London, 1979), pp. 20-1, 191 (Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 88), p. 279 (Bodleian Library MS. douce 103).

52. 'A Medieval Instruction Book for Novices', Downside Review, 57 (1939), 477-88.

53. Watkin, 488.

54. E. Rickert, 'Chaucer at School', Modern Philology, 29 (1932), 257-74; item XXXV (p. 269), 'Item vnum ympnarium cum quibusdam sequenciis glosatis' and item VIII (p. 266) 'ympnario'.

55. 'Chaucer's "Litel clergeon"'. Much of this discussion was incorporated into his wider study of the tale, The Miracle of the Virgin, Chaucer Society, 2nd. ser., 45 (1909).

56. Gneuss, p. 196 refers to the tale but does not analyse the passage in detail.

57. Orme, p. 69.

58. VII, 526-7.

59. Brown, 'Chaucer's "Litel clergeon"', 467-8, 471-9. On the size and nature of cathedral schools, see Orme, pp. 79-86, 168-9 and passim; Edwards, English Secular Cathedrals, pp. 185-205.

60. F. Ll. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain (London, 1958), pp. 81-88.

61. See above, pp. 23-4.

62. Cf. Bodleian MS. Douce 103, a parish priest's book also containing Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests; Thomson, Catalogue, pp. 20-1, says it 'provides a straightforward mixture which can be seen as a suitable basis for instruction.'

63. Orme, pp. 102-4. On the popularity and significance of fables see D. Gray, Robert Henryson, Medieval and Renaissance Authors (Leiden, 1979), ch. 2.

64. M. Boas, 'De Librorum Catonianorum Historia atque Compositione', Mnemosyne, New Ser., 42 (1914), 17-46; E.M. Sanford, 'The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the Libri Manuales', Transactions of the American Philological Association, 55 (1924), 190-248. On the formation of curricula and canons of authors see Curtius, European Literature, pp. 48-54 and 256-60.

65. G.L. Hamilton, 'Theodolus: A Medieval Textbook', Modern Philology, 7 (1909), 169-85. For a similar comment on the Disticha Catonis, see R. Hazleton, 'The Christianization of "Cato": The Disticha Catonis in the Light of Late Medieval Commentaries', Medieval Studies, 19 (1957), 157-73, p. 158. Grandisson complains that instead of ensuring a solid grounding in the rudiments, masters are allowing pupils to progress prematurely 'ad alios libros magistrales et poeticos aut metricos', see A.F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909 (Cambridge, 1911), p. 316.

66. Hamilton, 'Theodolus', 176-7.

67. Hamilton, 'Theodolus', 177; Hazleton, 'Cato', 162 and n.26, 164 n.35. On the Summula Raymundi see below, pp. 87-93.

68. Rickert, 'Chaucer at School', 265.

69. Huygens, Accessus, pp. 26-7, 55-69, 93-95.

70. Hamilton, 'Theodolus', 4. The poem is printed in Theoduli Eclogam, ed. J. Osternacher (Linz, 1902). Neckham prescribed the Sex Auctores for reading; see P. Delhaye, '"Grammatica" et "Ethica" au XIIe siècle', RTAM 25 (1958), 59-110, p. 78.

71. Hazleton, 'Cato', passim. The poem is printed in Disticha Catonis, ed. M. Boas and H.J. Botschuyver (Amsterdam, 1952).

72. E.A. Quain, 'The Medieval Accessus ad Auctores', Traditio, 3 (1945), 215-64; R.W. Hunt, 'The Introduction to the "Artes" in the Twelfth Century', in Studia Mediaevalia in honorem ... R.J. Martin (Bruges-Louvain, 1948), pp. 85-112; Huygens, Accessus, pp. 1-17; F. Ghisalberti, 'Medieval Biographies of Ovid', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 9 (1946), 10-59.

73. A.J. Minnis, 'Literary Theory in Discussions of Formae Tractandi by Medieval Theologians', New Literary History, 11 (1979-80), 133-45, espec. pp. 137-40.

74. Huygens, Accessus, pp. 73-4.

75. fol. 13r, glossing the word frenesis in the text (l. 337); Osternacher, p. 53.

76. fol. 1v. The text is concluded by (fol. 7v) 'Explicit Primus liber de moribus scilicet Catho'. On the ethical bias of grammar teaching, see Delhaye, '"Grammatica" et "Ethica" au XIIe siècle', 59-110; P. Delhaye, 'L'Enseignement de la philosophie morale au XIIe siècle', Medieval Studies, 11 (1949), 77-99; Hamilton, 'Theodolus', 177.

77. The Peniteas Cito is on fol. 76r-v. The verses on the Commandments are on fol. 83v (inc. Idola sperne, dei non sit tibi nomen inane; Walther, Versanfänge 8661). Fols 76-83 form a separate quire ruled in double columns unlike the rest of the manuscript which is in a single column and appears designed to accommodate marginal glossing.

78. The single column of text is often found occupying the centre of each folio (as in B.L. MS. Royal 15 A.VII, discussed above and Bodleian MS. Auct. F.V.6). This was, of course, the common arrangements of texts intended for glossing. In other manuscripts the text sometimes occupies the left of the folio with the gloss on the right (as in B.L. Additional MS. 10089) a procedure also found in glossed copies of the Sentences of Peter Lombard and of the Psalter. Later copies break the text up into smaller units (often of about 4 lines) and the glosses are written in connected prose across the page. The early printed editions of the Summula Raymundi are often laid out in this way.

79. The popularity of Latin verse outside the schoolroom may be illustrated by the so-called 'goliardic miscellanies' or collections of Latin verse often made on an ad hoc basis. These collections and anthologies are the subject of a series of articles by A.G. Rigg, 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies I-III', Medieval Studies, 39 (1977), 281-330; 40 (1978), 387-407; 41 (1979), 468-505.

80. Orme, pp. 104-6; Thomson, Catalogue, p. 28 notes that 'the texts were used to develop the grammar and vocabulary of the pupils, as well as to illustrate verse technique'; Bro. Bonaventure, 'The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England', Medieval Studies, 23 (1961), 1-20; E.Ph. Goldschmidt, Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print, Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions, 16 (London, 1943), pp. 27-30.

81. 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century', in Essays in Medieval History, ed. R.W. Southern (London, 1968), pp. 106-28, p. 113.

82. e.g. the commentaries discussed by Hazleton and those discussed below.

83. Hunt, 'Learning', p. 113. On the verse summulae, see F.J. Ghellinck, 'Medieval Theology in Verse', Irish Theological Quarterly, 9 (1914), 336-54, and below, pp. 87-93.

84. cap. 1, Thorndike, University Records, p. 211.

85. The texts and modern editions are listed by Orme, pp. 104-6 and nn.

86. R. Bultot, 'La Chartula et l'enseignement du mépris du monde dans les écoles et les universités médiévales', Studi Medievali, 8 (1967), 787-834. A summary and incomplete account of the influence of the De Miseria is provided in Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III): De Miseria Condicionis Humane, ed. R.E. Lewis, Chaucer Library (London, 1980), pp. 3-5. In particular, Lewis fails to point out the influence of the De Miseria both on these verse texts and on the vernacular lyrics.

87. Actores cum glosa octo libros... (Lyons, 1489) [Copinger 718], L. ii, recto; PL 184, col. 1311 (with a variant second line: Dives inutilis et miserabilis est maledictus). The Cartula is also found in Latin commonplace books, see Rigg, 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies III', 493.

88. Actores (1489), L. vii, verso; not in PL text.

89. Actores (1489), L. iii, recto; PL 184, cols 1311-2.

90. Actores (1489), I. vi, verso. The version beginning Est nihil utilius is peculiar to England and this edition prints the more common continental opening Cum nihil utilius. Otherwise the texts are fairly stable.

91. Actores (1489), I. v, recto.

92. Hazleton, 'Cato', 167 n.41 comments 'All the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century commentaries [on the Disticha Catonis] I have examined contain in the prefatory remarks a statement that the book deals with the quatuor virtutes cardinales or principales. In the glossulae, wherever possible, individual distichs are related to one or more of the "natural" virtues which are usually defined at some length.' He also comments (167) 'Indeed, it is clear that the speculations of the theologians were not confined to the realm of theory; in the commentaries of the ethica Catonis we find them in the form of applied doctrine.' The final text in Bodleian, MS. Additional A.171 is described as a 'Liber de vii virtutibus' (fol. 47r).

93. Actores (1489), I. v, verso.

94. Actores (1489), K. v, verso.

95. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, pp. 244-5; Orme, p. 101. Hazleton, 'Cato', 163ff., suggests that the popularity of Cato and his elevation to the status of wise man was because of 'the concord between Cato and the sapiential books of the Sacra Scriptura.' Proverbs are frequently included in grammatical manuscripts, see Thomson, Catalogue, p. 336,

(n.95 continued)
s.v. Proverbs. On the prevalence of proverbial writings and wisdom literature generally, see Gray, Henryson, pp. 38-9. On contemporary interest in the wisdom literature of the Bible see B. Smalley, 'Some Latin Commentaries on the Sapiential Books in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', Arch. d'Hist. Doct. et Lit. du M.A., 18 (1950), 103-28; 'Some Thirteenth-Century Commentaries on the Sapiential Books', Dominican Studies, 2 (1949), 318-55; 3 (1950), 41-77 and 236-74. This learned interest is, of course, at quite a different level from general interest in wisdom literature, such as the ethical/moral text included in the Speculum Christiani and described as 'the book of Wisdom'.

96. tr. H.E. Butler, appended to F.M. Stenton, Norman London, Historical Association Pamphlets 93, 94 (1934), 25-35; Orme, pp. 130-2; Edwards, English Secular Cathedrals, pp. 188-9.

97. B. XVIII, 410-12. Langland also quotes Alexander de Villa Dei's Doctrinale at B. XI, 260; see J.A. Alford, 'Some Unidentified Quotations in Piers Plowman', Modern Philology, 72 (1974-5), 390-9, p. 395. Langland also frequently cites Cato (e.g. B. VI, 314; B. VII, 71, 150; B. X, 191, 194; B. XI, 402; B. XII, 21; B. XIX, 298).

98. e.g. the fifteenth-century list of contents in Bodleian MS. Auct. F.V.6 (fol. ivr).

99. On the Doctrinale, see Orme, pp. 89-90; Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei, ed. D. Reichling, Monumenta Germaniae Pedagogica, 12 (Berlin, 1893).

100. Orme, p. 104; Bodleian, MS. Auct. F.V.6, fols 115v-149v.

101. fol. 115v.

102. Actores (1489), K. vi, recto; PL 164, col. 892, where the last line reads 'Sed quasi fetores spernens illius amores.'

103. Orme, p. 106. The work exists in two recensions, the first of only seven lines, the second of between forty and forty-seven; see S.H. Thomson, The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253 (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 149-50.

104. e.g. items 76 and 107 in Thomson, Writings, pp. 121-41.

105. Grammatical works occur in the commonplace collections of Latin verse not directly associated with schools; see Rigg, 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies I', 304-5. Also found are extracts from arts of poetry; see Rigg, 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies I', 299, 302.

106. Bro. Bonaventure, 'The Teaching of Latin', 7-8.

107. Bro. Bonaventure, 'The Teaching of Latin', 8; S.B. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings', Speculum, 9 (1934), 70-83. The manuscript was written by a Beccles scribe called Hardgrave.

108. Meech, 'John Drury', 79.

109. Cf. the stress on memory in Hugh of St Victor's De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum, itself part of an ancient tradition of developed artificial memories; see Bowen, A History of Western Education, 2, 68-72; F. Yates, The Art of Memory (Harmondsworth, 1969), ch. 3-4.

110. Floretus Sancti Bernardi (Cologne, [1499])[Hain/Copinger 7181], A. iii, recto; Actores (1489), D. I verso - II recto; Ghellinck, 'Medieval Theology in Verse', 347-9; M. Haureau, 'Notices sur les oeuvres authentiques ou supposées de Jean de Garland', Notices et Extraits, 27 (1870) pt. 2, 1-86, p. 25.

111. Watkin, 477-88. See above, p. 63 and nn. 51-3.

112. fol. i v, which appears to have been a pastedown in the original binding.

113. The mnemonic verses include the Articles of Faith, the Decalogue (Walther, Versanfänge 19669), the Deadly Sins and how to avoid them (Walther, Versanfänge 6274), the Senses (Walther, Versanfänge 1390-1), the Spiritual Works of Mercy (Walther, Versanfänge 3225) and the Corporal Works of Mercy. The Sacraments and Virtues receive similar treatment.

114. Wilkins, Concilia, 3, 317; Haines, 'Education', 171.

115. e.g. Oxford, New College MS. 94 fols 167v-169v contains the Athanasian Creed with interlinear and marginal glosses expounding the doctrinal content of the prayer. The text is in a single column down the centre of the folio and its ordinatio is strikingly similar to that found in copies of the reading texts.

116. On the suggested authors, see Orme, p. 104; Ghellinck, 'Medieval Theology in Verse', 350; Haureau, 'Notices', 10; H. Mackinnon, 'William de Montibus, a Medieval Teacher', in Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 32-45, espec. pp. 39-43; P. Michaud-Quantin, Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (xii-xvi siècles), Analecta Medievalia Namurcensia, 13 (Louvain, 1962), p. 19; Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation, p. 27.

117. BRUO II, 1298; Hunt, 'English Learning', p. 21; H. Mackinnon, 'The Life and Works of William de Montibus', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1959), ch. 4.

118. PL 207, cols 1153-6.

119. 'The Teaching of Latin', 7-8; 'William de Montibus', pp. 40-1.

120. Mackinnon, 'William de Montibus', pp. 41-2.

121. Ghellinck, 'Medieval Theology in Verse', 338-41; Mackinnon, 'William de Montibus', pp. 39-40. For an example of the same process in a vernacular text, see N.F. Blake, 'The Form of Living in Prose and Poetry', Archiv, 211 (1974), 300-8.

122. W.A. Hinnebusch, The History of the Dominican Order, 2 (New York, 1973), 240-1.

123. Kaeppelli 341; A. Walz, 'Des Aage von Dänemark "Rotulus Pugillaris"', Classica et Mediaevalia, 15 (1954), 198-252; 16 (1955), 135-94, p. 136.

124. Cf. Walz, 163, 168, 171, 173-6 etc.

125. e.g. Michaud-Quantin, Sommes de casuistique, pp. 34-43; P.A. Walz, 'S. Raymundi de Penayfort: Auctoritas in Re Penitentalia, Angelicum, 12 (1935), 346-96; T.N. Tentler, 'The Summa for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control', in The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion, ed. C. Trinkaus and H.A. Obermann, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 10 (Leiden, 1974), pp. 103-26; L.E. Boyle, 'The Summa for Confessors as a Genre and its Religious Intent', ibid., pp. 126-30; Hinnebusch, 2, 248-52.

126. Walther, Versanfänge 18795; F.V. Taberner, 'La "Summula Pauperum" de Adam de Aldersbach', Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens, 7 (1938), 69-83; J. Dietterle, 'Die Summae Confessorum', Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 27 (1906), 166-88, pp. 171-7; Walz, 'S. Raymundi', 388; Michaud-Quantin, Sommes de casuistique, pp. 41-2; Ghellinck, 'Medieval Theology in Verse', 351. The circulation of the Summula was largely continental (see Taberner, 75-8, who ignores British libraries). Copies are, however, found in England. Bodleian MSS. Hamilton 17 and Hamilton 39 were both written in Germany, but B.L. MS. Royal 8 D.IV seems to have been written in England, and to have belonged at some stage to Pershore Abbey (MLGB, p. 150).

127. Taberner, 71.

128. Taberner, 73; A. Teetaert, 'La "Summa de Poenitentia" de Saint Raymond de Penayfort', Ephemerides Theologicae Louvanienses, 5 (1928), 49-72, p. 71.

129. Summula Clarissimi iurisconsultissimique viri Raymundi.., (Cologne, 1498) [Hain/Copinger 13709] fol. 6r; Taberner, 71. On the early printed editions of the Summula see Taberner, 78-82.

130. Summula (1498), fol. 6v; Taberner, 71. The commentary in the 1498 print divides the causa finalis of the work in two. The finis intra is knowledge of the Sacraments, the finis extra is the knowledge of God Himself (fol. 2r).

131. Summula (1498), fol. 19r.

132. Summula (1498), fol. 131v; cf. Walther, Versanfänge 4987 (probably fragmentary circulation).

133. Summula (1498), fol. 132r; cf. the last line here with Walther, Versanfänge 18330 (De Confessione). Other editions have 'Accusans nuda' which is perhaps a superior reading, although 'munda' in the sense of being morally upright is also acceptable.

134. On the general popularity and use of mnemonic verse, see L. Thorndike, 'Unde Versus', Traditio, 11 (1955), 163-93.

135. Summula (1498), fol. 137r.

136. Summula (1498), fols 147v-148v.

137. Taberner, 74.

138. On the use of the four causes in literary commentaries, see Minnis, 'Discussions', 40-44.

139. Several Latin poems present the clerical ideal in an easily memorable form. In addition to the poem 'Sacerdos debet esse rector non raptor' (see note 11 above), Powicke, Stephen Langton, Appendix 4, pp. 205-6 prints an admonitory poem entitled Documenta Clericorum; C. Horstmann, ed., Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, 1 (London, 1895), p. 428, prints a Latin epigram on Presbiter from B.L. MS. Arundel 507 (inc. Sobrius et prudens, noto sine crimine vivens). Discussions of the clerical ideal as presented in contemporary literature can be found in G.R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 28-35; M. Jennings, 'The Ars Componendi Sermones of Ranulph Higden', in Medieval Eloquence, ed. J.J. Murphy (California, 1978), pp. 116-9; Leclercq, 'Le Magistère du Prédicateur', 105-47; Haines, 'Education', 161-75; R.P. Miller, Chaucer: Sources and Backgrounds (Oxford, 1977), pp. 210-29; J. Mann, Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 55-67. Dictionaries and encyclopaedias are also a valuable source of information e.g. J. Balbus, Catholicon (Mainz, 1460, republished in facsimile, London, 1971), s.v. Presbiter, Sacerdos and Lux; The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologiae, ed. C. von Nolcken, Middle English Texts, 10 (Heidelberg, 1979), s.v. Prechour; The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland, ed. and trans. T. Lawler, Yale Studies in English, 182 (New Haven, 1974), p. 209, includes an Ode on the Duties of a Priest as one of its examples of various Latin metres.

140. Summula (1498), fols 1v-2r.

141. Summula (1498), fol. 6v.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Kaeppelli 436; Michaud-Quantin, Sommes de Casuistique, pp. 60-2; Hinnebusch, 2, 244-5; Dietterle, 'Die Summae Confessorum', 166-71. Quotations are from Bartholomaeus de San Concordio: Summa de Casibus Conscientiae (Paris, 1475) [Hain/Copinger 2525], s.v. Scientia. For the origin of this passage in Aquinas, see L.E. Boyle, 'The Quodlibets of St Thomas and the Pastoral Care', The Thomist, 38 (1974), 232-56, espec. p. 251.

2. Summa (1475), s.v. Scientia.

3. See ch. 1 above.

4. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 23-6, 47-52, 158-214.

5. For a helpful list of the manuscript contexts of copies of the Oculus Sacerdotis, see L.E. Boyle, 'A Study of the Works attributed to William of Pagula with special reference to the Oculus Sacerdotis and Summa Summarum', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1956), 2, 96-179. The quotation is on p. 98.

6. e.g. the following manuscripts (numbered as in Boyle, 'Study'); (6) C.U.L. MS. Ii.2.7; (8) Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MSS. 62; (9) 87; (12) 487; (38) Lambeth Palace Library MS. 216. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', p. 314.points out the frequent occurrence of local legislation with manuals.

7. Sommes de Casuistique, pp. 1-9; 'Les Methodes de la pastorale du XIIIe au XVe siècles', Miscellanea Medievalia, 7 (1970), 76-91, pp. 80-6; 'Deux formulaires pour la confession du Milieu du XIIIe siècle', RTAM, 31 (1964), 43-62.

8. Boyle, 'Quodlibets', 253; L.E. Boyle, 'The Summa Confessorum of John of Freiburg and the Popularisation of the Moral Teaching of St Thomas and of some of his Contemporaries', St Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974: Commemorative Studies, ed. A.A. Maurer (Toronto, 1974), 2, 245-68.

9. On the legislation, see above ch. 1; Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', p. 311 writes that 'the dependence of the manuals upon statutes is one of their most striking features'; Michaud-Quantin, 'Les Méthodes de la pastorale', 80 writes 'les prèmiers des "manuels de pastorale" proprement dits sont formés par des textes legislatifs locaux, les statuts des synodes.'

10. On the background to the manual literature see Michaud-Quantin, Sommes de Casuistique; Boyle, 'Study'; Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy'; P. Anciaux, La Théologie du sacrament de pénitence au XIIe siècle (Louvain, 1949); D.L. Douie, Archbishop Pecham (Oxford, 1952), pp. 134ff.;

(n.10 continued)

W.A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, 1955). For vernacular manuals see E.J. Arnould, Le Manuel des péchés: étude de la littérature religieuse anglo-normande (Paris, 1940); H.G. Pfander, 'Some Medieval Manuals of Religious Instruction in England and Observations on Chaucer's Parson's Tale', JEGP, 35 (1936), 243-58; G.H. Russell, 'Vernacular Instruction of the Laity in the Later Middle Ages in England: Some Texts and Notes', Journal of Religious History, 2 (1962-3), 98-119; Doyle, 'Survey'. On the use of verse in preaching and teaching, see S. Wenzel, Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its Middle English Poems, Medieval Academy of America Publication No. 87 (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), chs 2 and 3.

11. Incipits 1145; Thomae de Chobham: Summa Confessorum, ed. F.M. Broomfield, pp. xi-xxv; Michaud-Quantin, Sommes de casuistique, pp. 21-4; Boyle A.10 (References in this form are to the list of Latin manuals in volume 2 of Boyle's 'Study').

12. Broomfield, p. lvi-lx.

13. Broomfield, p. lxi; Boyle, 'Study', 1, 215-19.

14. Boyle, 'Study', I, 224-5; Broomfield, p. lxxv.

15. Broomfield, p. lxxvi; Boyle, 'Study', 1, 225.

16. Broomfield, p. lxxiv n.330.

17. Broomfield, p. 31.

18. Broomfield, pp. 32-3. On visual schematics see A. Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 10 (London, 1939, repr. 1977); O.A. Dieter, 'Arbor Picta: The Medieval Tree of Preaching', Quarterly Journal of Speech, 51 (1965), 123-41; Owst, Preaching, p. 236; Yates, The Art of Memory, chs 3 and 4. One of the most striking uses of diagrams and text jointly is in The Desert of Religion (IMEV 672), drawing material from the vernacular Speculum Vitae and carefully laid out (e.g. in B.L. Additional MS. 37049) across each opening with text on the left and illustrations on the right. The pictorial element does not merely 'illustrate' the text but has itself a primary didactic function: the text tends not to explain material explained more forcefully in a diagram. For further details of this text, see note 140 below. The interplay between words and pictures finally developed into the Emblem Book, but emblem verses are also found in earlier manuscripts, see T. Ross, 'Five Fifteenth-Century Emblem Verses: B.M. Add. MS. 37049', Speculum, 32 (1957), 274-82.

19. e.g. Broomfield, p. 34 (Walther, Versanfänge 14594, 17276).

20. Broomfield, p. 34.

21. Broomfield, p. 35 n.2.

22. Broomfield, p. 37 and Appendix A(i).

23. Broomfield, p. 38.

24. Broomfield, p. 37 n.6, p. 38 n.4.

25. Boyle, 'Study', 1, 225, 397-8; Bloomfield, pp. lxxv-vi.

26. Boyle, 'Study', 1, 224.

27. Boyle, 'Study', 1, 210; Bloomfield, pp. lix-lxxv; H. Rubel, 'Chobham's Penitential and its Influence in the Thirteenth Century', PMLA, 40 (1925), 225-39; Parkes, 'Ordinatio and Compilatio', pp. 127-35; Minnis, 'Discussions', passim; R.H. and M.A. Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland, Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto, 1979), ch. 1.

28. Incipits 4583; Boyle, A. 11; Boyle, 'Study', 1, 220-9; Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, pp. 63-5. All quotations are from Oxford, New College MS. 94, fols 28r-98r; this quotation is on fol. 28r. Qui bene praesunt was apparently used by Chaucer in the Parson's Tale, see A.L. Kellogg, '"Seith Moyses by the Devel": A Problem in the "Parson's Tale"', in Chaucer, Langland, Arthur: Essays in Middle English Literature (New Brunswick, 1972), pp. 339-42. On Wetheringsett, see BRUC 367, 679.

29. fol. 28r.

30. Bloomfield, p. 86; Chobham's Articulus Quartus, Distinctio Secundus is entitled 'Que Sacerdos debeat necessario scire' (Bloomfield, pp. 86-195).

31. On the varying presentations of the clerical ideal, see above ch. 2 n.139.

32. fol. 28v.

33. fol. 28v; Walther, Versanfänge 7598; Boyle, 'Study', 1, 235; Doyle, 'Survey', 2, 10.

34. fol. 29v. On the Numerale, see Mackinnon, 'William de Montibus', p. 35.

35. fol. 33v.

36. fol. 38v.

37. fol. 40r; cf. Gen. 41.17-27; Is. 4.1.

38. Cf. Langland's use of the images of hand and taper to explain the Trinity in Piers Plowman, B.XVII.139-219.

39. fol. 64v, inc. Roborat, Augmentat (cf. Speculum Christiani, H. 183.18-19). On the use of these verses in short manuals, see the brief discussion in Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, pp. 186-7.

40. fol. 77r; Walther, Versanfänge 3357.

41. fols 96v-97r; not in Walther, but cf. Sprichwörter 29904-5.

42. fol. 80r; Walter, Versanfänge 14594, 17276; Broomfield, p. 34. The verses on a good confession (fol. 69v) are also found in the Peniteas Cito and the Versarius of William de Montibus, see Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, p. 186.

43. 'Study', 1, 229.

44. e.g. Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 360, see Cheney, English Synodalia, p. 58.

45. 'Les Methodes de la pastorale', 87; Sommes de Casuistique pp. 29-31; Cheney, English Synodalia, ch. 5.

46. Incipits 5982; Thomson, The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, pp. 138-40; Boyle A.16 (I); Boyle, 'Study', 1, 232-7; Pantin, English Church, pp. 227-8.

47. All quotations are from the copy preserved in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson A. 384, fols 98r-106v. On allegorical edifices see R.D. Cornelius, The Figurative Castle (Bryn Mawr, 1930), who points out that the Templum Domini is based on 1 Cor. 3.17: 'Templum dei sanctum est quod estis vos'.

48. fols 98v-100r.

49. The table on the facing page is found on fol. 100v. A similar table is used later by Simon Hinton, see A. Dondaine, 'La Somme de Simon de Hinton', RTAM, 9 (1937), 5-22, 205-18, p. 11; Boyle, 'Survey', 1, 233 n.89. Another of Grosseteste's tables (analysing the Deadly Sins) is printed by Bloomfield, Seven Deadly Sins, p. 437. The fourteenth century treatise on confession which forms part of the carefully organised clerical miscellany C.U.L. MS. Gg.4.32 (fols 25r-47r) makes a similar use of schematic tables to present the teaching the priest should impart in confession. At one point (fol. 44v) it appears to allude to the Templum Domini with a scheme entitled Templum Dei which, like Grosseteste's work, is divided into Corporale and Spirituale. A fifteenth-century hand has added a further schematic table at fol. 45v.

50. fol. 100v; cf. Boyle, 'Study', 1, 234.

51. e.g. Sermon 31 (Thomson, The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, p. 176; Boyle, 'Study', 1, 232) and his Statutes (C. & S., pp. 265-78).

52. fol. 190v.

53. fol. 103r.

54. fol. 103r. Cf. Bloomfield, p. 86. The books which priests should have were listed in Decretum C.5 d. 38; see Boyle, 'Study', 1, 251.

55. fol. 103r. See Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, pp. 246ff.

56. fol. 104v ff. The section on Impediments (fol. 105r) is found in Speculum Christiani (H. 229.15-25), as is the list of Lawful Causes of Matrimony (H. 229.9-14).

57. fol. 106v.

58. On the work's popularity see Thomson, The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, pp. 138-40; Boyle, 'Study', 2, 28-9. The vernacular version of Templum Domini is discussed below, pp. 147-8.

59. fol. 200v.

60. e.g. H. 219.30-5; H.231.15-31.

61. e.g. B.L. MS. Arundel 83, fols 2v-5v; B.L. MS. Royal 1 B.X, fols 2r-6r; B.L. MS. Arundel 507, fols 16r-21r; C.U.L. MS. Gg.4.32, fols 11r-15v; Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices, pp. 70-2. The Vernon MS. (Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. a.1) also uses beautifully executed schematic tables e.g. that printed by Hussey. 'The Petitions of the Paternoster in Medieval English Literature', facing 13.

62. On Martin of Cordoba see Jennings, 'The Ars Componendi Sermones of Ranulph Higden,' p.115 n.11; The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-89), ed. M.A. Devlin, Camden Society, 3rd ser., 85 and 86 (London, 1954), pp. 301 and 445; Manipulus Curatorem (London, 1500) [STC 12471], fol. cxxvr; B.L. MS. Harley 237, fols 97r-v (on which see Appendix 8).

63. Incipits 6535; Boyle A.32; Boyle, 'Study', 1, 248-9; 2, 52; Pantin, English Church, pp. 277-8.

64. All quotations, unless otherwise stated are from B.L. Additional MS. 15237, fols 5v-7v. These quotes occur on fol. 5v.

65. fol. 5v.

66. fol. 5v.

67. fols 6r-v.

68. fol. 7r.

69. fols 103v-104v.

70. English Synodalia, pp. 43-4; cf. also Michaud Quantin, 'Les Methodes de la pastorale', 80.

71. 'Study', 1, 263ff.; Michaud-Quantin, Sommes de casuistique, pp. 34-53 demonstrates the continuous refinements being made to Pennaforte's work throughout the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century; M.A. and R.H. Rouse, 'The Texts called Lumen Anime', Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 41 (1971), 1-113 discuss three versions of the same text, all related by material and all independently organised and compiled.

72. Arnould, Le Manuel des péchés, ch. 1.

73. Boyle, 'Study', 1, ch. 5-6; Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 47-77, 108-13, 118; Pantin, English Church, pp. 195-202.

74. Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp. 37-8; Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 32-7; Michaud-Quantin, 'Les Methodes de la pastorale', 81.

75. Manipulus Curatorum (1500), fol. iiir. The passage in square brackets is omitted in this edition and is quoted by Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', p. 220.

76. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', p. 226.

77. Manipulus Curatorum (1500), fol. cxlir. The Manipulus is explicit about the level of knowledge it expects of its readers and does not expect its audience to hold office in ecclesiastical administration. It omits material unlikely to be needed by parish clergy and refuses to debate contentious issues. See Ball, 'The Education if the English Parish Clergy', p. 37.

78. B. Distelbrink, Bonaventurae Scriptae: Authentica Dubia vel Spuria Critice Recensita, Subsidia Scientifica Franciscalia, 5 (Rome, 1975), N.124, pp. 132-3, gives details of editions, manuscripts and sources.

79. Sancti Bonaventurae ... Opera, Sixti v Pont. Max. iussu diligentissime emendata, 7 vols (Rome, 1588-96), 6, 286.

80. See below, p. 315. This version of the Signs, ultimately deriving from Peter Comestor is also used by Nicholas of Lyra and Vincent of Beauvais, see W.W. Heist, The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday (Michigan, 1952), pp. 26 and 143-54.

81. W. van Dizk sub 'Guillaume de Lanicia' in Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, 6 (Paris, 1967), 1218-19.

82. fols 68r-72r. On the changing uses of distinctiones in the thirteenth century, see Rouse and Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons, pp. 7-9, 75-6; Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, pp. 75-6.

83. fol. 72r. See above p. 104 and n.33.

84. fols 120r-201v. On the use and development of tabulae, see Parkes, 'Ordinatio and Compilatio', pp. 131-2.

85. Incipits 2690; B.L. Additional MS. 15237, fols 55r-57r.

86. Parkes, 'Ordinatio and Compilatio', p. 131; Rouse and Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons, pp. 7-26; D.A. Callus, 'The "Tabulae super Originalia Patrum" of Robert Kilwardby O.P.', in Studia Mediaevalia in honorem R.J. Martin (Bruges, 1948), pp. 243-70.

87. See below p. 129 for details of the tabula on the Pater Noster and Appendix 8 for vernacular tabulae. Oxford, Trinity College MS. 7, fols 33r-43r consists of a series of mnemonic notes and tables including the rudiments, the behaviour required of priests and the signs preceding the Last Judgement.

88. fols 97r-v, printed in Appendix 8.

89. Walther, Versanfänge 20271.

90. See Appendix 8 for discussion of the relationship of this and other parasitic texts to the Cibus Anime.

91. fols 75v-79v. The work discussed by Boyle (B.6) is a rearrangement of material from the Oculus Sacerdotis, see Pantin, English Church, pp. 203-5. B.L. Additional MS. 6716 also contains extracts from the Speculum Christiani and the Fasciculus Morum, see Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, p. 18.

92. fols 75v-76r.

93. fol. 76r. Cf. Ezek. 2.1-2, 3.1-3.

94. K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), p. 204.

95. fol. 78v.

96. fols 45v-51v. Bubulcus could also mean oxherd or swineherd, cf. Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, s.v.

97. Printed in The Oxford Book of Medieval English Verse, ed. C. Sisam (Oxford, 1970), pp. 514-21.

98. Cf. Dictionary of Medieval Latin s.v.v.

99. IMEV 2692. A comprehensive survey of the uses of verse in didactic contexts is provided by Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, ch. 2.

100. Walther, Versanfänge 20271. The co-existence of Latin and English verses in this text illustrates Wenzel's comment in relation to verses in sermons that 'English verses as they appear on the pages of surviving manuscripts are heavily dependent on a firm Latin tradition' (Verses in Sermons, pp. 68-9).

101. The tract De Horis Canonicis is discussed above pp. 60, 284-5. The other Latin manuals are the Speculum Peccatoris (Incipits 4918), the Speculum Sacerdotis (Incipits 5269) and a 'Utilis tractatus de Confessione', as well as Rolle's Judice Me Deus tract.

102. fols 41v-45r; Jolliffe E.4. The colophon (fol. 41v) states '... Hic notatur in Anglicis quomodo sacerdos (sic) quibus committitur regimen animarum debent suos parochianos in fide et mandatis dei breviter informare'.

103. e.g. tabulae 5 and 7.

104. e.g. the frequent references to 'Karissimi' in the Cibus Anime, see below pp. 200-3. A similar tone is adopted throughout Mirk's Latin Manuale Sacerdotis (Boyle B.16) which discusses in detail the regulation of clerical life; Pantin, English Church, pp. 215-7.

105. Boyle B.13; Pantin, English Church, pp. 278-80; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 37, n.12.

106. All quotations are from Bodleian MS. Bodley 110, fols 155r-167v. The list of rudiments which follows the opening comment (fol. 155r) includes various excommunications. The text of these in Bodley 110 (fols 162v-166r) appears to have been revised and expanded. The volume was owned by William Cleve (BRUO I, 437), rector of Cliffe-at-Hoo, Kent from 1448, and bequeathed by him to Dominus William Camyl 'huius Cantarie capellano et successoribus suis perpetuis'. Cleve bought the book of John Pye, a London stationer in 1463 (Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 194; 2, 272-3).

107. Jolliffe F.20 takes this section out of its manual context.

108. fol. 157v cf. Gaytryge's Instructions and Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests

109. 'Rith as wel as þi self bodiliche þat þu helpe hym in hys nede as þu woldest þat he helpe þe in þi nede' (fol. 158v).

110. See below, pp. 140-6.

111. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', p. 226.

112. fol. 166v.

113. inc Sacerdos debet esse sanctus a peccatis segregatus.

114. For a discussion of the manuscripts relationship to the Cibus Anime/Speculum Christiani textual tradition, see below pp. 221-3, 287-94.

115. Incipits 0632; all quotations from Bodleian MS. Bodley 54, fols 45v-64v. This quotation, fol. 45v.

116. e.g. for the Articles of Faith (fol. 46r), the Decalogue (Walther, Sprichwörter 30130) and the Works of Mercy (Walther, Versanfänge 20271).

117. fol. 49r. Such a distinction was not, of course, uncommon and was enshrined by Lyndwood in his Provinciale, see Haines, 'Education', 162.

118. fol. 64v. The rubric for this text 'Qualiter sacerdos debet instruere laicum in confessione' suggests that it may have been seen as a companion piece to the manual just discussed.

119. fol. 59r.

120. Hussey, 'The Petitions of the Paternoster in Medieval English Literature', 8-16; Aarts, De Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte, pp. cii-cxiv; Pantin, English Church, pp. 227-30; Russell, 'Vernacular Instruction of the Laity', 104-7.

121. The tabula is intimately related to the Speculum Vitae, see H.E. Allen, 'The Speculum Vitae: Addendum', PMLA, 25 (1917), 133-162, pp. 142, 155-8.

122. B.L. Additional MS. 15237, fols 78v-88r, these quotes fol. 78v.

123. fol. 80r.

124. fol. 88r.

125. fols 75v-76r; Speculum Christiani (London, c. 1484) [STC 26012], fol. 99r.

126. [Unfoliated], following Gaytryge's Instructions. The manuscript also contains the Speculum Christiani. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 35; 2, 7. The exposition is preceded by vernacular translations of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed, Commandments and Sacraments. C.U.L. MS. Gg.4.32, has English and French vernacular translations of the basic prayers (fols 21r-24v). Each petition of the Pater Noster is prefaced by a rubric stating which Deadly Sin it remedies and which Gift of the Spirit it encourages.

127. See above, pp. 31-47.

128. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 41-7; C.R. Goymer, 'A Parallel Text Edition of the Middle English Prose Version(s) of the Mirror of St Edmund based on the known complete manuscripts', unpublished M.A. thesis (London, 1961-2), p. xiii, Appendix A, pp. 421-30; H.P. Forshaw, 'New Light on the Speculum Ecclesie of St Edmund of Abingdon', Arch. d'Hist. Doct. et Lit. du M.A., 38 (1971), 7-33, p. 12.

129. Bodleian MS. Bodley 3, fol. 1r; M.T. Brady, 'The Pore Caitif: An Introductory Study', Traditio, 10 (1954), 529-48; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 48-56.

130. fol. 1r-v; Brady, 'The Pore Caitif', 535.

131. fol. 1v.

132. fol. 79r. A similar analogy is drawn in the Speculum Vitae, see below p. 139.

133. IMEV 245; Allen, 'Speculum Vitae: Addendum', 133-5; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 78-92; Pantin, English Church, pp. 228-30; Aarts, De Pater Noster, pp. cxii-cxiii; V.C. Nelson, 'Problems of Transcription in the Speculum Vitae MSS', Scriptorium, 31 (1977), 254-9.

134. Aarts, De Pater Noster, p. cxiii.

135. Some of these problems are inherited from the Somme le Roi, see Allen, 'Speculum Vitae: Addendum', 142-3; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 80-2; Pantin, English Church, p. 229.

136. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 78.

137. All quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. d.5. This quote fol. 6v. The first 370 lines are printed by J. Ullmann, 'Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole', Englische Studien, 7 (1884), 415-72, pp. 468-72. These lines are quoted in Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 78.

138. e.g. fols 33v-34r. On the development and use of apparatus, see Parkes, 'Ordinatio and Compilatio', passim; Rouse and Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons, pp. 27-32; P. de Witt, 'The Visual Experience of Fifteenth-Century English Readers', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1977) comments (p. 27) 'there is evidence that from the fourteenth century features of books which had first been developed to meet the needs of twelfth- and thirteenth-century scholars were becoming part of the general expectation of all readers. When those who habitually read carefully divided texts began to compile texts for laymen to read for themselves, they naturally used the methods of thought which they had learned in their own studies.'

139. fols 19v-20r; the careful rubrication and boxing of Latin lemmata is also a feature of another vernacular text with affiliations with manual literature, as the manuscripts of Piers Plowman illustrate, e.g. W.W. Greg, Facsimiles of Twelve Early English Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge (Oxford, 1913), pl. 7 (Trinity Cambridge MS. B.15.17). On the use of a hierarchy of scripts in vernacular manuscripts, see M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500 (Oxford, 1969, repr. London, 1979), pl. 19-20.

140. IMEV 672; 'Survey', 1, 85; 2, 191-3. On The Desert of Religion, see Pantin, English Church, pp. 234-5; Wells, Manual, p.371; H.E. Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole, MLA Monograph Series, 3 (New York, 1927), p. 309.

141. IMEV 3648; Cambridge, Trinity Hall MS. 16, fol. 88v, B.L. MS. Royal 5 A.VI, fol. 78r.

142. The certificate is printed by Allen, 'Speculum Vitae: Addendum', 147-8; Pantin, English Church, p. 229. On the link between Yorkshire, Lincoln and Cambridge, see Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 110-3, where he discusses the popularity of the Pupilla Oculi in those areas.

143. 'Speculum Vitae: Addendum', 152; Pantin, English Church, p. 230. On the Pupilla Oculi (Boyle B.14), see Boyle, 'Study', 1, 385-92; Pantin, English Church, pp. 213-4; Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 59-60.

144. fol. 1r; cf. Ullmann, 'Studien', 469, ll. 25-6.

145. VI, 459-60.

146. Allen, 'Speculum Vitae: Addendum', 139 n.14 lists a series of discussions of the nature of and differences between verse and prose which suggests that, at least in France, there may have been some uncertainty about the suitability of vernacular verse for religious matters. The Speculum Vitae refers specifically to writing 'Of dedes of armes ne of amours' and distinguishes itself from Bevis of Hampton and Guy of Warwick (fols 1r-1v, cf. Ullmann, 'Studien', 469, ll. 35-48). Blake, 'The Form of Living in Prose and Poetry', shows that a conscious decision to use vernacular verse could be made by fourteenth-century writers of didactic and devotional material; Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, pp. 66-7 points out the range of functions performed by verse in prose texts and cites (n.41) the important discussion of the differences between prose and verse by P. Klopsch, 'Prosa und Vers in mittelalterlichen Literatur', Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, 3 (1966), 9-24.

147. Cancelled.

148. fols 217v-218r.

149. The penitential elements are probably inherited from the Somme le Roi.

150. 'Survey', 1, 40.

151. fol. 1v; cf. Ullmann, 'Studien', 469, ll. 63-70.

152. On this subject, see M.B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in The Medieval World, Literature and Western Civilisation, ed. D. Daiches and A. Thorlby (London, 1973), pp. 355-77; B. Cottle, The Triumph of English 1350-1400 (London, 1969).

153. fol. 3r. cf. Ullmann, 'Studien', 470, ll. 169-72.

154. fol. 3r-v. cf. Ullmann, 'Studien', 470, ll. 185-88.

155. fol. 31v.

156. Again, the use of material from the Somme le Roi may account for some of these repetitions, although I would suggest that if this is the case, the compiler of the Speculum Vitae manages to turn this to his own advantage.

157. fols 157r-160r.

158. fol. 160r.

159. Cf. the 'pointing' of Ricardian narrative observed by J. Burrow, Ricardian Poetry (London, 1971), pp. 69-78, and the range of narrative styles and techniques illustrated from the Romance tradition by P.M. Kean, Chaucer and the Making of English Poetry (London, 1972), 1, 3-23.

160. IMEV 961; Boyle B.16.I. The most recent edition is John Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests, ed. G. Kristensson, Lund Studies in English, 49 (1974), which supersedes Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc, ed. E. Peacock, EETS, O.S. 31 (1868). On Mirk himself, see Wells, Manual, pp. 301-3; DNB, 13, 497-8.

161. Boyle B.16.II; Pantin, English Church, pp. 215-7. Another popular manual exhorting priests to live a good life, although not as systematically as the Manuale Sacerdotis, is the Speculum Sacerdotis (inc Sanctus Edwardus Rex et Confessor), Incipits 5269; Boyle A.30.

162. For an account of the manuscripts, see Kristennson, pp. 13-23; M.F. Wakelin, 'The Manuscripts of John Mirk's Festial', Leeds Studies in English, New Ser., 1 (1967), 93-118, discusses the Cotton MS. pp. 94-5.

163. Boyle, 'Study', 1, 380-1; Pantin, English Church, p. 214.

164. All references are to Kristensson's edition.

165. See above, ch. 2.

166. For a full description of this manuscript, see Thomson, Catalogue, pp. 277-82; Wakelin, 'Manuscripts', 104-5; Kristensson, pp. 21-2. This manuscript makes interesting use of rubric brackets and marginal catchwords to indicate the extent of material on particular subjects (e.g. fols 152v-155v on Circumstances).

167. H. 231.9-14.

168. Kristensson, pp. 15-16. The text of the Instructions preserved in this manuscript is deviant and is printed separately by Kristensson, pp. 177-224.

169. ll. 1-68, functioning as a prologue.

170. ll. 59-525.

171. On the Festial, see Wakelin, 'Manuscripts'; A.J. Fletcher, 'Unnoticed Sermons from John Mirk's Festial', Speculum, 55 (1980), 514-22; Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk), Part 1, ed. T. Erbe, EETS, E.S. 96 (1905); Owst, Preaching, pp. 54-5, 245-7; Owst, Literature and Pulpit, pp. 44, 77-8, 157-8; J.A. Mosher, The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England (New York, 1911), pp. 107-13; Pantin, English Church, pp. 217-8. The Deus Expediat Me section of the Festial, designed to assist priests to answer the questions of laymen, 'quich ben of mony wordes and prowde of her wytt' with regard to the Easter season also circulated as an independent instruction. The text of this instruction is printed from B.L. MS. Harley 2250 by K. Young, 'Instructions for Parish Priests', Speculum, 11 (1936), 224-31. The following Festial sermons contain some basic instruction: 12, 16, 23, 24, 29, 38, 39, 54, 69, 72.

172. ll. 77-233.

173. An example of the difficulties caused by such decisions is found in The Book of Margery Kempe, ed. S.B. Meech and H.E. Allen, EETS, O.S. 212 (1940, repr. 1961), pp. 24-6.

174. ll. 304-45.

175. Cf. IMEV 1729 and 1734 for similar lines; Kristensson, p. 227; R.H. Robbins, 'Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse', Modern Philology, 40 (1942-3), 131-46.

176. ll. 346-59.

177. ll. 526-1912.

178. ll. 643-74.

179. See Kristensson, p. 104 n.81. This section is in the Cotton MS. and is supplied in Kristensson from Bodleian MSS. Douce 60 and Douce 103.

180. fols 213r-228r. On this manuscript, see Wakelin, 'Manuscripts', 104-5, who comments 'The manuscript was obviously compiled with pastoral needs in mind'; Kristensson, pp. 20-1.

181. ll. 1913-34, forming an epilogue and headed in the Cotton MS. 'Oracio opificis opusculi huius'.

182. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 37; Hunt, 'The Library of the Abbey of St Albans', pp. 273-4; M.R. James, 'The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York', in Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 76-82.

183. On the activities of the Carthusians in this field, see below pp. 231-4.

184. B.L. Additional MS. 10052. Dr Doyle informs me that this manuscript, B.L. Additional MS. 10053 and Huntington MS. HM.112 were all part of the same medieval volume partly at least written by John Pery of the Austin Canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate. See also MLGB, p. 123; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 37; H. p. xliii.

185. See J.C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England (London, 1950), pp. 224-41. Unlike the Carthusians, the Augustinian canons had no explicit instructions in the Constitutions or Customs about the production of books for the cura animarum, see Customs of the Augustinian Canons, ed. J.W. Clark (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 63-9. On the involvement of Augustinian canons in education generally, see Orme, pp. 236-9, 241-8. The most recent discussion of Augustinian involvement in the cura animarum is D.M. Robinson, The Geography of Augustinian Settlement, BAR British Series, 80 (1980), pp. 172-7.

186. K. Bitterling, 'An Abstract of John Mirk's "Instructions for Parish Priests"', Notes and Queries, New Ser., 24 (1977), 146-8.

187. The Figurative Castle, pp. 90-112; IMEV 967; Bloomfield, Seven Deadly Sins, pp. 233-4.

188. See above pp. 107-11.

189. The temple image is also used by Thomas Brinton in a sermon (84) on St Louis in which he stresses the need for a learned clergy and the characteristics of the ideal priest, basing his analysis on the text from Luke 19; 'Erat cotidie docens in templo'; see The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, ed. M.A. Devlin, pp. 384-5.

190. On the influence of Ignorantia Sacerdotum on pastoral manuals, see Douie, Archbishop Pecham, pp. 134ff. See above pp. 23-4 for my argument that, despite its popularity in later manuals, it was a reflection of rather than a stimulant to popular concern for the improvement of religious education.

191. See Haines, 'Education', 171. In 1435 a vernacular exposition of the Pechamite syllabus was promulgated for the diocese of Bath and Wells. The distribution of this text was to be controlled and supervised by the archdeacons, as in the thirteenth century, see The Register of John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1425-1443, ed. T.S. Holmes, 2, Somerset Record Society, 32 (1916), 173-80; Douie, Archbishop Pecham, pp. 139-40.

192. Lambeth Palace Library MS. 460, fol. 4r. The Ignorantia Sacerdotum occupies fol. 1r-fol. 4r. On the Cibus Anime, see ch. 4 below.

193. fols 120r-123v.

194. fol. 120r.

195. fols 49r-56r. Doyle, 'Survey', 2, 10-11; H. pp. xxvii-ix.

196. fol. 54v.

197. H. 7.2-9.

198. Jolliffe A.2; Bodleian MS. Eng. theol. c.57, fols 1r - 141v; P. Hodgson, 'Ignorantia Sacerdotum: a Fifteenth-Century Discourse on the Lambeth Constitutions', Review of English Studies, 24 (1948), 1-11; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 75.

199. Jolliffe, A.6; Allen, Writings Ascribed, p. 399; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 74-5; The Chastising of God's Children and The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God, ed. E. Colledge and J. Bazire (Oxford, 1957), pp. 1, 6, 25-9. A. Hudson, 'A Chapter from Walter Hilton in Two Middle English Compilations', Neophilologus, 52 (1968), 416-21; L.W. Patterson, 'Ambiguity and Interpretation: A Fifteenth-Century Reading of Troilus and Criseyde', Speculum, 54 (1979), 297-330, pp. 297-307. All quotations are from Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 99, fols 1r-251v. Patterson's discussion of the text, pointing out (p. 298 n.3) that the Ignorancia uses material preserved in the Oxford, Jesus College MS. 39 copy but not in Laud, came to my attention after my discussion of the texts had been completed; the general points, however, remain valid.

200. e.g. fols 173r-v.

201. fols 123r-124r; Walther, Versanfänge 18330. This verse is also found in Hugh of Strasbourg's Compendium Theologicae Veritatis, 6, 26, see Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, p. 186.

202. fol. 124r; Walther, Versanfänge 15482, 4210. Doyle, 'Survey' 1, 74 suggests that the work is 'derived largely from Laurent's Miroir recension', and the work is certainly close in style and tone to the Somme which, as Doyle ('Survey', 1, 68) says 'offered the means of further extending and conferring the conscientious life ... usually with professional guidance.'

203. See above, n.27.

204. fol. 3r.

205. fols 8v, 9v.

206. Laud Misc. 99, fol. 150v.

207. Cf. fol. 20rff. and fol. 83r.

208. On this tradition of ascribed authorship, see C. Bühler, 'The Apostles and the Creed', Speculum, 28 (1953), 335-9; M.T. Brady, 'The Apostles and the Creed in Manuscripts of The Pore Caitif', Speculum, 32 (1957), 323-5; R.H. Bowers, 'Three Middle English Poems on the Apostles' Creed', PMLA, 70 (1953), 210-221.

209. Jolliffe K.1; fols 37r-38v.

210. fol. 37v.

211. fols 127v-131v. How to Make thy Bed, Jolliffe I.35 (b).

212. 'Ignorantia Sacerdotum', 3-4, 11.

213. Disce Mori, part 5, chapters 4-16; Laud Misc. 99, fols 172r-184v.

214. See below, ch. 5.

215. Exomatorium Curatorum (London, 1519) [STC 10629]; the work may have originally appeared c. 1515 (STC 10628).

216. Wilkins, Concilia, 3, 664-5; Haines, 'Education', 171.

217. A striking example of this is Peter Idley's Instructions to his son, ed. C. D'Evelyn (Oxford, 1935), which displays an almost professional command of the materials basic to pastoral instruction; Arnould, Le Manuel des péchés, p. 335. John Drury uses traditional Latin mnemonics in his vernacular Tractatus de Modo Confitendi written for his pupils in Lent 1434, see Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings', 70-83.

218. Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 241. Wright points out that many Tudor Guides to Godliness were specifically concerned with the rudiments, commenting (p. 240) that 'the literate populace was more

(n.218 continued)
interested in the substance of Christianity and its practical applications than in arguments over subtle points of doctrine', which is clearly an extension of the concerns demonstrated by the manuals discussed in this chapter.

219. A.v, verso; cf. Manuale Sacerdotum Parochialium and Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests.

220. B.vi, verso. The Floure of the Commaundementes of God (London, 1510) [STC 23876], a vernacular manifestation of the florilegium/fasciculus tradition, also explicitly envisages a dual audience: 'Creatures reasonable studye ye this boke for it is much prouffitable unto all people as wel clerkes as seculyers, and plante ye and rote the commaundementes in your hertes as yf they were wryten in a boke' (fol. 1r). This text also makes considerable use of tabular presentation of material which doubles as an index to the work as a whole (A.ii, verso). No possibility of lay access is envisaged by Caxton's Quatuor Sermones (1483-4), ed. N.F. Blake, Middle English Texts, 2 (Heidelberg, 1975), despite its use of texts (like The Pore Caitif) designed for lay audiences.

221. Jolliffe A.4; Memoriale Credencium, ed. J.H.L. Kengen (Nijmegen, 1979); Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 56 n.11; Pfander, 'Some Medieval Manuals', 252-3. This quote Kengen p. 235.

222. On this tradition, see P.B.R.Doob, Nebuchadnezzar's Children (New Haven, 1974) and below, Appendix 8. Kengen, pp. 53, 56. This section of the Memoriale Credencium is based on the Dextera Pars of the Oculus Sacerdotis (Kengen, p. 13). Other sections draw on Pennaforte (Kengen, p. 15) and the Latin penitential treatise Postquam (Kengen, p. 14). The work is, thus, an important example of lay manuals drawing on the Latin clerical tradition.

223. See the Analysis of the Contents provided by Kengen, pp. 27-33.

224. Katzenellenbogen, Allegories, ch. 3 and plates XII-XIII. The Scala is a commonplace of contemplative writing, used by, for example, Honorius Augustodunensis in his Scala Coeli Minor and Major, by Bonaventure in the Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum, by Hilton in The Scale of Perfection and by the Carthusian Guigo in his Scala Claustralium, which was translated into the vernacular as 'A Ladder of Foure Ronges', ed. P. Hodgson in Deonise hid Diuinite, EETS, O.S. 231 (1955), pp. 100-17.

225. Kengen, p. 149. Chastity is likened to 'a nobul precious vessel', 'a wal of þe soul', 'a precious tresour', 'a gurdul of vertuez' (p. 146) and 'a lynnen cloth' (p. 147).

226. Kengen, pp. 197-200; Kengen points out (pp. 15-16) that this section is 'perhaps closest' to Chobham's Summa, with the exception that the Memoriale omits the Beatitudes.

227. Kengen, pp. 16-18; H.P. Forshaw, 'New Light on the Speculum Ecclesie', 19-20. Her description (p. 19) of the characteristics of the 'short' recension closely parallels the features of the relevant portion of the Memoriale Credencium. For the Latin texts see Speculum Religiosorum and Speculum Ecclesie, ed. H.P. Forshaw, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, 3 (London, 1973). I had independently arrived at the conclusion that the Memoriale Credencium had drawn on the 'shorter' recension before the appearance of Kengen's edition.

228. Kengen, pp. 16-18, 33. The choice is obviously influenced by the pastoral value of the material. Forshaw's 'New Light', 30 comments on Edmund's exposition of the Pater Noster that it has 'great spiritual value' but cannot be compared with Chobham or the Templum Domini 'for didactic value.'

229. Forshaw, ed., pp. 47-9; H.P. Forshaw, 'St Edmund's Speculum: A Classic of Victorine Spirituality', Arch. d'Hist. Doct. et Lit. du M.A., 39 (1972), 7-40, points out (p. 7) that Edmund studied at Paris when Langton and Courcon were developing a practical pastoral theology.

230. Kengen, p. 214.

231. C.R. Goymer, 'Edition', p. lxxiv; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 41-7; Pantin English Church, pp. 222-4; in addition, B.L. Additional MS. 60577 includes extracts from the Speculum on the Sacraments (fol. 138r) and the Pater Noster (fol. 141r).

232. Goymer, 'Edition', Appendix A, pp. 421-31; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 45-7.

233. Printed in The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., Part 1, ed. C. Horstmann, EETS, O.S. 98 (1892), pp. 221-35; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 42; Goymer, 'Edition', p. lxxxi.

234. Kengen, p. 37.

235. fols 2r-6r. This quote fol. 5r. Pfander, 'Some Medieval Manuals', 253; Kengen, pp. 3-4.

236. 'Survey', 1, 40.

237. 'Survey', 1, 40. On the Form of Living's popularity, see Blake, 'Form of Living', 330-8.

238. See Wright, Middle Class Culture, ch. 8.

239. 'Survey', 1, 39-40. The manuscripts are JRL MS. Eng. 85; Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 23; B.L. MS. Cotton Titus D.XIX; Durham Cathedral MS. A.IV.22; Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O.1.74 and MS. R.3.21. For a further list of similar books see A.I. Doyle, 'A Treatise of the Three Estates', Dominican Studies, 3 (1950), 351-8.

240. Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 23, fol. 60v. The same three-fold division of belief is found in Gaytryge's Instructions, see above, chapter 1 n.115.

241. fols 65v-66v.

242. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 39 n.1; Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O.1.74, fol. 32v: 'Now for as muche as þer is ordre in love, sum in oo degre and sum in anoþir ...', Doyle, 'A Treatise of the Three Estates', prints a similar text from another metropolitan manuscript, B.L. MS. Harley 2339.

243. 'Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey', Essex Archaeological Society's Transactions, New Ser., 25 (1958), 222-43.

244. Doyle, 'Books Connected', 231 n.3. IMEV 3685, 2770, 469, 3041, 3262, 1815, 1126, 505, 475, 1746. Several are also found in C.U.L. MS. Ff.2.38 and B.L. MS. Harley 2339. See Doyle, 'A Treatise', 352. The verses on the Decalogue (IMEV 3685) are also found in two anomalous copies of the Speculum Christiani; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS. 55 and St Cuthbert's College Ushaw MS. 28 (D.7.8), as well as being incorporated into the expanded 'Wycliffite' version of Gaytryge's Instructions in Lambeth Palace Library MS. 408 (IMEV 4066). IMEV 505, 475 and 1746 are printed for the first time by J.C. Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation in Late Medieval England: MS. Bodley 789', Medium Aevum, 48 (1979), 55-66, pp. 63-4.

245. fol. 209r; IMEV 1416. The colophon is on fol. 210r. The explicit may be linked with the translation of Guigo's Scala Claustralium also in the manuscript (fols 47v-54r) as the same text in the closely related MS. Douce 322 ends Explicit Scala Cell (fol. 52v), see Doyle, 'Books Connected', 226 and Deonise hid Diuinite, ed. P. Hodgson, p. 100.

246. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 39 n.1; Kellogg and Lambert, 'The Wycliffite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments', 364, n.3.

247. The texts, running from fols 120r-146v, cover the complete syllabus including extracts from the Speculum Ecclesie on the Sacraments (fol. 138r) and the Pater Noster (fol. 141r); and the Eight Tokens of Meekness (fol. 145r), also in C.U.L. MS. Ff.2.38. This manuscript will be fully described in The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577.

248. Cambridge University Library MS. Ff.2.38 [a facsimile], with an introduction by Frances McSparran and P.R. Robinson (London, 1979), Items 9-18, see pp. xxii-iii. For a discussion of the didactic items, see pp. viii-ix.

249. fols 32r-33v. IMEV 3040, 3262, 1815, 1126, 2770, 4200.

250. Doyle, 'A Treatise of the Three Estates', 250. The common poems are IMEV 3685, 2770, 3040, 1815, 1126. The uncommon verses are IMEV 4200, 3555. Russell, 'Vernacular Instruction of the Laity', 114-7 prints two further verse sequences on the rudiments from Bodleian MS. Bodley 549 and Bodleian MS. Hatton 12.

251. Printed Doyle, 'Books Connected', 231; Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation', 55.

252. Doyle, 'Books Connected', 222-8.

253. IMEV 4185, printed The Oxford Book of Medieval English Verse, pp. 417-8 and Cambridge Middle English Lyrics, ed. N.A. Person (Seattle, 1962) no. 8.

254. See D. Gray, Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric (London, 1972), pp. 18-30, 122-45; R. Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1968), chs 2 and 6. A similar poem is printed in D. Gray, A Selection of Religious Lyrics (Oxford, 1975), pp. 55-7. On the background to this kind of lyric, see Woolf, pp. 225-6 and Gray, Selection, p. 131.

255. IMEV 1701; printed Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1939), pp. 95-6; Gray, Themes and Images, pp. 34-6; K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (Harmondsworth, 1973), pp. 46-9; R.H. Robbins, 'Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse', Modern Philology, 36 (1939), 337-50, 'Private Prayers in Middle English Verse', Studies in Philology, 36 (1936), 466-75.

256. IMEV 373; printed Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, pp. 273-77.

257. ll. 121-31; F.A. Patterson, The Middle English Penitential Lyric (New York, 1911) discusses this genre of lyric.

258. Gray, Themes and Images, pp. 171-5; Russell, 'Vernacular Instruction of the Laity', 109-14; A.C. Cawley, 'Middle English Metrical Versions of the Decalogue with reference to the English Corpus Christi Cycles', Leeds Studies in English, New Ser., 8 (1975), 129-45; Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, pp. 155-7. Fear of confessional examination is one of the major motivations of the protagonist in Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, ed. W.W. Skeat, EETS, O.S. 30 (1867); vernacular poems on the Creed are not uncommon, see Russell, 'Vernacular Instruction of the Laity', 107-9; Bowers, 'Three Middle English Poems on the Apostles' Creed', 210-22.

259. IMEV 3483; printed Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, pp. 211-2.

260. IMEV 974, 1959, 1969, 1602; printed Minor Poems, ed. Horstmann, pp. 34-6.

261. IMEV 1379; printed Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century, ed. C. Brown, 2nd ed. revised G.V. Smithers (Oxford, 1952), pp. 148-51.

262. IMEV 1129; printed English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1932), p. 33.

263. IMEV 1817; printed Oxford Book of Medieval English Verse, p. 566; Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century prints a selection of 'proverbs and moral sentences', pp. 279-91; Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, pp. 95-8.

264. The Poems of William of Shoreham, ed. M. Konrath, EETS, E.S. 86 (1902), nos I, III, IV.

265. Konrath, pp. 77, 90. The long tradition of ingenious mnemonic aids is continued in a less serious manner in How the Ploughman Learned his Paternoster printed Oxford Book of Medieval English Verse, pp. 514-21.

266. Konrath, pp. 100-1.

267. 'The Seven Virtues as opposed to the Seven Vices: A Fourteenth-Century Didactic Poem', Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 74 (1973), 247-68; 'A Middle English Didactic Poem on the Works of Mercy', Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 79 (1978), 145-51; IMEV 2059, 2062. On the sin of Sloth in priests, see Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, pp. 184-6, and below, pp. 178-80.

268. R.H. Robbins, 'The Speculum Misericordie', PMLA, 54 (1939), 935-66, p. 937.

269. Cf. the opening of the Speculum Vitae (Ullmann, 'Studien', 469, ll. 35-48). H.G. Pfander, The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England (New York, 1937), pp. 24-6.

270. Speculum Gy de Warewyke, ed. G.L. Morrill, EETS, E.S. 75 (1898), p. xx. An interesting example of the interplay between Romance and didactic literature is provided by the Awyntyrs of Arthure, which uses a theme from St Gregory's Trental, see D. Klausner, 'Exempla and the Awyntyrs of Arthure', Medieval Studies, 34 (1972), 307-25.

271. Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 40.

272. This use of traditional pastoral material would probably have been appreciated by the work's audience, see J. Burrow, 'The Audience of Piers Plowman', Anglia, 75 (1957), 373-84. Pearsall comments, 'Its teaching is the whole Christian faith and, with a fine sense of dramatic suspense, the concentration of that faith in Christ. In a basic sense, therefore, its closest relatives are the manuals of religious instruction, particularly manuals of penitence and confession, which were appearing in increasing numbers in the vernacular, in both verse and prose, in the fourteenth century', Piers Plowman: An Edition of the C Text,

(n.272 continued)
ed. D.A. Pearsall, York Medieval Texts, Second Series (London, 1978), p. 18. The C text at this point places the dreamer in church and has him merely say his Pater Noster.

273. All references are to Piers Plowman: The Prologue and Passus I-VII of the B Text, ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford, 1972).

274. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909, pp. 314-7. On the legislation concerning basic catechesis, see above, chapter 1.

275. See above, ch. 2.

276. Cf. 'The pretence (or the reality) is that he finds out to be true what other writers, with the whole weight of the Church's authority speaking through them, declare to be true' (Pearsall, p. 18).

277. E. Kirk, The Dream Thought of Piers Plowman (New Haven, 1972), p. 28.

278. On the presentation of the clerical ideal, see ch. 2 n.139. On the legislation against ignorancia sacerdotum, see ch. 1 above. One example of the level of behaviour set down in legislation is provided by the opening words of the Statutes of York I (1241x1255): 'Rectores ecclesiarum et universi quibus incumbit regimen animarum plebes sibi commissas exemplo bone conversationis, verbo exhortationis, in fide recta et bonis moribus diligenter instruant et informent.' C. & S., p. 485.

279. See above n.269. On the prevalence of spiritual sloth (the usual meaning of acedia in theological contexts), see S. Wenzel, The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature (Chapel Hill, 1967), pp. 84-7.

280. Wenzel, The Sin of Sloth, pp. 135-47 discusses Langland's various presentations of acedia.

281. 'Ignorantia sacerdotum populum precipitat in foveam erroris; et claricorum stultitia vel ruditas, qui diffinitione canonica filios fidelium instruere iubentur, magis aliquando ad errorem proficit quam doctrinam.' C. & S., p. 900.

282. e.g. the various treatises on De Horis Canonicis appearing in the miscellanies. See above pp. 60, 123, and below p. 217

283. p. 179.

284. See above, pp. 52-66.

285. That this repetition of the Latin quote is not fortuitous is supported by recent work suggesting that the quotations function structurally in the poem, J.A. Alford, 'The Role of the Quotations in Piers Plowman', Speculum, 52 (1977), 80-99.

286. Cornelius, The Figurative Castle, passim. The Turris Sapiencie is reproduced in Medieval Drawings ed. M.W. Evans (London, 1969), p. 32 and plate 74. A popular vernacular realisation of this theme was The Abbey of the Holy Ghost, printed in Middle English Religious Prose, ed. Blake, pp. 88-102; Cornelius, The Figurative Castle, pp. 49-57.

287. The process of construing followed by vernacular exposition was often used in pastoral manuals to explicate the basic prayers, especially the Pater Noster and Creed. The 'Pardon' is, of course, a clause from the Athanasian Creed. See above pp. 70-85. A copy of the Athanasian Creed glossed in the manner of the verse reading texts is preserved in Oxford, New College MS. 94, fols 167v-69v.

288. Cf. Pearsall's distinction between the manuals and Piers Plowman, where he says that Langland 'breaks up the classifications, and conceals and redistributes the matter in terms of a seemingly organic process of discovery' (p. 18). My reading of the second vision is intended to complement that provided by J.A. Burrow, 'The Action of Langland's Second Vision', Essays in Criticism, 15 (1965), 247-68.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. H. p. clxxx. References to manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani and Cibus Anime in this section are in abbreviated form. Full references will be found in Appendices 1 and 3.

2. pp. ci-ii. Other copies of the work described by him are JRL Lat. 341 (pp. xcix-ci); Harley 2379 (pp. lxxxiii-iv) and Royal 5 A.VI (pp. cxxvii-ix).

3. pp. xcix-ci. The C_3 textual group is discussed pp. clxv-xxi.

4. 'Study', 2, 67-8. The manuscripts are Harley 237, 2382, 3363, 4172; Lambeth 460, Rawl. C.19 and Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 2653.

5. Letter dated 29 April 1978. The manuscripts are Lincoln 133; Huntington HM. 124; C.U.L. Add. 6150; Foyle (= Harmsworth Sale, Oct. 1945, lot 2131); Yale (olim Helmingham Hall L.J.V. 14 cf. H. pp. cxii-iii); Illinois (De Ricci-Wilson 71, Harmsworth Sale, lot 2132). He also identifies three continental copies (Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 260 and 1013; Utrecht 173) in 'A Text Attributed to Ruusbroec Circulating in England', in Dr. L. Reypens-Album (Antwerp, 1964), p. 157 n.22.

6. Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1963), pp. 259-60. In his description of Balliol 239, he cites Trinity Hall 16, JRL Lat. 341 and Royal 5 A.VI as copies of this 'distinct recension'. Allen, Writings Ascribed, p. 399 refers to a Latin text as containing references to Rolle, citing copies in Rawl. C.19, Univ. 60, Royal 5 A.VI and Harley 3820. This text is, in fact, the third book of the Cibus Anime. Harley 3820 contains only chapters 11 and 12 of the third book. The Cibus Anime is Incipits 0972 (listing only Univ. 60).

7. Mynors, p. 259.

8. This list of chapters is printed in Appendix 2.

9. All quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from Balliol 239. These quotations fol. 28r. References to chapter numbers, unless otherwise stated, are to the numbering in that manuscript.

10. See below, pp. 231-3, for the suggestion that the title Cibus Anime may also have been suggested by a reference in the Carthusian Prior Guigo's Consuetudines for the Order. The idea of 'food for the soul' was a didactic commonplace;

(note 10 continued)
cf. the Latin notes printed from B.L. MS. Arundel 507, fol. 39r. 'Cibus anime est preceptum dei...' (Yorkshire Writers, 1, 439). The expanded version of Gaytryge's instructions in Lambeth Palace Library MS. 408 states, '... we aske goddys word to fede with oure sowle' (Simmons and Nolloth, p. 9). Preaching on the text 'Qui est ex Deo verba Dei audit', Thomas Brinton uses the image in Sermon 66, as well as in Sermons 7 and 97 (The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, ed. M.A. Devlin, pp. 15, 304, 445).

11. Cancelled.

12. Ritamary Bradley, 'Backgrounds to the title Speculum', Speculum, 29 (1954), 100-15.

13. H. p. xv n.1 discusses the titles occurring in manuscripts of the Speculum.

14. A detailed account of the structure and contents of the Speculum is given below, Ch. 5.

15. Two book versions: Balliol 239; JRL Lat. 341; Trinity Hall 16; Harley 2379.
Three book versions: Rawl. C.19; Univ. Coll. 60; C.U.L. Add. 6315 (II); Harley 237; Harley 407; Lambeth 460; Royal 5 A.VI (bk 3 only).
Incomplete: Salt 47; Harley 3363.
Extracts: Harley 3820 (book 3, caps 11 and 12 only).
In addition, Syon Monastery MS. M.37, which contains material associated with the Speculum/Cibus tradition may also have contained a two-book copy of the Cibus Anime, called in the description : '¢Tractatus qui intitulatur Speculum Saluacionis humane continens duas partes cum vtriusque capitulacione premissa'; Bateson, Catalogue of Syon, p. 104. See below, chapter 5 n.72.

16. See below, pp. 211-2, 221-3, 288-94.

17. e.g. at fol. 2v, where chapter 28 (De finali iudicio) of book 2, which had been omitted by the original scribe is inserted in the top margin by the hand responsible for the title on fol. 1r.

18. The contents include Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodensis; the Dialogus Adriani et Epicteti; De Conflictu Viciorum et Virtutum of Ambrosius Autpertus (here attrib. to Augustine); a commentary on the Creed; notes on priestly functions; and a version of Mandeville's Travels. See Mynors, pp. 259-60.

19. The second hand in Trinity Hall 16 (fols 87r-88v) is very similar to the main hand in Dd.14.26 (III), an anomalous copy of the Speculum Christiani discussed in detail below. Scribe 1 returns to write fols 89r-92r and a third hand adds the text on examination of conscience on fol. 92v (see Appendix 8), perhaps sometime later than the other two hands.

20. Harley 237 and Rawl. C.19 often indicate new sections of the text by 2- or 3-line initials. Although often coinciding with the beginnings of chapters (as found e.g. in Balliol 239) this is not always the case. One instance of this discrepancy in Harley 237 is discussed below. Several manuscripts do not have a fully developed division into chapters and some (like Trinity Hall 16) do not always agree with the divisions adopted by the other manuscripts, perhaps suggesting that the division of the work into chapters and their numbering was a gradual process and was not part of the original structure of the work, in which case the divisions preserved in Harley 237 and Rawl. C.19 may preserve an earlier structure. Harley 407, despite having a table of contents as part of its original design, executes the division into chapters only erratically. Scribe 1 who copied the table and the first quire does not divide up the material he copies at all. Scribe 2 who executed the rest of the book indicates chapters up to book 1 chapter 36 (fol. 18v) and for the first 6 chapters of book two. Elsewhere he indicates the beginning of a new section but does not number it. Several roughly contemporary hands (including Scribe 2 in a different ink to the main text) provide chapter numbers and headings in the margins, perhaps referring to the table of contents or to another copy of the Cibus Anime. In Salt 47 (written by Scribe 2 of Harley 407) titles of the sections are provided but not numbers. Lambeth 460 also has an erratic chapter numbering. They are not indicated up to fol. 16v, are numbered from there to the end of book 1 and do not appear thereafter. Chapter numbers in the margin might be omitted in careless copying, although it may be that faulty or partially and inconsistently divided exemplars are the cause. The safest way to ensure transmission of such information is to include it in the body of the text as Balliol 239 has done.

21. fol. 30r.

22. Balliol 239, fol. 44r.

23. fol. 44r.

24. Timor appears from fol. 44r to fol. 49v (i.e. caps 25 to 32 of Balliol 239). Spes appears from fol. 49v to fol. 51v (i.e. caps 33 to 34 of Balliol 239). New sections of the text (indicated by gold-leaf initials) start at the following points (references to chapter numbering of Appendix 2); fol. 3r (cap. 4); fol. 5r (cap. 6); fol. 6v (cap. 6); fol. 8v (cap. 12); fol. 11r (cap. 16); fol. 15v (cap. 22); fol. 20r (cap. 32); fol. 21r (cap. 34); fol. 24r (cap. 38); fol. 27r (book 2 cap. 1); fol. 28r (cap. 2); fol. 29v (cap. 4); fol. 30r (cap. 6); fol. 32r (cap. 10); fol. 33v (cap. 12); fol. 38r (cap. 16); fol. 41r (cap. 22); fol. 44r (cap. 25); fol. 45r (cap. 26); fol. 49v (cap. 33); fol. 52r (cap. 35); fol. 55r (cap. 40); fol. 58r (cap. 42, second part); fol. 59v (cap. 45); fol. 60r (cap. 46); fol. 60v (cap. 47); fol. 68r (cap. 51); fol. 69v (cap. 52); fol. 71r (cap. 53); fol. 73v (cap. 54); fol. 74r (cap. 55); fol. 74v (cap. 56); fol. 78v (cap. 60); fol. 80r (cap. 62); fol. 81v (cap. 63); fol. 82r (cap. 64); fol. 82v (book 3 cap. 1); fol. 96v (cap. 11).

25. Timor appears from fol. 29r to fol. 47r. Spes appears from fol. 47v to fol. 56r. The manuscript ends abruptly in the course of book 2 chapter 53.

26. Harley 407, fol. 29v; Salt 47, fol. 29v. Although written by the same scribe (Scribe 2 of Harley 407) and coinciding at this point, the books are not in parallel, as Harley 407 has a list of chapters which is included in the foliation. Balliol 239 omits the final section of this chapter; perhaps the personal appeal to the reader ('rogo te karissime domine ex toto corde', Univ. 60, fol. 159r), encouraging him to regular examination of his conscience did not fit in with the more public role as a work of reference which the fully developed and integrated apparatus in the manuscript seems designed to prepare it for,

27. fol. 37v. See note 20 above.

28. fol. 13r (De reverentia) and fol. 14r (Contra eos qui inhorant).

29. Cf. Parkes, 'Ordinatio and Compilatio', 132-4.

30. fol. 28r.

31. fol. 28v, H. 3.1-14. On this inversion of material in the Speculum, see below, pp. 248-52.

32. The third book is in some ways an exception to this as it adopts a more hortatory tone and concerns itself with personal spirituality, and indeed described in some manuscripts as Exhortationes.

33. fol. 69r.

34. fol. 69r. On the multiplex modi of Scripture, see Minnis, 'Literary Theory', 134-5.

35. H. 241.1-16.

36. fol. 69v.

37. 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 158-214, esp. pp. 159, 173, 200.

38. fol. 36v. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', p. 24; Boyle, 'Study', 1, 385-92; Pantin, English Church, pp. 213-4 dates the work to 1385. Harley 407, 237 and 2379 add on 'Ca° 27' to the end of this note. As this occurs at the end of chapter 26, it would appear that they have copied the chapter number of the following chapter (27) as part of the reference to the Pupilla Oculi. This suggests that, regardless of the state of division into chapters in those manuscripts, the manuscripts they copied from were divided into chapters, and that these chapters were numbered.

39. H. p. clxxxii

40. For a discussion of this and other additional texts, see below, Appendix 7.

41. fol. 43v.

42. See below, pp. 262, 270.

43. fol. 57v. Walther, Versanfänge 18330. On the popularity of this mnemonic, see Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp. 104-8, esp. p. 106 n.3.

44. H. 101.1.

45. In Balliol 239 and JRL Lat. 341, the last two chapters are reversed in the text (although appearing correctly in the table of contents). These manuscripts, therefore, end with the chapter on the Virtues.

46. Harley 407, fol. 81v. This title is added in the text by one of the later annotators, although it is listed in the original table of contents (fol. 2r).

47. See Appendix 1.

48. H. p. cxciv.

49. See H. pp. cxciii-v for his attempts to locate the 'original' ending of the Speculum.

50. See pp. 291-4.

51. Holmstedt's partial collation suggests that although the manuscripts are intimately related, they must be independent of each other, see H. pp. clxix-xx.

52. fol. 82r. This text also occurs in Royal 5 A.VI, fol. 77v, where it includes an additional sentence.

53. fol. 88r-v.

54. Trinity Hall 16, fol. 88v; Royal 5 A.VI, fol. 78r. The verses are IMEV 3648, and represent ll. 365-70 of the Speculum Vitae.

55. H. p. lxxiv. H. claims that the first tabula starts on fol. 37r. This should be fol. 57r.

56. Illinois, fols 51v-52r; Dd.14.26 (III), fol. 34r, where it forms part of an unbroken series of chapters. See below, pp. 308-314 and Appendix 6.

57. MLGB, p. 132.

58. fol. 120r.

59. fol. 95v has his name on a quire signature, and he names himself in an explicit on fol. 184v.

60. Incipit fol. 179r, explicit fol. 187v.

61. The incipits of these texts (as found in Ff.1.14) are:
    1. (fol. 179r) Duplex est oracio, quedam publica que fit a ministris ecclesie
    2. (fol. 180v) Hore enim canonice propter laudem humanam et vanam gloriam
    3. (fol. 185v) Dolenter refero quod plures sacerdotes...

62. 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 262-81; R.W. Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1970).

63. Univ. 60, fol. 192r.

64. Harley 407, fol. 82r.

65. C.U.L. Add. 6315 (II), fol. 172r; H. 37.18-19. The sentence also occurs in chapter 5 of book 1 of the Cibus Anime. Univ. 60 (fol. 182r) opens 'Quot sunt necessaria...'.

66. All subsequent quotations from this third book, unless otherwise indicated, are from Univ. 60. This quote is on fol. 182v.

67. fol. 185r, fol. 185v.

68. fol. 185v.

69. See below, pp. 287-94. Two chapters of this tract are identical with chapters 2 and 4 of book 3 of the Cibus Anime, see Appendix 5.

70. Bénédictins du Bouveret, Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe Siècle, 3, Spicelegia Friburgensis Subsidia, 4 (1973), no. 9222.

71. H. p. cxcv.

72. Rouse and Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons, p. 125.

73. p. 126.

74. Kaeppeli 1982. The Compendium is printed in B. Alberti Magni Opera Omnia, ed. S.C.A. Borgnet, 34 (Paris, 1895). On the Compendium's popularity and its use in preaching and teaching aids, see Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, pp. 186-7.

75. Tentler, Sin and Confession, p. 106 n.3.

76. Mr J. van Banning, who is engaged in editing the Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum kindly examined the quotations from Chrysostom for me and was able to confirm that the compiler appears to have had access to the full text. For an example of the use of this work in preaching aids, see von Nolcken, The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie, pp. 24-5.

77. The solitary citation of Rolle in the Speculum (H. 191.19-20) is from 2.51 and is identified by Allen, Writings Ascribed, pp. 404-5 as being from the Incendium Amoris cap. 28. She identifies the other citations (p. 399) in her discussion of book 3 (which she believed to be a separate work); 3.11 is from Super Aliquos Cantici Canticorum; 3.13-15 is from Emendatio Vitae cap. 4; 3.16 is from Incendium Amoris cap. 11. (ed. Deanesly, p. 175, l.5ff.).

78. Heist, The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday, pp. 26, 143-54.

79. H.E. Allen, English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole (Oxford, 1931), pp. 151-2 cites Richard of St Victor's De IV Gradibus Violentae Charitatis and Bernard's De Diligendo Deo as forerunners of Rolle's use of the grades in Melos Amoris, Emendatio Vitae, The Commandment and The Form of Living. G. Constable, 'The Popularity of Twelfth-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages', Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron, ed. A. Melho and J.A. Tobaschi (North Illinois, 1971), pp. 5-28; 'Twelfth-Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages', Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 5 (1971 for 1969), 27-60.

80. Cf. H. p. cxxvi. I am grateful to Dr Doyle for informing me that the other continental copies also omit the vernacular sections.

81. 'Studies in the Dialect Material of Medieval Lincolnshire', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 253-61.

82. The scribal identity of Add. 10052 and 21202 was established by H. pp. xliii-viii. I am grateful to Mary Robertson of the Department of Manuscripts of the Huntington Library for providing the description of HM. 124 from the catalogue which is in preparation, and to Mr M.B. Parkes for examining this manuscript for me.

83. MLGB, p. 132; fol. 3r. On Harley 3820, see MLGB, p. 179; Allen, Writings Ascribed, p. 399. The book was given by Mag. Hugh Fraunce, sometime Fellow and Bursar of Eton and a notable donator of books (BRUO II, 722-3). Fraunce died c. 1498 but the book was probably given to the recluse before then. Doyle, 'Survey', 2, Note VII, 183-5.

84. 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 27 (1976), 225-40, this quote p. 225.

85. PL 153, cols 693-4. Cf. the praise of those who copy books to advance knowledge of the Faith at the end of the Speculum Christiani, H. 241.1-7.

86. 'Transmission', 225-6.

87. A survey of this material is provided by J. Hogg, 'Mount Grace Charterhouse and Late Medieval English Spirituality', in Collectanea Cartusiana 3, Analecta Cartusiana, 82:3 (1980), 1-43; E.M. Thompson, The Carthusian Order in England (London, 1930), esp. ch. 9; Doyle, 'Survey', passim; D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, vol. 2: The End of the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 133-7; E. Salter, Nicholas Love's 'Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ', Analecta Cartusiana, 10 (1974); Sargent, 'Transmission', passim, esp. pp. 232-5; R. Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England', TRHS, 5th ser., 18 (1968), 97-121.

88. See above pp. 140-6. Reginald of Piperno, who completed the Summa Theologica discusses the relationship between the composition and compilation of writings and the preaching and teaching of the Faith, and concludes that such literary activity was indeed a form of teaching (Supplementum, q.96, art XI ad 5 um).

89. Mount Grace was founded in 1398 which might be too late for the composition of the Cibus Anime (see below) and its main literary activity was in the middle of the fifteenth century. This, however, does coincide with the period of greatest demand for and production of copies of both texts. Other Carthusian houses in the area covered by the dialectal localisation of the Speculum manuscripts are Kingston-upon-Hull (founded 1377), Axholme, Lincs. (founded 1397-8) and Beauvale (founded 1343); see D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock,

(n.89 continued)
Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales, revised ed. (London, 1971), pp. 133-6. One of the characteristics of Carthusian libraries is that they developed by loans between houses which means that texts travelled widely, see Thompson, p. 313; Doyle, 'Survey', 2, 198-9 discusses the annotations on Northern Carthusian books of James Grenehalgh, a professed monk of Sheen.

90. p. 327. The prior Richard Roche commits the books to Roger Mongumre.

91. See above n.10.

92. fol. 84r; H. p. xlviii; MLGB, p. 305. The frontispiece to H. is from this manuscript. Another of Darker's books is reproduced by Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500, p. 8, who gives a list of other books copied by him. B.L. Add. 37049 is a Carthusian manuscript which contains an extract from the Speculum, see n.110 below.

93. Sargent, 'Transmission', 227-9 illustrates the links between Carthusians in England and the Continent, and cites examples of possible Netherlandish Carthusian influence in the introduction of Ruysbroeck's works to England. There is no reason to doubt that this was a two-way traffic. Dr Doyle says that part of the manuscript is dated 1458; Doyle, 'A Text Attributed to Ruusbroec', p. 157 n.23.

94. On fol. 92v is the note 'Liber Roberti Hare precium xx$^{d.}$ primo die Junii a.d. millesimo quingentésimo sexagesimo'.

95. Cf. Victoria County History of Yorkshire, East Riding, 2 (1974), 218ff.

96. Index of Wills in the 'York Registry 1389-1514, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 6 (1889 for 1888), 68. Robert Garton's will is in vol. 3, fol. 41; Index of Wills etc., from the Dean and Chapter's Court at York 1321-1636, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 38 (1907), 26. Thomas Garton's will is in vol. 1, fols 191v-93v. These sources provide no references to a Henry Garton. It must be admitted that Robert's will makes no mention of a Thomas or Henry, and Thomas's will makes no mention of a deceased Robert or a Henry. It is, of course, possible that all or some of the Garton's were laymen, although the nature of the manuscript which preserves their names would suggest otherwise. Le Neve, Fasti lists three other Thomas Gartons, all dating from the 1330's, in Bath and Wells (Fasti, 8, pp. 49, 74); Salisbury (Fasti, 3, p. 47) and Coventry and Lichfield (Fasti, 10, p. 53). The two Indexes of Wills cited above list a total of 18 persons with the surname of Garton, including a Robert Garton of York who was a 'textor' (ob. 1473) (York Registry, 68).

97. See the note on his career in Testamenta Eboracensia III, Surtees Society, 45 (1864), 52. I am grateful to Miss K.M. Longley, Archivist of York Minster Library for providing details of Garton's tenure as Chamberlain and for providing photographs of his will. He appears in the Fabric Rolls for 1399 (The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 35 (1859), 16-17) and is mentioned in several wills (Testamenta Eboracensia III, 15, 51, 52, 181).

98. English Secular Cathedrals, pp. 223-4.

99. B. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages 1215-1500', in A History of York Minster, ed. G.E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Oxford, 1977), pp. 44-109, p. 73.

100. BRUO 421-2. His will is printed in Testamenta Eboracensia I, Surtees Society, 4 (1836), 364-71, and was witnessed by Thomas Garton (p. 368), who is referred to as 'domino'.

101. The chest containing the books kept in the Minster vestry had three keys, one of which was to be held by the Subtreasurer, a post held by Thomas Garton until 1418, four years after Newton's death. Garton's own will provides money (fol. 193r) for prayers and masses to be said for the repose of the soul of John de Newton, Treasurer of the Cathedral 'dum vixit'. Also named in the will William Cawood (BRUO III, 2160) who was vicar-general in 1397 and during the pontificate of Abp. Bowet (1407-23) and John de Carleton (BRUO I, 357). Probate was granted to Cawood, Robert Wolveden and Thomas Park, all of whom were residentiary canons of the Minster, see B. Dobson, 'The Residentiary Canons of York in the Fifteenth Century', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 30 (1979), 145-74, Appendix (p. 174), nos 5, 9, 10.

102. Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', 157, comments 'What the wills and occasional surviving inventories of these men leave in no doubt is the size of their law libraries: the residentiaries of York undoubtedly possessed the largest private collections of legal works in the north of England.' Although the Cibus Anime is not a work of canon law, it is associated with the Summa Raymundi in C.U.L. Add. 6315 (II). On the literacy, book production and book ownership in York generally, see J.H. Moran, 'Education and Learning in the City of York 1300-1560', Borthwick Papers, 55 (1979); Keiser, 'Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91', 165-6. A series of texts perhaps related to the Speculum Christiani includes a moralisation of the Lady Altar at York Minster, see below Appendix 8.

103. 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy', pp. 96-113, esp. pp. 110-13.

104. Prerog. Ct. Canterbury 21 Luffenham (I am grateful to Dr Doyle for this reference), see Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills 1383-1558, Index Library 10, British Record Society (1893), 143.

105. Testamenta Eboracensia III, 159, 199 n., 160 n. In his will Est leaves the sum of 6s. 8d. to the Charterhouse of Mount Grace and Kingston-upon-Hull 'cum propria litera fraternali'; Symson's Speculum Christianorum might have been a copy of Machlinia's printed edition which preserves this unusual form of the title. Among surviving British manuscripts, only T.C. D.351 and Ushaw have this title.

106. MLGB, p. 159.

107. I am grateful to Dr Doyle for this information.

108. M. Deanesly, 'Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', Modern Language Review, 15 (1920), 349-58, p. 357; H.R. Plomer, 'Books Mentioned in Wills', Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 7 (1902-4), 99-121, p. 116. Ormsby left his Speculum to the Archbishop of York.

109. 'Dialect Material', pp. 254-5. Laing believes that 13 copies of the Speculum may, with varying degrees of confidence, be assigned to Lincolnshire. Perhaps more significantly, the manuscripts of Holmstedt's textual group C_3 which, it is argued below, represent a significant phase in the development of the text at an early stage all fall in or around Lincolnshire (with the exception of Balliol 239 which is not included in Laing's analysis).

110. B.L. Add. 37049, for example, has always been associated with a Northern Charterhouse, usually Mount Grace (e.g. Doyle, 'Survey', 2, 191-3; J. Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany B.L. Add. MS. 37049', in Essays in Honour of Erwin Stürzl on his Sixtieth Birthday, 1 (Salzburg, 1980), pp. 241-84). Laing (p. 258) argues that Hand A in the manuscript (which copies a section from the Speculum, see H. pp. xciii-iv) comes from the extreme west of Nottinghamshire and that Hand B comes 'from Lincolnshire, probably the North West of the county' (p. 80). Corpus Oxford 155, owned by Rievaulx Abbey (see above n.106) is placed by Laing in Northern Lincolnshire (pp. 259, 383).

111. 'Residentiary Canons', 154-5.

112. Testamenta Eboracensia III, 159.

113. The Register of Bishop Philip Repingdon 1405-1419, ed. M. Archer, Lincoln Record Society, 57-8 (1963), p. xxvi. On the decay of the issue of licences for study, see above ch. 2, pp. 48-52. On the state of the Church in Lincolnshire, see D.M. Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire, History of Lincolnshire, 5 (Lincoln, 1971), esp. chs 8 and 9; M. Bowker, The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln 1495-1520, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Ser., 13 (Cambridge, 1968). Bowker (p. 210) lists a Dom. Thomas Garton as non-resident vicar of the parish of Swinesfield, Beds. but the date (post 1517) is too late for the Trinity Hall colophon.

114. See below, pp. 318-24 and Appendix 6.

115. 'Dialect Material', pp. 258, 366; Le Neve, Fasti, 1, 67. This Burbage was a D.C.L., (see BRUO I, 305-6), and Official of Lincoln in 1401.

116. Owen, Church and Society, 79-80.

117. The Lollard Bible, p. 346.

118. H. p. clxxv. The date and authorship of the Speculum Christiani is discussed below, pp. 327-31.

119. Boyle, 'Survey', 1, 385-92 dates the Pupilla to during de Burgh's tenure of the Chancellorship of Cambridge, 1370 to 1389, probably between 1380 and 1385.

120. H. p. clxxv.

121. JRL Lat. 341 may perhaps date from the late fourteenth century, see H. p. xcix. Trinity Hall 16 may date from the very end of the fourteenth or very early in the fifteenth century. All the other copies are firmly in the fifteenth century.

122. C.H. Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', Citeaux in de Nederlanden, 9 (1958), 18-40, pp. 24-5, discusses and rejects the ascription of the Speculum Christiani to Cadogan by Leland, Bale and Tanner (Cadogan died c. 1241). The 'three words of Welsh' which he suggests make the work's Welsh origin 'almost certain' are part of a section of chapter 6 which is not in most manuscripts and are, in fact, the name Gwynn ap Nwdd. The section as found in Balliol 239 fol. 30v reads as follows: Quidam etiam stulti et stulte cum aliquis egrotaverit vadunt ad hostium tenentes ignem et ferrum in manibus suis et clamant ad regem Eumenidium et reginam eius qui sunt maligni spiritus sic dicentes. Gwynn ap Nwdd qui es ultra in silvis pro amore concubine tue permittes nos venire domum. In hoc stultissime agunt petendo auxilium a malis spiritibus qui non habent nisi dampnacionem eternam contra quos clamat Apostolus: Nolo vos socios esse demoniorum. In a note on Gwynn, I.L. Foster (in Duanaire Finn, 3, ed. G. Murphy, Irish Text Society, 43 (1953 for 1941), pp. 198-204) reviews the evidence of this mysterious figure in Welsh folklore and discusses his relationship with the Irish hero Finn Mac Cumaill, but does not mention this reference to him. Prof. B.F. Roberts who had independently noticed this reference to Gwynn, kindly suggested that 'the author was describing - from his own standpoint and perhaps at second or third hand - a folk custom or ritual.' (Letter dated 24 April 1981). If this is the case (and it would fit in with the concern with idolatry and false gods in the rest of the chapter) then this need not indicate a Welsh provenance, or, as Talbot also suggests, authorship by a Welsh monk (although this might be more probable). The

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fact that Balliol 239 is the only copy of the work to preserve this longer version of chapter 6 and that it uniquely contains extra chapters at the end of book 2 suggests that this manuscript may have been subject to scribal interference. Perhaps the scribe was a Welsh monk or had Welsh connections. Mynors suggests that one other text in the manuscript may show Welsh influence (Catalogue, p. 259). If this is so, then the reference to Gwynn ap Nwdd, fascinating as it may be, is of no use in determining the provenance of the work.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. See below, Appendix 4. A complete list of manuscripts of the Speculum is provided in Appendix 3. The Speculum is Incipits 2363.

2. A rare exception is Lansdowne 344 (the Latin text printed by Holmstedt), which has on fols 80r-83v a detailed table of contents listing all the internal rubrics and giving folio references. Some copies of the Cibus Anime do not have such a fully developed apparatus; see ch. 4, n.20.

3. The manuscripts are Rawlinson C.401; C.U.L. Add. 6150; Dd.4.51; Hh.1.13; Jesus Cambridge 51; Harley 6850; Lansdowne 344; Royal 8 E.V; MS. Foyle; Huntington Library HM.124; Illinois (Urbana) 4137.

4. Alan of the Isles, A Compendium on the Art of Preaching: Preface and Selected Chapters, tr. J.M. Miller, in Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, ed. J.M. Miller, M.H. Prosser, and T.W. Benson (Bloomington, Indiana, 1973), p. 230; Robert of Basevorn, Forma Praedicandi, in Th. Charland, Artes Praedicandi, Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Medievales d'Ottawa, 7 (1936), p. 238.

5. Leclercq, 'Le Magistère du prédicateur', 105-47, prints various discussions of the nature of preaching and the sins possible through incorrect or unauthorised preaching. One such discussion occurs in a series of notes taken by a student at Paris between 1240 and 1250, which includes the questio: 'Item quaeritur si peccet praedicans si non sit missus...Ad hoc dicendum quod est praedicatio quae est expositio articulorum sicut in Symbolo continentur. Hujusmodi enarratio ad omnes pertinet. Est item expositio litteralis intellectus in doctrina quae est secundum pietatem, et haec est annexa ordini diaconatus et presbyterii. Item est expositio intellectus tropologici et allegorici et haec pertinet ad illos qui habent officium' (p. 117). The hierarchy of expository activity envisaged here provides an interesting comparison with the distinction made in the Cibus Anime, and repeated in the Speculum. H. p. 243 prints an extract from a vernacular treatise making the same distinction between clerical and lay teaching responsibilities.

6. e.g. see above pp. 148-58.

7. 'Some Medieval Manuals', 247.

8. pp. clxxxi-ii.

9. 'Study', 1, 379.

10. Douie, Archbishop Pecham, pp. 138-42.

11. See H. pp. cxciii-iv.

12. e.g. Oxford, University College MS. 60, fol. 192r.

13. Bühler, 'The Apostles and the Creed', 335-9; Brady, 'The Apostles ... in manuscripts of The Pore Caitif', 323-5. Faith is the foundation of the spiritual edifice, and it is traditional to begin discussions of the teaching syllabus with some reference to the Creed.

14. IMEV 1491, to which should be added Hereford Cathedral P.7.VII, is the standard set of verses with introductory couplet; IMEV 3687, to which should be added Harley 4172, omits the introductory rubric.

15. IMEV 1111; H. p. cxviii-ix; J. Zupitza, 'Zwei Umschreibungen der Zehn Gebote in mittelenglischen Versen', Archiv, 85 (1890), 44-8, esp. pp. 46-8.

16. See above, pp. 164-71.

17. Zupitza, 48.

18. G.C. Taylor, 'The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric', Modern Philology, 5 (1907-8), 1-38; C. Brown, 'The Towneley Play of the Doctors and the Speculum Christiani', Modern Language Notes, 31 (1916), 223-6; A.C. Cawley, 'Middle English Metrical Versions of the Decalogue with Reference to the English Corpus Christi Cycles', Leeds Studies in English, New Ser., 8 (1975), 129-45, esp. pp. 136-40.

19. IMEV 3687. The manuscripts grouped by H. are Bodley 61 (C_1); Greaves 54 (C_1); Bodley 423 (C_2); Douce 107 (C_2); Laud Misc. 104 (C_1); Trinity Cambridge 376 (B.15.42) (C_2); Harley 1197 (C_1); Harley 2250 (C_1); Harley 2379 (C_2); Royal 8 E.V. (C_3); B.L. Add. 15237 (C_3); JRL Lat. 201 (C_2); Stonyhurst (C_1); B.L. Add. 37049 (C_3); Harley 7578 (C_3); Foyle can probably be assigned to C_3 (see below, pp. 323-4); Harley 4172 is incomplete but is clearly group C. Two other manuscripts preserve the verses; C.U.L. MS. Ii.1.26 (in a prose decalogue treatise) and Corpus Cambridge 423, containing the verses on their own with a few Latin sentences. Although the latter is probably derived from a copy of the Speculum, there is insufficient evidence to decide in the case of the former: it might witness to an independent circulation for the verses.

20. H. pp. clv-clxxi.

21. See below, pp. 302-25.

22. i.e. C.U.L. Ii.1.26; B.L. Add. 37049; Harley 7578; Corpus Cambridge 423; Bodley 423. The amount of Latin material from the Speculum accompanying the verses in these manuscripts varies from the complete tabula (Bodley 423) to a few sentences (Corpus Cambridge 423).

23. IMEV 3685.

24. The Book of Vices and Virtues, ed. W.N. Francis, EETS, O.S. 217 (1942), pp. 316-33. Miss Rachel Pyper informs me that there are 15 other manuscripts of versions of this commentary in the major British libraries alone. See further Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter, 6 (Spring 1980), 5; 7 (Autumn 1980), 6-7; 8 (Spring, 1981), 5. The Greaves version appears to be a shortened version of the commentary, which does not usually circulate as part of a larger manual. Greaves 54 is a severely abbreviated copy of the Speculum with large omissions in tabulae 5, 6 and 7 (See H. pp. lxvi-iii, clx). It seems probable that Greaves 54 has been specially edited for use in parochial work or possibly for lay use.

25. See above, pp. 203-6.

26. See above pp. 40-7.for a discussion of the expanded version of Gaytryge's instructions and the possibility that the expansions were partly a reflection of popular taste.

27. See above, pp. 207-9.

28. IMEV 4150, to which should be added St John's Cambridge 176 (G.8) and B.L. Add. 6716.

29. The following manuscripts are not complete Speculums but appear to be derived from it: Corpus Oxford 132 (the complete fourth tabula; H. p. lxxxviii); B.L. Add. 6716 (the complete fourth tabula up to H. 73.15, preceded by H. 5.26-7.2 and followed by H. 239.7-19, clearly intended to function as a self-contained text; see Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, p. 18).

30. Songs, Carols and other Miscellaneous Poems, ed. R. Dyboski, EETS, E.S. 101 (1907), p. 86.

31. On Hill's use of other collections, see Mynors, Balliol Catalogue, p. 353.

32. Some of the problems in editing and discussing the textual history of this kind of popular lyric text are discussed by Professor Dobson in Dobson and Harrison, Medieval English Songs, pp. 27-39.

33. IMEV 1286. The C group copies are Greaves 54; Douce 107; Corpus Oxford 132; Trinity Cambridge 376 (B.15.42). The first belongs to C_1, the others to C_2; see H. pp. clv-xv.

34. H. 223.1-229.8; see below, pp. 297-8.

35. The same quotation occurs in Piers Plowman, V, 292, and Bennett (p. 171) points out similar citations in the Castell of Perseverance and The Pricke of Conscience, apparently deriving from Augustine's commentary on Ps. 143.2.

36. Writings Ascribed, pp. 404-5; 'the connexion seems to me to suggest a common source rather than a direct borrowing.'

37. H. pp. 257-8.

38. The metrical Form is printed in Yorkshire Writers, 2, 283-92 and the standard text in Yorkshire Writers, 1, 3-49 and Allen, English Writings of Richard Rolle, pp. 82-119. On the metrical version, see Allen, Writings Ascribed, pp. 262-3 and Blake, 'Form of Living', 300-8. On the popularity of the Form, see Allen, Writings Ascribed, pp. 256-63.

39. H. 83.25-6. Cf. H. pp. 259-60.

40. On the relationship between the Form and the Compendium Theologicae Veritatis, see Allen, Writings Ascribed, p. 265. On the use of the Compendium in the Cibus Anime, see above, chapter 4, pp. 224-5.

41. H. p. 258.

42. For the inclusion of the Senses in pastoral manuals see above, chapter 1, n.116.

43. H. pp. clxxxii-iii; Pfander, 'Some Medieval Manuals', 247; Owst, Preaching, p. 291; D.L. Jeffrey, The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality (Nebraska, 1975), pp. 197-200.

44. H. 123.11-12 from C.A. 2.62. The 'Ecce karissime' invocation is clearly singular (nunc habes ante te) and is translated in Harley 6580 as 'deer frende' (H. 122.13).

45. fols 18r-21r. On this manuscript, see below pp. 306-18.

46. H. 83.1-15; cf. H. 35.15-37.9.

47. e.g. H. 121.15-18.

48. See above, pp. 207-9.

49. fols 82r-95r. I am grateful to Mrs J. Cook of the C.U.L. Manuscripts Room for providing me with her unpublished description of this manuscript.

50. Laing, 'Dialect Material', p. 258.

51. H. pp. clxxxiii-xc; IMEV 2167; cf. B.J. Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases (London, 1968), M534; F.C. Tubach, Index Exemplorum, FF Communications 204 (Helsinki, 1969), 3753.

52. For these manuscripts, see above, pp. 210-12 and chapter 4, passim.

53. The solutions (fols 71v-72v) are as follows: at H. 125.9 þine londe is laweles; H. 125.13: it is techyng-les; H. 125.23: it is powerles; H. 127.7: it is myghtles; H. 127.15: it is worcheples; H. 129.1: it is vertules; H. 129.12: it is penyles; H. 129.16: it is almesles; H. 131.1: it is dethfull; H. 131.5: it is wrongful; H. 131.13: it is synfull. For the Auchinleck solutions, see H. pp. clxxxv-vii and Historical Poems of the XIV and XV Centuries, ed. R.H. Robbins (Oxford, 1959), pp. 140-3 (IMEV 1857).

54. H. p. clxxiv.

55. e.g. H. 125.25-127.4 is found in C.A. 1.3; H. 125.18-20 is found in C.A. 1.23. It is possible that the copies of the sayings in Cibus Anime manuscripts were extracted from the Speculum. This curious re-importing of material seems improbable. More likely is that the sayings were an independant text supplied with authorities from the Cibus Anime, circulating with that text and eventually being assimilated into the Speculum. For other examples of independent vernacular texts apparently drawing on the Cibus Anime, see Appendix 8.

56. IMEV 1342, to which should be added Douce 107.

57. See above, chapter 2.

58. e.g. Harley 2388, fol. 56r; Dd.14.26 (III), fol. 21r is headed De Libro Sapiencie but fol. 22r has Mores Mundiali; Jesus Cambridge 51, fol. 20v has the rubric Septima tabula tractat de moribus mundi et de libro sapiencie. Octo Tabule (H. 9.22-3) describes the tabula thus: Septima tabula tractat de libro sapiencie et de moribus'. As Holmstedt points out (p. cxc) the invitation 'sum what of boke of wisdom here' probably gave rise to the description de libro sapiencie (some manuscripts have 'lere' instead of 'here'), although the work does not appear to be related to Biblical Wisdom literature, except in the broadest possible terms, the injunctions to spurn the world are in the tradition of Ecclesiastes based lyric writing. C.U.L. MS. Ff.5.48 preserves a verse prognostication (IMEV 73) which begins in similar fashion: 'A man þat will of wisdom lere/Herkyn to þe boke of profetts here', and discusses the learning of Ezechiel.

59. H. pp. 340-2; IMEV 750, replacing H. 157.8-159.4. This extra section is also found in the c. 1484 print (H. p. cxlv). One copy of the Cibus Anime, JRL Lat. 341 preserves the complete seventh tabula among other selections from the Speculum (fols 73v-77r). This manuscript is discussed above, pp. 210-12 and chapter 4 passim. Harley 2250 completely omits the vernacular sections of tabula 7. Greaves 54 has a highly abbreviated tabula 7 (H. p. clx). On Harley 2388, see H. p. xciv-v and Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 225-6.

60. Cf. H. 153.7; H. 155.1.

61. e.g., see below, pp. 318-27.

62. H. p. cxciv.

63. Laud Misc. 104 and Harley 1197 both end the standard text with the words which make up the ladders (although the ladders themselves are not drawn in). The manuscripts are closely related and go back to a common source, see H. p. clvii (C_1 group) 'Neither ... can have been the source of any other MS. now in existence.'

64. H. pp. cxciii-iv; H. 9.23-32.

65. IMEV 2119. The poem had an extremely extensive independent circulation and many of the 'fragmentary' manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani listed by Holmstedt contained this poem alone. In many cases there is no evidence that the poem as preserved in these manuscripts has any necessary connection with the tradition of the Speculum. I have printed these manuscripts in the complete list but have placed them in square brackets.

66. Analecta Hymnica, 31, 198. The fact that the C_3 manuscripts do not include the vernacular Marian lyric suggests either that their texts were deliberate replacements for the material printed by Holmstedt or, given the unstable and apparently transitional status of these manuscripts, that the vernacular lyric was introduced at a slightly later stage of the textual tradition, in effect as part of a later or alternative edition of the work, which eventually became the standard text. The C_3 material is printed by H. pp. cxci-iii.

67. The text De Horis Canonicis, of which this material forms a part, is discussed above, e.g. pp. 60, 217.

68. e.g. L. Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien, 2 (Paris, 1956), 146-8.

69. fols 82r-v. Laud Misc. 513 has two extra rungs: Virtutes on the Scala Celi and Malitia on the Scala Inferni (fol. 79r).

70. Speculum Christiani (London c. 1484) [STC 26012], p. 51v. (On the revised dating of this book, see below, Appendix 3).

71. See above, p. 140.

72. See above, pp. 221-2. H. p. cxxvii-iii suggests that the manuscript is 'a kind of conflation between a MS. of the Speculum Christiani and some other MS. or MSS.' The treatise discussed here occupies fols 2r-13r. H. provides a list of the chapters of this treatise: cap. 5 should begin Quod (not Ex as in H.) as should cap. 6. Cap. 7 should read Contra nimiam seculi solicitudinem. Cap. 8 should begin

(n.72 continued)
Quod (not Ex as in H.). Cap. 14 should begin Quod ministra (not Ex ministri as in H.). Cap. 15 should begin Quod (not Ex as in H.), so should cap. 16. A full corrected list of capitula is provided in Appendix 5. Bateson, Catalogue of Syon, p. 104 lists a description of MS. M.37 which sounds as though it may refer to the same treatise as that preserved in Royal, or perhaps to extracts from it: 'De diligencia predicatorum. & De cura pastorali cum tribus ad eam necessariis (fo. 2°). & De 4oi genere sacerdotum f. 2°. & Significatio mistica vestimentorum sacerdotalium fo. 3°. De precellencia Religionis in comparacione ad vitam secularem fo. 4. & Tractatus qui intitulatur Speculum Salvacionis humane continens duas partes com Vtriusque capitulacione premissa fo. 7 & Narracio de quedam Rege et 4or philosophorum sentenciis super erumpnis regni sui fo. 73.' It is tempting to speculate that the Speculum described here was a two-book version of the Cibus Anime; similar material is preserved in JRL Lat. 341 and Balliol 239.

73. The parallels between this treatise and tabula 8 of the Speculum Christiani are listed by H. p. cxxvii.

74. cap. 5: Quod pastoribus tria sunt necessaria (fols 3v-4v), cf. H. 173.14-175.23. This chapter and the corresponding section of the Speculum contain an extremely significant citation from Robert Grosseteste (Lincolniensis) on the range of duties involved in the cura animarum, in particular emphasising the importance of priestly example.

75. The section from cap. 4 De mercenariis begins at H. 171.23. One copy of the Speculum which consistently indicates by rubrics the different chapters of the Royal treatise it includes is C.U.L. Add. 6150. This would suggest that these rubrics may originally have been part of the tradition but were gradually omitted during repeated copying.

76. Royal 5 A.VI, fol. 9r. In any case the Speculum includes remedia for luxuria and gula later in the eighth tabula (H. 225), where it is drawn from the Cibus Anime.

77. The chapters cited more or less fully are 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17. The chapters cited selectively are 2, 3, 6. Chapters 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 are not cited in the Speculum.

78. H. 29.1-6.

79. On the links between this manuscript and the textual tradition of Cibus Anime, see above, pp. 221-3.

80. Chapters 16 and 17 are almost certainly from the Cibus Anime as, although they parallel the contents of chapters 2 and 3 of book 3 and usually preserve the same order of authorities, there are some significant omissions in the Royal treatise. Thus, although it is possible that the compiler of the Cibus Anime used the Royal treatise, it is inherently more probable that the reverse was the case; that the Royal treatise is compiled from a number of sources, one of which was a three-book version of the Cibus Anime.

81. On the links between these manuscripts, see H. pp. clxix-xx, and above, pp. 210-12.

82. This section is clearly designed for use by a priest (although no doubt laymen would find it useful in an emergency): the priest is instructed to examine the dying man in the Creed. Such instructions on preparing for death were not uncommon in the clerical miscellanies, e.g. Bodleian MS. Add. A.268, fol. 1r ff. There was a flourishing vernacular tradition of such texts, cf. Jolliffe, L. 1-8.

83. e.g. C.U.L. Add. 6150, fol. 30r, De bona voluntate.

84. e.g. as printed in H. 219.30-35. This schema is not found in the Cibus Anime.

85. See above, pp. 210-13.

86. C.U.L. Add. 6150 provides the following rubrics in this section of the text. At H. 223.1, Contra cupiditatem (fol. 31r); H. 225.10, Contra gulam et ebrietatem (fol. 32v) (Jesus Cambridge 51 and Harley 1288 place this rubric at H. 225.3); H. 225.26, Contra luxuriam (fol. 32v) (Dd.4.51 places this rubric at H. 227.8). On the legislation on this matter, see e.g. C. & S., pp. 26, 64, 117, 135-6, 151, 187, 231, 370, 311 etc. and index, p. 1413; Wilkins, Concilia, 2, 176, 296; 3, 63.

87. Cf. Bodleian MS. Rawl. A.384, fol. 105r.

88. On the Church's concern for correct execution of the Office, see above, pp. 16, 28, 55-61. For the legislation on this matter, see e.g. C. & S., pp. 127, 300, 458 etc.

89. Jesus Cambridge 51, fol. 38v has a rubric at this point (H. 231.5) which reads Nota hic contra rhetoricos et poetas.

90. 'Observations', 16 n.69. On the occurrence of this poem in the miscellanies, see above, p. 141.

91. All manuscripts of Holmstedt's textual groups C_1 and C_2 stop at H. 241.7, omitting the final section and ending with the praise of those who copy 'doctrinam sanam', see H. p. clvi.

92. The vast majority of copies of the Speculum containing Additional texts distinguish them from the Speculum proper by a colophon after H. 241.16 (or H. 241.7 where appropriate). Only the following copies have the colophon (usually Explicit Speculum Christiani) after the additional texts: Dd.4.51, T.C.D. 351 (added by later hand), Bodleian Add. A.268, Eng. theol. e.16, Foyle (where the additional texts and orthodox text are intermingled).

93. H. p. clxii-v. The contents of Hereford are particularly close to Douce 107 (see the tabular analysis in Appendix 6) in terms of order and selectivity. Lincoln Cathedral 133 also preserves selections from the Speculum, not overlapping with any of these manuscripts, consisting of H. 53-131, 171-227 and 231-39, see Fletcher, 'Unnoticed Sermons', 519, n.27. I have not examined this manuscript.

94. H. pp. lxxx-xxxiii. See Appendix 6.

95. H. p. lxxxii.

96. H. p. clxiii.

97. See Appendix 6.

98. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library, ed. A.T. Bannister (Hereford, 1927), p. 177.

99. On the version of the Cibus Anime preserved in this manuscript, see above, p. 196 and chapter 4, passim.

100. See Appendix 6.

101. Book 2, chapters 39-43.

102. H. pp. lxxxvi-vii.

103. For a tabular analysis of JRL Lat. 201, see Appendix 6.

104. Not surprisingly, this was a popular text for discussions of the Decalogue, see F. Stegmüller, Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi, 11 (1980), 454-5.

105. On John Waldeby, see M.J. Morrin, 'John Waldeby, O.S.A., (ca. 1315-1372), Preacher, with a Critical Edition of his Tract on the Ave Maria', Analecta Augustiniani, 33 (1972), 7-80; 36 (1973), 5-79; 37 (1974), 5-41; A. Gwynne, The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif (Oxford, 1940), pp. 114-23. On the verse from Fasciculus Morum, see Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, p. 137.

106. See above, pp. 210-12 and pp. 292-4.

107. The first printed edition was c. 1484 by William de Machlinia. See below, p. 324 and Appendix 3.

108. On the C_3 group, see H. pp. clxv-xxi. The manuscripts in the ^{3}group are B.L. Add. 15237, Royal 8 E.V, B.L. Add. 37049, Harley 2388, Dd.14.26 (III), JRL Lat. 341 and Balliol 239. Of the relationship between them, H comments 'Only two of the seven above mentioned MSS. are comparatively complete namely Ad^1 [Add. 15237] and Ro^2 [Royal 8 6.V). Most of the others contain only very short portions, but still two distinctly separate sub groups can be discerned, on one side Ad^1, Ro^2, Ad^5 [Add. 37049], Har^7 [Harley 2388] and the Dd [Dd.14.26 (III)] and on the other Sal [JRL Lat. 341] and Ba^1 [Balliol 239].' It will be remembered that JRL Lat. 341 and Balliol 239 are in fact copies of the Cibus Anime, although this was not realised by Holmstedt, as well as containing fragments of material also found in the Speculum.

109. 'Dialect Material', pp. 258-61. She assigns the manuscripts as follows: Ad^1: extreme S. Lincs; Ro^2: N. Central Lincs.; Ad^5: Notts (another hand in the MS. is from N.W. Lincs.); Har^7: Notts; Dd: S.E. Lincs.; Sal: Hunts; Ba^1 [not studied]; Dd.4.51: N.E. Leics.; Foyle [not studied].

110. H. pp. xcv-xcix. The manuscript dates from the late fourteenth century or perhaps very early in the fifteenth. The same hand, or one strikingly similar to it was responsible for part of the Trinity Hall copy of the Cibus Anime.

111. My own tabular analysis of the contents of this manuscript is printed in Appendix 6.

112. At the end of the text in Foyle is a rubric which reads (fol. 45r) De consciencia require supra in prima parte. In Dd.14.26 (III) the next chapter is De consciencia. This may suggest some link between the texts in both manuscripts. The versions of this text are printed and discussed in Appendix 8.

113. See below, p. 324.

114. Unless, of course, there was an intermediate compilation, now lost, from which Dd. and the Speculum both drew. It is also possible that the compiler of Dd. consulted copies of the Cibus Anime and the Speculum.

115. H. p. cxc ff. and above, pp. 273-6.

116. H. p. clxxix; Doyle, 'Survey', 1, 225-6. Harley 2388 prefaces tabula 7 with extracts and quotations from various parts of the Speculum. It is clearly an extract from the longer work rather than witness to any independent circulation.

117. On Harley 237, see pp. 214-5.

118. Octo modis oracio impeditur forms part of a longer sequence of texts on the Divine Office found in MS. Ff.1.14 (fols 179r-187v). Other parts of that sequence are also found in Hatton 97, Harley 237 and 407, St John's Cambridge G.8 and Lincoln Cathedral Library 66, all manuscripts of the Speculum/Cibus Anime tradition.

119. Additional Text D, see Appendix 7.

120. See the tabular analyses of these manuscripts in Appendix 6. Lincoln Cathedral Library 66 contains Nonem Filie Dyaboli, XV signe ante Diem Iudicii and Meditacio Bona (fols 132v-134r), as the Pater Noster Commentary (fols 136r-v) (i.e. chapters 35, 54, 56, 64, and 65 of Dd.14.26 (III) as well as the series of texts called De Horis Canonicis, sections of which are in Dd. The exact relationship of this manuscript to the tradition is unclear but it may represent selections from a manuscript like Dd.14.26 (III), Univ. of London Library MS. 657 has one Nonem Filie Dyaboli (p. 130).

121. fols 51v-53v.

122. fols 180v-184v.

123. See above, pp. 287-94.

124. fols 45r-46r; Jolliffe, I 31 (a).

125. fols 46v-50r; Jolliffe, I, 12 (d).

126. fols 42v-45r; IMEV 3231.

127. The remaining C_3 manuscript, B.L. Additional 37049 is a fifteenth-century miscellany from a Northern Carthusian house (perhaps Mount Grace), containing the Decalogue section of the Speculum prefaced by three quotations: H. 17.10; H. 17.11; H. 17.7. Following the Decalogue is a short note: Ista sunt omnis credenda scilicet baptismus, confirmacio, penitencia, eukaristia, ordo matrimonia, extreme unctio, cum articulis in simbolo contentis (fol. 20v). This is followed by quotations from Paul, Seneca and Jerome, the last two occurring in the Speculum (H. 11.4-5). It seems probable, therefore, that the extract was drawn from a manuscript of the Speculum, possibly (as H. suggests p. clxix), Royal 8 E.V.

128. On these texts see above, chapter 3, pp. 118, 129-30.

129. H. pp. lxxxviii-xci. The Speculum opens a new quire in the manuscript (fol. 9r). The additions (i.e. the ladders and Prayers) are supplied on the last leaf of the first quire in the manuscript which was blank (fol. 8r). The verso of this leaf remained blank until, rather late, it was filled with recipes and notes.

130. H. p. clxix suggests that 'they were copied from the same MS.'

131. See Appendix 6.

132. e.g. fols 47v-48r: Sexta filia and septima filia (references in square brackets are to source book and chapter of the Cibus Anime): 'Sexta filia est sacrilegium quam dedit omnibus laicis qui scienter decimas et oblaciones debitas retinent. Quibus per prophetam Malachiam dicit Dominus: Quia michi non dedistis decimas et primicias iccirco in fame et penuria maledicti estis. [1.21] Augustinus: Da decimas alioquin incides in decimam partem angelorum qui de celo corruerunt in infernum. [1.21] Septima filia est fictum servicium quam dedit servientibus fictis falsis et ociosis. Unde Salomon: Qui sectatur ocium stultissimus est. Ociosus in celo non recipietur. Celum enim merces erit tantum eorum qui operarii fuerunt. [2.11] Unde Mattheum 9: Voca operarios et redde eis mercedem. [2.11] Apostolus: Qui non laborat non manducet. [2.11] Ieronimus: Sancti corruerunt si negligentes fuerunt. [2.11]

133. Additional Text F, see Appendix 7.

134. See the tabular analysis of this manuscript in Appendix 6.

135. After H. 239.30 (fol. 45r) Dd.4.51 includes material which coincides with the following chapters of Add. 15237: 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 46, 42. The order is that preserved in the manuscript. There are no divisions into chapters found in Dd.4.51. Univ. of London Library MS. 657 may share some features with MSS. of the C_3 group, cf. H. pp. clxxii, cx-cxi.

136. H. pp. cxxix-xxxi. In his analysis of the relationship of the manuscripts, H. concludes (pp. cxlv-viii) that Tp (his siglum for this edition) and Eng. theol. e.16 'go back to one common source', but that Tp also used a second source 'a MS. closely related to Ro^2', which is a member of the C_3 group.

137. Speculum Christiani (c. 1484), fols 46r-50r.

138. fols 87r-88r.

139. The material from fols 88r-97v coincides with the following chapters of Add. 15237 in the order of Tp: 37, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 48. The material on fols 98r-v can also be paralleled in chapters 40 and 39 of Add. 15237, but these Additional texts circulated widely in the manuscript tradition and the order in which they are preserved is the most common found, so that Tp might have acquired them from an orthodox copy of the Speculum, see Appendix 7.

140. The printed editions are listed in Appendix 3 and discussed by H. pp. cxxix-xxxiii and below, pp. 324, 329.

141. See above, pp. 228-45.

142. H. p. clxxv.

143. Other early copies (i.e. s.xiv ex/xv in) may include Bodley 89, Hatton 97 (and perhaps Ff.1.14), Laud Misc. 104 and JRL Lat. 201.

144. H. p. clxxv.

145. MLGB, pp. 159, 296. This manuscript was also owned by Henry Savile, see A.G. Watson, The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke (London, 1969), p. 20.

146. MLGB, p. 306. An Augustinian interest in the text is suggested by the fact that B.L. Add. 10052 contains a Speculum Religiosorum which begins its prologue (fol. 1r): 'Omnibus canonicis ordinis sancti Augustini professis tam prelatis quam sudditis frater Walterus ecclesie sancte Trinitatis' (presumably the London church, see MLGB, p. 123) and perhaps that the same scribe (not necessarily an Augustinian) also wrote B.L. Add. 21202 and Huntington HM. 124.

147. H. p. clxxviii; Watson, 645. Other manuscripts which give some indication of when they were written through identifiable names include B.L. Add. 22121, written by Darker, a Carthusian of Sheen, who died c. 1512/13, and Foyle which has a colophon which reads: Orate pro anima Willelmi Fleet / Pro Amore Jesu Christi / Deo Gracias (fol. 45r). The William Fleet (or ? Flete) cannot be the famous Augustinian friar of that name who was dead by c. 1380 (Gwynne, English Austin Friars, pp. 276-9), but might possibly be a Clerk of the Privy Seal from 1387-98 who was almost contemporaneous with Hoccleve in that office (T.F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England, 5 (Manchester, 1930), 111. The Foyle MS. dates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

148. See above chapter 4, pp. 239-40 and nn.104-5.

149. See above chapter 4, pp. 234-7.

150. H. p. clxxix. His claim that the citation of the Franciscan Pecham's Constitutiones supports a Franciscan provenance is clearly absurd considering the wide circulation accorded to it through its status as provincial legislation. Similarly the suggestion that 'interest in teaching was a special characteristic of the Franciscans', although true, has no relevance to the Speculum which is clearly geared to those with the cura animarum rather than mendicants. Despite the well known Franciscan interest in vernacular verse as a teaching medium, there is no reason for considering

(n.150 continued)

the use of verse in this compilation a significant feature, and there is absolutely no evidence of any Franciscan involvement with the text either through ownership, copying or bequest. For my suggestions as to the work's provenance, see also chapter 4, pp. 228-43. The rubric in T.C.D. 351 and the Ushaw MS. to the effect that the work (called in both manuscripts Speculum Christianorum) was 'tractatum de uno magistro apud Oxon. pro curatis' (T.C.D. 351, fol. 1r) might, if it were true, support the argument for a secular institutional provenance for the work.

151. The predominantly vernacular manuscripts are Bodley 423, Pembroke Cambridge 285, Sidney Sussex 55, Harley 1197 and Harley 2388. Trinity Cambridge B.15.42 has a mixed Latin and vernacular contents.

152. The Machlinia print of c. 1484 (STC 26012) was printed by him 'ad instanciam necnon expensas Henrici Vrankenbergh mercatoris' (fol. 116v). Vrankenbergh was apparently a bookseller living in St Clement's Lane, see E.G. Duff, The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535 (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 44-56, esp. pp. 53-4.

Appendix 1: Manuscripts of the Cibus Anime

Cambridge

1. University Library

   Additional 6315 (II) (Fol. 115 r)

2. Trinity Hall

   16

3. George Salt

   47

London

1. British Library

   Harley 237

   Harley 407

   Harley 2379

   Harley 3363 (Fol. 67 r)

   Harley 3820

   Royal 5 A. VI. (Fol. 13 v)

2. Lambeth Palace Library

   460

Manchester

John Rylands Library

Latin MS. 341

Oxford

1. Bodleian Library

   Rawlinson C. 19

2. Balliol College

   239 (Fol. 27 r)

3. University College

   60 (Fol. 145 r)

Appendix 2: List of Chapters contained in the Cibus Anime

The chapters of the first two books are taken from the Kalendarium Speculi Christiani which precedes the Cibus Anime in Oxford, Balliol College MS. 239 folio 27 recto-verso. The list of chapters for the third book is taken from the list of chapters which precedes the Cibus Anime in London, British Library MS. Harley 237 folios 1 recto - 2 verso. (The Harley MS. is defective in its list of chapters for the first two books because of damage to the manuscript.) The words in square brackets are supplied from MS. Harley 237.

Book 1

1. Contra ignorantes et verbi dei contemptores
2. Differencia inter predicacionem et doctrinam
3. Tria sunt genera elemosinarum
4. De fide et articulis fidei
5. Duo sunt necessaria ad salutem
6. Quod decem dicuntur mandata quorum primum est non habebis deos alienos
7. De speciebus ydolatrie et quod ymagines et picture [non] sunt revocacio ydolatrie sed pocius revocacio ab ydolatrie cultura
8. Qualiter sancti sunt adorandi
9. De diis alienis
10. De secundo mandato non assumes nomen dei in vanum et qualiter nomen dei sumitur in vanum
11. Contra iuramentum falsum et inutile et vanum
12. De tercio mandato scilicet memento ut sabbatum sanctifices et hoc preceptum potest triplex accipi
13. Qualiter contemptores huius precepti accidiam et dei maledictionem incurrunt
14. De comesacionibus [et] ebrietatibus
15. Quod tria ante sumpcionem cibi sunt consideranda

16. De quarto mandato scilicet honora patrem et matrem

17. Quod amor dei dominari debet in hominibus non amor carnalis

18. De obediencia

19. De reverencia prelatorum et contra eos qui sanctam ecclesiam inhonorant

20. De modo obediencie

21. De decimis

22. De quinto mandato scilicet non occides et qualiter quis multipliciter dicitur homicida

23. De exemplo

24. Qualiter quis mente occidit

25. Qualiter quis lingua occidit

26. Contra detractores

27. Contra adulatores

28. Contra temere iudicantes

29. De iusticiariis et iudicibus

30. Qualiter quis manu occidit

31. Subtractio vite anime et corporis

32. De sexto mandato non mechaberis

33. Qualiter coitus coniugalis dicitur impetosus

34. De septimo mandato non furtum facies

35. De dampnis periculis que homines falsi et iniusti incurrunt

36. Qualiter sacerdotes debent habere circa fures raptores et alios debitis involutos

37. Quod contractio rei alieni tripliciter potest esse licita

38. De octavo mandato non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium

39. De mendacio scilicet pernicioso et iocoso

40. De nono mandato scilicet non desiderabis uxorem proximi tui

41. Quo[d] progressio viciis septiformis notatur

42. Quod consessus in illecebram duplex est

43. De decimo mandato scilicet non concupisses domum proximi tui

44. De dilectione dei et proximi

45. Testimonia scripture et mandata dei [pertinencia]

46. Quod triplex est apostasia

47. Contra minime credentes

48. Contra eos qui dicunt mandata dei esse gravia

49. De potestate et temptacione inimici tui

50. Quod nichil potest nocere homini nisi per peccatum

51. Quod homo non debet se formare huic seculo

52. Qualiter factura creatoris instruunt nos deum amare

Book 2

1. De consciencia

2. De superbia

3. De remedia contra superbiam

4. De invidia

5. De remedia contra invidiam

6. De ira

7. De remedia contra iram

8. Quod illa ira non prohibetur que ad correccionem

9. De correctione

10. De accidia

11. De remedia contra accidiam

12. De avaricia et tres sunt species avaricie

13. Remedia contra cupiditatem

14. Quod avaricia facit hominem deo abhominabilem

15. Remedia contra avariciam

16. De gula

17. De convíviis

18. Quod diabolus dicitur duas manus habere quibus frequenter homines capiunt

19. Remedia contra gulam

20. Quomodo diversi diversitas intenciones habent cum ieiunant

21. Contra nimiam abstinenciam

22. De luxuria et quod tripliciter peccantur per luxuriam

23. Remedia contra luxuriam

24. Contra eos qui dicunt se non posse abstinere

25 De penis inferni

26. Quidam meditacio bona

27. Qualiter agitur cum impiis in extremis agit

28. De generali iudicio

29. De quindecim signis ante diem iudicii

30. De morte anime

31. Quod bona opera in mortali peccato facta valent ad tria

32. Quod impossibile est satisfacere de uno peccato mortali retento alio

33. De gaudiis celi

34. Qualiter agitur cum iustis in extremis agit

35. Quoniam dominus vocat peccatores ad penitenciam et de misericordia dei

36. Qualiter nos expectat tota celestis curia

37. De penitencia

38. Quam oportet penitentem spem venie habeat

39. Contra desperacionem

40. Quod peccator debet purgare conscienciam suam per confessionem

41. Qualis debet esse confessio

42. De satisfaccione et quod multa sunt que strangulant satisfaccionem

43. Contra presumpcionem

44. De [s]ero penitentibus

45. De correptione

46. De paciencia

47. De tribulacione et quod septem sunt utiles effectus tribulacionis

48. Quam salubriter deus hominem hic precipitat

49. Remedia contra verba contumeliosa

50. Quod multi sunt ita distorti que correccionem nec a deo nec ab homine recipere volunt

51. De oracione et tria sunt genera orationum

52. Quod duobus modis oratio impeditur ne impetrare quisquam valeat postulata

53. De elemosina et quod ille a quo petitur elemosina debet considerare tria

54. Quod septem sunt opera misericordie corporalis et septem spiritualis

55. De perseverencia

56. Quod nemo in malo debet cùique consentire

57. Quod potestas secularis non est despicienda sed honoranda

58. De perfecta caritate

59. Quod de iniuria solent oriri tria

60. De consilio

61. De differencia inter sapienciam et scientiam

62. De doctrina et predicacione et contra supersticiosam intelligenciam

63. De septem virtutibus principalibus

64. De quinque sencibus

Book 3

1. De perfeccione

2. De tribus gradibus paupertatis

3. Quod nullus debet ponere se in tali statu ut a iusticia recedat

4. De claustralibus soli deo militantibus

5. De veris dei dilectoribus

6. De exemplis fidelis peregrini ad Jerusalem tendentis

7. Contra superbiam spiritualem

8. Quod perfecta humilitas habet tres gradus

9. De laude humana

10. Quod tribus modis laus queritur

11. Remedia contra molestias et temptaciones

12. De preciosissimis Christi vulneribus

13. De amore insuperabili

14. De amore inseperabili

15. De amore singulari

16. De contemplacione in deo et suis creaturis

17. De rege valde felici

The Kalendarium in MS. Balliol 239 has the following extra chapters at the end of Book 2. They are found in no other manuscript of the wc k;

65. De blasphemia et peccato in spiritum sanctum

66. De spe et desperacione

67. De remediis omni-um viciorum

68. De occulto dei iudicio

69. De vita contemplativa et de vita activa

Oxford, University College MS.60, Lambeth 460 Harley 237 and 407 have an extra chapter at the end of Book 2 which is called Contra supersticiosam scripture intelligenciam. This is in fact the second half of chapter 62. The splitting of this chapter is discussed above, chapter 4, p. 208

Appendix 3: Manuscripts and Printed Editions of the Speculum Christiani

(1) Manuscripts

* Unknown to Holmstedt

[ ] Contains only the Marian lyric from tabula 8. **For a complete list see IMEV 2119**

Cambridge

1. University Library **(Fol. 82 r)**

*Additional 3042

*Additional 6150

*Dd. 4.51

Dd. 14.26 (III)

Ff. 1.14 **(Fol. 22 r)**

[Ff. 5.48]

Hh. 1.13

[Ii. 6.43]

2. Corpus Christi College

[423]

3. Pembroke College

285

4. Jesus College

Q. G. 3 (James 51)

5. Sidney Sussex College

55

6. St. John's College

G. 8 (James 176)

7. Trinity College

B. 15.42 (James 376) **(Fol. 101 r)**

Dublin

Trinity College

C. 3.13 (159) **(Fol. 148 r)**
C. 5.17 (351)

Durham

St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw

D. 7.8 (28)

Hereford

Cathedral Library

MS.* P. 7. VII (Fol. 184 r)

London

1. British Library

. Additional * 6716 (Fol. 61 r)

10052 (Fol. 18 r)

15237 (Fol. 8 r)

21202

22121

37049 (Fol. 20 v)

[37787]

[39574]

Harley 206 (Fol. 17 r)

1197 (Fol. 78 r)

1288

2250 (Fol. 50 r)

2379 (Fol. 57 r)

[2382]

2388 (Fol. 56 r)

*4172 (Fol. 108 r)

[5396]

6580

[7322]

[7578]

Royal 5 A. VI (Fol. 82 r)

8 E. V

[17 A. XXVII]

Landsdowne 344 (Fol. 3 r)

2. Lambeth Palace Library

[559]

3. University of London Library

MS. 657 (Olim Tollemache . MS. LJ. 1.7) (p. 91)

Lincoln

Cathedral Library

*133

Manchester

1. Chetham's School Library

[8009]

2. John Rylands Library
Latin MS. 201 (Fol. 227 r)

Oxford

1. Bodleian Library

Additional A. 268 (Fol. 37 r)

[Ashmole 61]

[750]

Bodley 61

89

423 (Fol. 351 v)

[850]

Douce 107 (Fol. 49 r)

Eng. theol. e. 16

Greaves 54

Hatton 97

Laud Misc. 104

513 (Fol. 62 r)

Rawlinson C. 401
[Rawlinson liturg. g. 2]

Balliol College

[354]

3. Corpus Christi College

132 (Fol. 173 v)

155 (Fol. 146 r)

Private Libraries

1. [Longleat, Marquess of Bath 29]

* 2. Beeleigh Abbey, Miss C. Foyle

3. CANCELLED

4. Stonyhurst College A. VI. 23 (Fol. 120 r)

5. [Olim MS. Greg] (not traced) (cf. Goldschmidt Sale Cat. 71 (1943), no. 1.)

Foreign Libraries

* 1. Brussells, Bibl. Royale

2653-62 (Fol. 68 r)

* 2. Utrecht, University Library

173 (Fol. 133 r)

* 3. Cambrai, Bibl. Mun.

260 (Fol. 41 r)

1013

4. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine

974

* 5. University of Illinois (Urbana) Library

4137 (De Ricci/Wilson 71)

*6. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

HM. 124

7(a) Yale University Library, Osborn Collection

Fa. 2 (Olim Tollemache MS. LJ. V.14) (Fol. 64 r)

7(b) [Yale University Library, MS. 163] (Olim Petworth 8)

*8. Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale

Ad. IX. 39

(2) Printed Editions

1. Printed by William de Machlinia (London, c. 1484) [Mr. Paul Needham informs me that watermark evidence suggests that this book cannot have been printed later than 1484, not c. 1486 as most sources say]. STC2 26012; E.G. Duff, Fifteenth Century English Books, Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs 18 (Oxford, 1917), No. 415; Hain 14914; H. pp. cxxix-xxxi.

On Machlinia see Duff, Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders, pp. 44-56; A Century of the English Book Trade (London, 1948), p.97; H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 to 1552 (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 79-81; N. Kerling, 'Caxton and the Trade in Printed Books', The Book Collector, 4 (1955), 190-99, pp. 195-6 adds a little evidence of Vrankenbergh's activities in the book trade.

2. Printed by Georgium Mittelhus (Paris, 1496)

Copinger 5575; R. Procter, An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum from the Invention of Printing to the year MD (London, 1898), 8116; H. p. cxxxi.

On Mittelhus see P. Renouard, Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie (Paris, 1965), pp. 225-6.

3. Printed by Pierre le Dru (for Jehan Petit)(Paris, 1500).

Copinger 5573; Laurence Witten Catalogue No. 5 (New York, 1962), p. 52. Not known to H.

On le Dru see Répertoire, pp. 255-6.

On Jehan Petit see Répertoire, pp. 339-40; Duff, A Century of the English Book Trade, p. 120.

4. Printed by Pierre le Dru (for Jehan Petit) (Paris, 1502).

H. p. cxxxii; B. Moreau, Inventaires chronologiques des editions parisiennes du XVIe siècle (Paris, 1972), 1502 No. 123.

5. Printed by Thomas Kees (?for Jehan Petit) (Paris, 1513)

H. p. cxxxii; Inventaires, 2 (Paris, 1977), No. 724.

On Kees, see Répertoire, p. 223.

6. Printed for Jehan Petit (Paris, c. 1517)

Inventaires, 2 (Paris, 1977), No. 1712; Not known to H.

7. 'Mazarine' Edition [Undated]

Copinger 5575; H. p. cxxxii-iii.

All the printed editions follow the Machlinia print's text, except that the English verses are omitted in the Paris editions. All the Paris editions refer to the text as Speculum Christianorum, even though the Machlinia print clearly states (f. 1 r.) Incipit Liber qui vocatur Speculum Christiani. Add. 15237, T.C.D., 351 and the Ushaw MS. all call the text Speculum Christianorum (cf. H. p. xv, n. 1).

Appendix 4: A Tabular Analysis of the Speculum Christiani

The following tables provide an analysis of the identified sources used in the compilation of the Speculum Christiani. The Speculum is broken down into sections which are identified by page and line references to Holmstedt's edition and by a brief description of their contents. Chapters of the Cibus Anime are listed in the following form: 2.26, which means that the relevant section may be found in the twenty-sixth chapter of the second book. Any other identified sources are indicated, and any residual unidentified quotations from the section are given in the final column.

Although this method of presentation does not indicate the relative weight of borrowing from the various chapters of the Cibus Anime, it has been thought preferable to an even more detailed account on the assumption that sections of particular interest either for the nature of their borrowings or for their disposition of the material are discussed in detail in chapter 5.

The main analysis was undertaken by reference to the copy of the Cibus Anime preserved in Balliol 239. This analysis was then cross checked with the copy of the Cibus Anime preserved in Harley 237 and a further dozen authorities were identified. It is possible that further detailed comparisons of the manuscripts of the Cibus Anime with the Speculum Christiani would reduce the number of unidentified quotations still more.

Tabular Analysis of Sources of Speculum Christiani

[ ] = auctor in block of authorities found in another chapter

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Prologue			
3.1-3	Sign of the Cross	2.64		
3.4-14	Difference between Preaching and Teaching	1.2		
3.14-21	Christian responsibility			3.14-21 (?editorial)
3.21-25	Supporting authorities	1.3		3.21-2 Gregorius
3.25-5.18	Against Ignorance	1.1		5.8-9 Gregorius; 14-18 (?editorial)
5.19-7.2	Three kinds of Alms giving	1.3		
7.2-9	Pecham Ignorantia Sacerdotum			
7.10-15	Failings of the Priesthood			
	Octo Tabule (lists contents)			
	Prima Tabula			
11.1-13.2	De fide catholica (Creeds)	1.4		
13.3-14.	Apostles Creed			
13.15-30	Creed	1.4,5		
13.31-15.10	Need for loyalty to the Faith			

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Tabula Secunda			
17.1-2	Vernacular couplet		IMEV 1491	
17.3-9	Intro to Decalogue	1.1	IMEV 3687	
17.9-11	"	1.5		
17.12-16	First Commandment	1.6		
17.17-20	Vernacular quatrain			
17.21-19.8	Against false gods	1.9		
19.9-12	Second Commandment	1.10		
19.13-16	Vernacular quatrain			
21.1-16	Against swearing	1.11		
21.17-19	Third Commandment	1.12		
21.20-24	Vernacular quatrain			
23.1-14	Against worldliness	1.12,13		
23.15-19	Fourth Commandment	1.16		
23.20-3	Vernacular quatrain			
23.24-25.14	Paternal respect	1.18	?	Paulus, Augustinus, Bernardus, Psalm
25.15-17	Fifth Commandment	1.22		
25.18-21	Vernacular quatrain			
27.1-29.6	Types of manslaughter	1.22,23,24 25,27,30,31		27.24-29 (?editorial)

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Tabula Secunda (Continued)			
29.6-11	Sixth Commandment	1.32		
29.12-15	Vernacular quatrain			
29.16-31.4	Against lechery	1.32,33 2.17		
31.5-9	Seventh Commandment	1.34		
31.10-13	Vernacular quatrain			
31.14-33.9	Against theft	1.35		33.8-9 'Scriptum est'.
33.10-12	Eighth Commandment	1.38		
33.13-16	Vernacular quatrain			
33.17-35.9	3 types of mendacity	1.38,39		35.3-4 (?editorial)
35.10-11	Ninth Commandment	1.40		
35.12-15	Vernacular quatrain			
35.16-37.9	Against adultery	1.40,41		
37.10-13	Tenth Commandment	1.43		
37.14-17	Vernacular quatrain			
37.18-19	Duo sunt necessaria ad salutem	1.5		
37.20-39.7	Authorities on Decalogue	1.45		
39.7-17	"	1.48		39.7-9 Bernardus 39.12-14 Gregorius
39.18-30	Two Gospel Commandments	1.44		39.25-9 Crisostomus 39.30 Gregorius

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Tercia Tabula			
41.1-45.14	Corporal Works of Mercy	2.53,54		43.10-11 (?editorial)
45.15-47.16	Spiritual Works of Mercy	2.53,54		47.11-16 Crisostomus
45.17-49.12	Seven Principal Virtues	2.63		
49.13-51.18	Death of a Just Man	2.34		
51.19-53.26	Death of a Wicked Man	2.27,28		
53.27-57.11	Last Judgement	2.28		55.7-12 (?editorial) 18-19 Dominus per prophetam 57.1-2 Gregorius 57.9-11 Gregorius
57.11-12	Last Judgement	2.35		
	Quarta Tabula			
59.1-2	Vernacular couplet		IMEV 4150	
59.5-8	Vernacular quatrain (Superbia)			
59.9-61.6	Against pride	2.2,3		61.1-4
61.7-11	Vernacular quatrain (Invidia)			
61.12-21	Against envy	2.4,5		
61.22-63.5	Against backbiters	1.26		63.1-2 Ieronimus 63.4-5 Seneca
63.7-10	Vernacular quatrain (Ira)			
63.11-24		2.6,7,8		63.15-19 (?editorial)

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Quarta Tabula (Continued)			
65.1-5	Vernacular quatrain (Accidia)			
65.6-22	Against idleness	2,10,11		65.15-16 Gregorius
67.1-5	Vernacular quatrain (Avaricia)			
67.6-69.3	Against avarice	2.12,13,14,15		67.15-17 Gregorius
[67.14.15]	[Lincolniensis]	[1.35]	[cf.H.143, 11-12]	
69.4-8	Vernacular quatrain (Gula)			
69.9-71.3	Against gluttony	2.16,17,18	?1.14	69.16-18 Ysayas; 19 Paulus; 21 Ieronimus; 22 Cassiodorus; 23 Salamon
71.4-8	Vernacular quatrain (Luxuria)			
71.9-73.15	Against fornication/Against sin	2.22,23,30		
73.15-25	Against despair	2.35,38,39		73.21-2 (?editorial)
	Quinta Tabula			
75.1-77.1	"Prose Sermon" (3 things foul men)		Rolle?	
77.1-3			Hugh of Strasbourg?	
77.4-81.7	Peccata Cordis			
83.1-15	Against Sins of the Heart	1.40,41		83.9-11 (?editorial)
83.16-23	Progressus Vicii	1.41		
83.24-87.4	Peccata Oris			

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Quinta Tabula (Continued)			
87.5-14	Against Sins of the Mouth	1.25,26,28		
87.15-101.2	Peccata Operis			
101.3-26	Contra Presumpcionem	2.30,42,43,44		
103.1-3	[II] 3 things cleanse from sin			
103.4-8	Sorrow of the heart (1) (Supporting authorities)	2.32,37,40		
103.9-10	Shrift of mouth (2)			
103.11-105.2	(Supporting authorities)	2.40		
105.3	Satisfaction (3)			
105.4-10	(Supporting authorities)	2.37		
105.11-15	6 things keep men clean from sin			
107.1-2	Thoughts of Death and Judgement (1)			
	(Supporting authorities)			
107.3-4	Flee from wicked company (2)			
107.4-7	(Supporting authorities)			
107.8	Temperance and discretion (3)			
107.9-13	(Supporting authorities)	2.16		
107.14	Honest and profitable occupation (4)			
107.14-17	(Supporting authorities)	2.11		
109.1-6	Guarding the senses (5)			
109.6-9	(Supporting authorities)	2.59		

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Quinta Tabula (Continued)			
109.10-11	To hear or read scripture (6)			
109.11-111.3	(Supporting authorities)	1.1		111.2-3 Ieronimus
111.5-113.1	[III] What urges a man to obey God			
113.1-3	Good example (1)			
	(Supporting authorities)			
113.4-7	Goodness and Mercy of God (2)			
113.8-115.15	Contra desperacionem	2.35,38,39		115.13-15 (?editorial)
115.16-119.4	Thoughts of Heaven (3)			
119.5-121.13	De gaudiis celi	2.33		
121.14-26	De penis inferni	2.25		
121.27-123.6	De consciencia	2.1		
123.6-10	Self knowledge	2.61		6 (?editorial)
123.11-19	Peroration	2.62		13-16 Seneca, Ecclesiasticus, Johannus
	Sexta Tabula			
125.1-131.16	Four Philosphers		C.A. MSS?	
131.16-28	Good works done in Mortal Sin	2.31		

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Septima Tabula			
133.1-159.4	Verse resumé of basic material directed at clergy. [Interspersed with authorities as follows]		IMEV 1342	
135.5-8		1.3	[cf.H.241. 15-16]	
137.4-10		1.3		
137.15-16				
141.8			cf.H.141. 6-7	See text
143.4-6				
143.11-14		1.35		
145.7-13		2.17		
147.10-149.3		1.27		
149.10-14		1.45,3 DS*		
151.3			cf. H.151. 1-2	See text
151.8-10				
159.5-10		2.23,35		6-7 (?editorial)
	Octava Tabula			
161.1-19	Oracio ad sacramentum			
161.20-169.9	Oracio ad virginem Mariam		IMEV 2119	

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Octava Tabula (Continued)			
169	Ladders to Heaven and Hell		CA MSS?	
171.1-15	Subtractio Victus Anime	1.31	Royal	
171.1-23	"		Tract, 1	
171.23-173.8	De mercenariis		4	
173.8-9			2	
173.10-11			3	
173.11-13			4	
173.15-175.26	Hec tria sunt pastoribus necessaria	[1.20]	5	175.23-6 Crisostomus
175.27-177.11	Quatuor genera sacerdotum		8	
177.11-20			6	
177.21-179.4				
179.4-181.5			8	
181.6-31	Qualiter vestes sacerdotales instruunt sacerdotes		9	
183.1-13	Modo preparandi ad ministerium sacramenti		10	
183.14-25	Effectus sacramenti		11	
183.26-185.15	De claustralibus soli deo militantibus	3.3	17	
185.15-17		3.4		
185.18-187.5	De correctione	2.45		

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Octava Tabula (Continued)			
187.6-189.13	De speciebus ydolatrie	1.7		
189.13-20				
189.20-191.3	Qualiter sancti sunt adorandi	1.8		
191.4-32	De tribus generibus	2.51		
193.1-18	Duobus modis oracio impeditur	2.52		
193.18-24			Octo Modis?	193.18 Augustine 193.19 Crisostomus
193.25-195.23	De tribulacione	2.47,48		
195.23-197.18	Si iniuriam passus es	2.46,49		197.5-18
197.19-27	Si expulsus es a patria	2.48		
197.28-199.20	Si egritudinem incurristi	2.48		199.15-20 Augustinus
199.21-201.2	Multi sunt ita distorti	2.50		199.30-1 Gregorius, 201.1-2 Augustinus
201.3-10	De paciencia			
201.11-22	"	2.46,7		201.21-2 (?editorial)
201.23-203.10	De temptacione diaboli	1.49		
	"	1.50		
205.5-8	Bona meditacione			?editorial
205.8-23	"	2.26		
205.23-33				

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Chapters	Authorities not Identified
	Octava Tabula (Continued)			
207.1-29 [207.28-29]	Quinque sunt necessaria (procedures at approaching death) [Jeronimus]	[2.38]		
209.1-18	Contra presumpcionem	2.43		
209.19-28		1.51,2		209.21-7 Origines
209.29-211.14	Triplex est apostasia	1.46,19		
211.14-213.9				
[211.24-26]	[Boecius]	[1.52]		
213.9-23, 24-6	De bona voluntate	1.48		
213.26-215.12				
[213.33-4]	[Scriptum est]	[2.61]		for 215.8-11 cf. Add. text M note
[215.3-5]		[3.D.S.*]		
215.13-24	Septem modis laxantur peccata			
215.25-217.4	De lacrimis penitencium	2.37		215.26 Crisostomus; 215.30 Ysidorus; 217.2-4 Augustinus
217.4-219.3	De ieiunio	2.19,20,21		217.4. Cassiodorus; 217.9-11. Ysidorus
219.4-19	Contra vanam gloriam	3.9		219.15-18 Crisostomus
219.19-35	(Importance of good example)			
221.1-8	Peccata Britonum		CA MSS	

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Octava Tabula (Continued)			
221.9-223.1	De decimis	1.21		221.15-16 Augustinus; 16-18 Dominus
223.1-225.3	Contra cupiditatem	2.12,13,15		223.19-20 Verum est; 23 David; 24 Ecclesiasticus; Augustinus; 25-7 In Vitis Patrum 221.28-225.1 Petrus Ravennas
225.3-10	Contra crapulam et ebrietatem	1.14,2.16,17		
225.10-26	Species gule	2.17,18		
225.26-227.20	Contra luxuriam	2.24		
227.20-25	"	1.17		227.20 Crisostomus; 24 Item in Psalmo
227.25-229.8	Quaestio on luxuria			
229.9-14	Fines liciti inter contrahentes		Templum Domini	
229.15-24	Impediunt a petendo debito		"	
229.26-30	(Respect for Churches)	1.20		
229.31-231.4	De cantu superbo et curioso	3.10		
231.4-9	Contra rhetoricos et poetas			
231.9-14	Poem on priestly ideal		See text	
231.15-32	(Tokens of love of God in man)			
233.15-22	De adulacione	1.27		
233.22-235.2	(Of peace and charity)	2.58		

H. ref.	Brief Description of Material	C.A. Source Chapter	Other Sources	Authorities not Identified
	Octava Tabula (Continued)			
235.21-28	Species detractionis	1.26		235.21-26 Schema
237.1-23	De iusiciariis	1.29		
237.23-239.30	(Definition of a good man) Responsibility to neighbours	1.3		
241.1-16	(Peroration)			
[241.5, 15-16]	[Gregorius]	[1.3]		

Appendix 5: The List of Chapters for the Treatise on Priestly Duties in B.L. MS. Royal 5 A. VI

f. 2r.

1.	De subtractione victus anime	H.171.1-23/C.A.2.63
2.	De doctorum officio	H.173.8-9
3.	De pastoribus malis	H.173.10-11
4.	De mercenariis	H.171.24-173.8,11-13
5.	Quod pastoribus tria sunt necessaria	H.173.14-175.23
6.	Quod non solum sufficit dulcia verba proferre	H.177.11-20
7.	Contra nimiam seculi solicitudinem	-
8.	Quod quatuor sunt genera sacerdotum	H.175.27-177.10, 179.4-181.5
9.	Qualiter vestes sacerdotales instruunt sacerdotes	H.181.6-31
10.	De modo preparandi ad misterium sacramenti	H.183.1-13
11.	De virtute et effectu sacramenti	H.183.14-25
12.	De septem mortibus que possunt esse in deliciis clericorum	-
13.	De receptione elemosinarum	-
14.	Quod ministrí ecclesie debent omnino cavere ne expendant bona ecclesie in usus superbie aut luxurie	-
15.	Quod homo non debet formare se huic seculo	C.A. 1.51
16.	Quod tres sunt gradus paupertatis	C.A. 3.2
17.	De claustralibus soli deo militantibus	H.183.26-185.15 C.A. 3.4

Appendix 6: Tabular Analyses of Some Unusual Copies of the *Speculum Christiani* and Manuscripts Containing Related Material

(a) Bodleian MS. Douce 107

(b) Hereford Cathedral Library MS. P. 7. VII

(c) B.L. MS. Harley 2379

(d) JRL Latin MS. 201

(e) C.U.L. MS. Dd. 14. 26(III)

(f) B.L. Add. MS. 15237

(g) MS. Foyle

These analyses relate to Chapter 5, sections xiii and xiv (pp.304-27), and are supplementary to the standard catalogue descriptions.

(a) Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Douce 107: Analysis of Folio 49 recto to Folio 73 verso

Folio	Description	H. ref.	Notes
fol.49 r	The value of the Cure of Souls	H.5.23-7.2	
fol.49 r	Seven Deadly Sins (tabula 4)	H.59.1-73.25	
fol.51 r	Ten Commandments (tabula 2)	H.17.1-37.17 H.37.20-39.17	Omits H.37.18-20
fol.53 v	The Articles of Faith (tabula 1)	H.11.1-13.26	
fol.54 r	Exhortation to Moral Choice	H.123.11-19	
	Contempt for Wisdom in Evil Times	H.239.21-28	
	Instructions on Final Examination of Dying		Attrib. Anselm
fol.55 r	De elemosina		
	The Four Philosophers (tabula 6)	H.125.1-131.28	Vernacular tags added later. cf. Balliol 239
fol.56 r.	Definition of Preaching		
fol.56 v	Opening of Speculum	H.3.1-7.15	
fol.57 v	Closing of Speculum	H.241.1-7	
	Series of Additional Texts (see Appendix 7)		D A B H F J

/Continued ...

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Douce 107: Analysis of Folio 49 recto to Folio 73 verso

Folio	Description	H. ref.	Notes
			K I L M
fol.58 v	Series of Sententiae (Chrysostom, Bernard)		
	Closing of Speculum (cont.)	H.241.7-14	
	Sententiae (Gregory)		
	Closing of Speculum (cont.)	H.239.1-21	
fol.59 v	tabula 3	H.41.1-57.12	
fol.62 r	tabula 5	H.75.1-123.19	
fol.66 r	Ladders		
	Selections from tabula 8	H.171.2-181.5	
	De claustralibus soli deo militantibus	H.183.27-187.2	
fol.68 v	On Tribulation	H.193.25-201.2	
fol.70 r	On Tithes/Against Cupidity	H.221.9-225.6	
		H.205.5-209.28	
fol.72 r	Patience/Temptation	H.201.4-205.4	
		H.225.26-233.23	
fol.73 v	[ends: no sign of incompleteness]		

(b) Hereford Cathedral Library MS. P. 7. VII: Analysis of Folio 184 recto to Folio 187 recto

Folio	Description	H. ref.	Notes
fol.184 r	Seven Deadly Sins (tabula 4)	H.59.1-73.25	With introductory Latin
fol.185 r	Ten Commandments (tabula 2) (incomplete)	H.17.1-37.17	
fol.187 r	Articles of Faith (tabula 1)	H.11.1-13.26	
fol.187 v	End of tabula 2	H.37.20-39.17	
	Exhortation to Moral Choice	H.123.11-19	
	End of Speculum	H.241.1-7	
	Sentences on Learning and Wisdom	H.241.16-17	
		H.3.23-4	
		H.239.5-10	
		H.7.14-15	
fol.187 r	Admonition to Keep Faith	H.13.31-15.10	
	Contempt for Wisdom in Evil Times	H.239.20-1	
		H.239.27.8	or H.131.6-12

(c) London, British Library MS. Harley 2379: Analysis of Folio 57 recto to Folio 70 recto

Folio	Description	H. ref.	Notes
fol.57 r	Articles of Faith	H.11.1-13.26	
	(tabula 1)		
fol.58 r	tabula 3	H.41.1-57.12	
fol.62 r	Admonition to Keep Faith	H.13.31-15.10	
fol.62 v	The value of the Cure of Souls	H.5.23-7.2	
	Seven Deadly Sins	H.59.1-73.25	
	(tabula 4)		
fol.65 v	Ten Commandments	H.17.1-37.17	
	(tabula 2)	H.37.20-39.17	
fol.69 r	Contra desperacionem	H.113.9-115.15	
fol.69 v	Contra presumpcionem	H.101.4-26	
	Exhortation to Moral Choice	H.123.11-19	
fol.70 r	Ladders		
	Contempt for Wisdom in Evil Times	H.239.21-28	

(d) JRL Latin MS. 201: Analysis of Folio 227 recto to Folio 232 recto

Folio	Description	H. ref.	Notes
fol.227 r	Ten Commandments (tabula 2)	H.17.3-37.17	
fol. 231 r	Contra desperacionem	H.113.9-115.15	
fol.231 v	Contra presumpcionem	H.101.4-26	
fol.232 r	Exhortation to Moral Choice	H.123.11-16	
	Contempt for Wisdom in Evil Times	H.239.21-28	

(e) C.U.L. MS. Dd. 14.26(III): List of Chapters and Analysis of Sources

Folio	Chapter no.	Chapter Heading/Description	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.	Notes
fol.1 v	21	De anima pulcra/The Image of God			
fol.2 r	22	De consciencia		2.1,2.61	
fol.2 v	23	De missa [et virtutibus misse]			
fol.3 v	24	De veste sacerdotali	H.181.6		C.A. MSS Royal Tract cap. 9
fol.4 r	25	Contra eos qui dicunt se non posse abstinere a peccato luxurie		2.24	
fol.5 v	27	De decimis	H.221.10	1.21	
fd.6 r	28	De mercede mercenarii			
	29	Fines liciti inter contrahentes	H.229.9		Templum Domini

/Continued ...

C.U.L. MS. Dd. 14. 26(III): List of Chapters and Analysis of Sources

Folio	Chapter no.	Chapter Heading/Description	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.	Notes
	30	Ista impediunt a petendo debitum	H.229.15		Templum Domini
fol.6 v	31	Peccata Britonum (short version)	H.221.1		C.A. MSS.
	32	De tribulacione	H.192.5	2.46-9	
fol.8 r	33	De paciencia	H.201.11	2.46	
fol.8 v	34	De perseverencia		2.55	
	35	Meditacio bona	H.205.5	2.26	
fol.9 v	36	Species ydolatrie	H.187.6	1.7	
fol.10 v	37	Qualiter sancti sunt adorandi	H.189.20	1.8	
	38	[Sayings of the Philosphers]	tab. 6		C.A. MSS
fol.18 r	39	Doctrina sana : My dere freyndys	tab. 5		
fol.21 r	43	De libro sapiencie	tab. 7		See text
fol.22 r	44	Mores mundiales			
fol.26 v	45	De adulacione	H.233.15	1.27	
fol.27 r	46	De signis divini amoris	H.231.15		
fol.27 v	47	Septem modis relaxantur peccata	H.214.14		
fol.28 r	48	Octo modis oracio impeditur			De horis canonicis
fol.29 r	49	Quando aliquius recessurus est ...	H.207.2		
fol.30 r	50	Nota quod impossible est hominum ...		2.32	
	51	[De lacrimis penitencium]	H.215.26	2.37	

/Continued ...

C.U.L. MS. Dd. 14.26(III): List of Chapters and Analysis of Sources

Folio	Chapter no.	Chapter Heading/Description	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.	Notes
fol.30 v	52	De ieiunio	H.217.6	2.19-21	
fol.31 r	53	[De doctrina]/Si aliquos			Add. Text A
fol.33 v	54	[IX filie diaboli]/Ladders			
fol.34 r	55	De oracione (vernacular)			
	56	Pater Noster Commentary Ave Maria and Creed			C.U.L. Add. 6315, Illinois/Cuth., Lincoln 66.
fol.39 r	57	Oracio ad sacramentum	H.161.3		
fol.40 r	58	Gaude flore virginali etc	C3 MSS		
fol.42 v	59	Confessio valde devota (vernacular)			
fol.45 r	60	[Vernacular text on St Maud]			Jolliffe I. 31(a)
fol.46 v	61	De IX virtutibus (vernacular/Latin)			Jolliffe I. 12(d)
fol.49 v	62	[On loving one's neighbour]			
fol.50 r	63	De temere iudicantibus		1.28	
fol. 50 v	64	De antichristo			
fol.51 r	65	De XV signis ante [de] iudicii		2.29	
fol. 52r	66	De generali iudicio		2.28	

(f) London, British Library MS. Additional 15237: Analysis of Eighth Tabula Additions (after H.229.8)

Folio	Chapter no.	Chapter Heading/Description	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.	Notes
fol.41 r	33	Concensus in illecebram		1.42	
fol.41 v		De temptacione	H.201.23	1.49-50	
fol.42 r	18	De paciencia	H.200.3	2.46-47	
	34	Septem modis relaxantur peccata	H.215.13		
fol.42 v	35	Octo modis oracio impeditur			C.A. MSS C3 MSS
fol.43 r	36	De lacrimis penitencium	H.215.25	2.37	
	37	(a) De ieiunio. Et de diversis intencionibus	H.217.11	2.19-21	
fol.43 v		(b) Sex genera martirum		3.1	(Multi enim sunt group)
		(c) Fines liciti inter contrahentes	H.229.9		Templum Domini
		(d) Impediunt a petendo debito	H.229.15		Templum Domini
		(e) Peccata Britonum (shorter version)	H.221.1-4		C.A. MSS
	38	Contra pomposam vocis fractionem	H.230.31	3.10	
fol.44 r	39	Pax bona et pax mala		1.52	Add. Text D/A
	40	De servo diaboli			Add. Text B
	41	(a) De consilio		2.61	Add. Text F
		(b) De perseverencia		2.55	
		(c) Contra vanam gloriam	H.219.4	3.9	
		(d) "		3.7/3.10	Add. Text M
		(e)[On Christian Responsibility to correct]	H.239.5-21		

/Continued ...

Additional 15237: Analysis of Eighth Tabula Additions (after H.229.8)

Folio	Chapter no.	Chapter Heading/Description	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.	Notes
		(f)[Seneca on a Good Man]	237.23-28		
		(g)[Sentences on Persistence in Teaching]	3.23	1.3	
		(h)[Gregory on Evil hindering Good]	239.1-4		
		(i)[Evil scorns the Word of God]	239.21-28		
		(j)[On Foolish Men]			
		(k)[On the need to study Scripture]		2.61	Add. Text K
		(l)[The Dangers of Knowledge]			
fol.45 v	42	Magnum enim meritum	241 1-7		
fol.46 r	43	De timore dei			
fol.46 v	44	De primore excommunicationis			cf. Tp
fol.47 r	45	[On the love of God]			
	46	De diabolo et nonem filiabus eius			C3 MSS
fol.48 r	47	De antichristo et eius signis			C3 MSS
fol.48 v	48	{Quod nichil potest homini nocere ... Impossible est satisfacere ...}		1.50/2.32	
fol.49 r	49	De quindecim signis ante diem iudicii [Vernacular text on examination of conscience (The Image of God)]		2.29	cf. Appendix 8
fol.50 r	50	Quando septem peccata mortalia sunt ...			
fol.53 v	51	De preciositate vestium			
fol.54 r	52	De blasphemia			
	53	De symomaco			
fol.54 v	54	De usura [ends abruptly]			

(g) MS. Foyle: Description of Additional Material and Comparison with B.L. MS. Add. 15237

Folio	Description	Add. 15237 cap.	Other Sources/Notes
fol.38 r	Additional Text D	39	
	A	39	
	B	40	
	De perseverencia	41(b)	
	Additional Text F	41(a)	
fol.38 v	J		
	De deceptione carnis et diaboli		
fol.39 r	Concensus in illecebram duplex est	33	
	Augustinus: Malum est peccare		
	De meritis misse		
	Octo modis impeditur oracio	35	
	Additional Text K	41(k)	
	On the Dangers of Knowledge	41(l)	
fol.40 r	Magnum enim meritum ...	42	H.241.1-16
fol.40 v	De timore dei	43	
	De primore excommunicationis	44	
	Explicit Speculum Christiani		
	Ecce karissime	44	
	On the Love of God	45	
	Nonem filie diaboli	46	
	Quindecim signis ante diem iudicii	49	
	De antechristo et eius signis	47	
	Septem gaudia B.V.M.		All Mss of C3 group and Tp
	De anima pulcra (examination of conscience)	49	cf. Appendix 8

Appendix 7: Additional Texts

This appendix contains the additional texts commonly found in manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani immediately following (and sometimes interpolated into the final section of) the text as printed by Holmstedt, who fails to include them in his edition.

The texts are preceded by a checklist showing the distribution of the texts among the manuscripts and a list of the texts showing the frequency of their occurrence in the manuscripts.

The texts are transcriptions from one manuscript only and have no particular textual authority. They are included to illustrate the type of material found in the additional texts rather than to establish normative versions of them. Substantial variations are recorded in the notes, although these are by no means exhaustive. The texts have been transcribed following the procedure layed down in A Note on Procedures. Manuscript lineation has not been preserved, punctuation is editorial and contractions and abbreviations have been silently expanded. Editorial emendations and additions are in square brackets and the manuscript reading in these cases is shown in the apparatus. Source chapters of the Cibus Anime are indicated in square brackets at the end of each identified quotation. As elsewhere, reference has been made to the copies of the Cibus Anime preserved in Balliol 239 and Harley 237.

Texts A to F and H are transcribed from Bodleian MS. Eng. theol. e.16, folio 74 verso to folio 75 recto. Text G is

transcribed from B.L. MS. Additional 10052, folio 73 verso to folio 74 recto. Text J is transcribed from Jesus, Cambridge MS. 51, folio 41 verso. Texts I, K, L, M and N are transcribed from C.U.L. MS. Additional 6150, folio 37 recto to folio 38 recto.

Several of the manuscripts analysed in Appendix 6 also preserve some of these additional texts as part of the much larger additions to or deviations from the 'standard' text of the Speculum. Their place in the sequence of each manuscript is shown in the relevant tabular analysis.

Checklist of Additional Texts contained in Manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani

1. Cambridge:

University Library

Additional 6150	:	D A B H I F K N L M	
Dd.4.51	:	D A B H I F L M K	(note 1)
Hh.1.13	:	A B H C D E F G	

Jesus College

MS. 51	:	D A B F H J	(note 2)

Pembroke College

MS. 285	:	A B H C D E F	

2. London:

British Library

Add. 10052	:	A B H C D E F G	
Add. 21202	:	A B H C D E F G	
Add. 22121	:	A B H C D E F G.	
Harley 1288	:	D A B F H J	(note 3)
Lansdowne 344	:	A B H C D E F G	
University of London Library MS. 657	:	D A B C H I F K	(note 4)

3. Dublin:

Trinity College

MS. 351	:	F B H C	

4. Durham:

St Cuthberts College

Ushaw

MS. 28 (D.7.8)	:	A B H C D E F	

5. Oxford:

Bodleian Library

Add. A.268	:	A B H C D E F	
Bodley 89	:	A B H C D E F	
Eng. theol. e.16	:	A B H C D E F	
Laud Misc. 513	:	D A B C H I F K	

6. U.S.A.:

Huntington Library,
San Marino, California:

MS. HM 124	:	A B H C D E F G	

University of Illinois
(Urbana):

MS. 4137	:	A B H C D E F	(note 5)

7. Machlinia Print (c. 1484) : A B H C D E F (note 6)

Notes

Note 1. Dd.4.51: The first eight additional texts to this MS. (DABHIFLM) are inserted between H. 239.30 and H. 240.1 of the orthodox printed text. The last text (K) follows the usual ending and is itself followed by a Colophon 'Explicit Speculum Christiani' (fol. 49r). After the Colophon this MS. has several further texts which are also found in B.L. Add. 15237, to which this section is clearly related (see above Chapter 5, p. 324 and Appendix 6). It also shares with Add. 15237 a longer form of Text M.

Note 2. Jesus College MS. 51: The MS. preserves a deviant version of Text F, omitting the quotations from the Psalms and Thobias.

Note 3. Harley 1288: This MS. preserves a deviant order for Text F, being Ecclesiasticus, Thobias, Proverbs (Psalms omitted).

Note 4. University of London Library MS. 657: The additional texts follow the end of the orthodox printed text without a break and are themselves followed by an extract from the main text (H. 241.1-7). See Dd.4.51 for similar interpolation.

Note 5. University of Illinois (Urbana) MS: After the additional material recorded here, this MS. continues without a break with texts on priestly responsibility and the dangers of alcohol.

Note 6. Machlinia Print: The additional texts are followed by an exposition of the Pater Noster. This exposition is also found in Bodleian MS. Eng. theol. e.16, which preserves the additional texts in the same order.

List of texts indicating manuscripts containing them and frequency of occurrence

A. all manuscripts except Dublin: Trinity 351 (19)

B all manuscripts (20)

C. Cambridge: Hh.1.13; Pembroke 285

London: Add. 10052, 21202, 22121, Lansdowne 344, University Library MS. 657

Dublin: Trinity 351

Durham: St Cuthbert's College Ushaw MS. 28

Oxford: Add. A.268, Bodley 89, Eng. theol. e.16, Laud Misc. 513

U.S.A.: Huntington HM 124

Illinois

Machlinia print (16)

D. all manuscripts except Dublin: Trinity 351 (19)

E. Cambridge: Hh.1.13, Pembroke 285

London: Add. 10052, 21202, 22121, Lansdowne 344

Durham: St Cuthbert's College Ushaw MS. 28

Oxford: Add. A.268, Bodley 89, Eng. theol. e.16

U.S.A.: Huntington HM.124

Illinois

Machlinia print (13)

F. all manuscripts (20)

G. Cambridge: Hh.1.13

London: Add. 10052, 21202, 22121, Lansdowne 344

U.S.A.: Huntington HM. 124 (6)

H. all manuscripts (20)

I. Cambridge: Add. 6150, Dd.4.51

London: University Library MS. 657

Oxford: Laud Misc. 513 (4)

J. Cambridge: Jesus 51

London: Harley 1288 (2)

K. Cambridge: Add. 6150, Dd.4.51

London: University Library MS. 657 (4)

Oxford: Laud Misc. 513

L. Cambridge: Add. 6150, Dd.4.51 (2)

M. Cambridge: Add. 6150, Dd.4.51 (2)

N. Cambridge: Add. 6150 (1)

Additional Texts:

A. Si aliquos noveritis contra deum et iustitiam manifeste delinquere tam magni tiranni fiunt quod super eos iusticiam facere non possitis, tunc levibus verbis et dulcibus dicatis eis quod se corrigant et si obedire noluerint iudicio dei eos relinquatis qui vestram benevolam respicient voluntatem.

B. De Servo Diaboli dicit Crisostomus super Mattheum: Si loquitur in dolo loquitur. Si tacet male cogitat. Si irascitur insanit. Si pacienter agit, tempus expectat nocendi et oportunitatem considerat quando noceat. Si male agit non erubescit. Si bene facit ad vanam gloriam propter homines facit.

C. Crisostomus: Differenciam inter sanctum et sanctum Christus solus cognoscit cuius membra nos omnes sumus. Ipsis autem sanctis non est concessum ut cognoscant differenciam suam adinvicem ut non meliores superbiant contra deteriores [et deteriores non] tristentur contra meliores et per hoc soluta caritate inter eos nascatur discordia.

D. [Pax Bona et Pax Mala] Crisostomus super illud evangelium: Nolite arbitrari quod venerim pacem mittere in terram sed gladius. Est pax bona et pax mala. Pax bona est inter bonos fideles et iustos. Pax autem mala est inter infideles et inter iniquos. In pace bonorum fides et iusticia stant, infidelitas autem et iniustitia iacent. In pace vero malorum infidelitas et iniusticia stant, fides et iusticia iacent.

E. Augustinus: Lex inquid caritatis super omnes libros est. [2.58] Prosper: Caritas est vita virtutum, ipsa est mors viciorum. Sicut fluit cera a facie ignis sic pereant vicia a facie caritatis. Omne bonum quod latet et quod patet in divinis condicionibus tenet qui caritatem perfectam tenet in moribus. [2.58]

F. Ecclesiasticus 30: Fili, sine consilio nichil facias et post factum non penitebis. [2.61] Proverbia 8: Cum fatuis non habebis consilium non enim poterunt diligere nisi ea que eis placent. [2.61] Psalmus: Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum. Pro consiliario ante omnes eligendus est deus. [2.61] Thobias 3: Omnia consilia tua in [ipso] permaneant. [2.61]

[et deteriores non]] om. MS. [Pax Bona ... Mala]] supplied from C.U.L. Add. 6150.

[ipso] Christo MS.

G. De Tribus Vocibus Mundi: Prima vox dicit: Accipe. Secunda dicit: Redde. Tercia dicit: Fuge. Accipe beneficium. Redde debitum. Fuge supplicium. Prima vox est famulantis, secunda ammonentis, tercia comminantis. Vox Famulantis. Celum dicit: Ministro tibi lucem in die ut vigiles, tenebras in nocte ut pa[r]ces. Ego ad oblectacionem tuam gratas temporum vicissitudines pario teporem veris et estatis fervorem, autumpni plenitudinem et algorem hyemys. Ego alternantibus incrementis dierum et noctium spacia simili racione dissimiliter extendo ut et varietas tollat fastidium et racio pariat oblectamentum. Aer dicit: Vitalem tibi prebeo flatum et omne genus avium ad tuum mitto obsequium. ℄ Aqua dicit: Potum tibi prebeo, sordes purgo, arencia rigo et diversa genera piscium ad tuum esum ministro. ℄ Terra dicit: Ego te porto, ego te nutrio, pane conforto, vino letifico omni [genere] fructibus oblecto, diversis animalibus mensas tuas repleo. ℄ Mundus dicit: Vide homo quomodo [deus] amavit te qui propter te fecit me. Servio tibi qui factus sum propter te ut et servias illi qui fecit et me et te. Me propter te, te propter se. Si sentis beneficium, redde debitum; accipis benignitatem, redde caritatem; hoc tribuit et hoc exigit deus. ℄ Ignis dicit: A me combureris. ℄ Aqua dicit: In me submergeris. ℄ Terra dicit: A me [absorberebis]. Infernus dicit: A me deglucieris. ℄ Quia omnis creatura sicut ex condicione sua homini famulatur sic etiam peccatoribus pro malorum meritorum consciencia comminatur ut in singulis

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pa[r]ces] pauces MS.

[deus]] om. MS.

[genere]] genus MS.

[absorberebis]] absorbeberis MS.

creaturis proprie timeant quod se meruisse cognoscunt. Propter quod etiam dictum est quod nemine persequente fugit impius quam ita est in securitate impius pavidus sicut iustus in supplicio securus. [all from 1.52]

H. Augustinus: In malis promissis rescinde fidem, in turpi voto mitta decretum.

I. Crisostomus super Mattheum: Si concupiscencie non consentit voluntas sola concupiscencia non dampnat. Magis autem gloriosiorem facit virginitas coronam.

J. Dominus in evangelio dicit: Si diligitis me mandata mea servate. Item alibi: Amen amen dico vobis: Si quis sermonem meum servaverit, mortem non gustabit in eternum. Salomon: Qui custodit mandatum custodit animam suam. [1.45] Ecclesiastes 8: Qui custodit mandata non experietur quicquid mali. Nichil enim erit ei malum, nichil nocivum. Isaias 3: Dicite iusto et bene memento frater quod Joseph in tempore angustie sue custodivit mandatum et factus est dominus egipti; Abraham in temptacione inventus est fidelis et reputatum est illi ad iusticiam; Phinees zelando zelum domini accepit testamentum sacerdocii eterni; Joshua domini implevit verbum factus est dux israelis. [1.50] Apostolus ad Romanos: Scimus quoniam diligentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum. Beda: Nichil salubrius observacione decalogi. In eorum observacione est salus et vita eterna, et in eorum contempcione mors et dampnacio perpetua. Incipe quoque, carissime, tuis pravis desideriis fortiter resistere et promptam voluntatem omnino accipe deinceps dei preceptis obedire et quamvis pugna tibi

videtur esse magna et laboriosa victoria tamen erit valde gloriosa.

K. Nolite karissimi sacram scripturam transcurrendo considerare aut legere, sed cum studio et bona deliberacione. Quia, sicut thus non redolet nisi comburatur in igne, ita nulla sentencia scripture sacre sapit in mente nisi cocta sit in corde. Ieronimus: Beatus est qui divinas scripturas legens verba vertit in opera. [all from 2.62]

L. Sensus Interiores: Ille tota mente deum diligit cuius omnes sensus vacant in obseqium dei. Cuius intellectus deo ministrat; cuius sapiencia deo vacat; cuius sciencia circa deum et animarum salutem est; cuius cogitacio iusticiam caritatem et ea que dei sunt tractat; cuius memoria dei precepta et ea que bona sunt recordatur. Multi apud homines putantur sapientes et apud deum existunt insipientes, quia omnes sensus suos expendunt circa vanam gloriam mundi vanitatem et carnis voluptatem. Gregorius: Multi apud homines putantur electi et apud deum existunt reprobi. ℣ Augustinus: Dic te stultum et sapiens eris. Dic et intus dic quia sic est sicut dicis. Quid stulcius quam esse superbum in mente et cecum et tenebrosum in corde et consciencia. Quid execrabilius quam dei mandata abicere et preceptis inimicorum dei et anime tue libenter obedire. David autem dicit: Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis. Item Salomon: Qui avertit aurem suam ne audiat legem, execrabilis erit oracio eius ante deum.

M. [Contra vana Gloria]: Si in bono opere vana gloria pulsat non adquiescamus ei nec bonum opus dimittamus maxime si sit utile et necessarium. [3.10] Gregorius: Laus iustos cruciat, iniquos exaltat. [3.7] Paulus vero dicit: Michi absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri Jesu Christi. [3.7] Idem: Qui gloriatur in domino glorietur. [3.7] Evangelium: Nemo bonus nisi solus deus. Nullum bonum facimus nec cogitamus nisi per deum fiat; id est potenciam sapienciam et dileccionem aliter non est opus bonum. [3.7] Dominus in evangelio: Sine me nichil potestis facere. [3.7] Paulus: Non sufficientes sumus cogitare aliquid ex nobis quasi ex nobis sed sufficiencia nostra ex deo est. Ysaias: Omnia opera nostra operatus es in nobis domine. Deus semper paratus est operari bona ubi recipitur in consciencia munda cum voluntate bona. Ecclesiasticus 1: Omnis sapientia a domino deo est et cum illo fuit semper et est ante evum, cui sit laus, honor, virtus et gloria per infinita seculorum secula. Amen. Deo gracias.

℔ Crisostomus: Diligere deum ex toto corde est precipue delectari in deum; ex tota anima est firmiter credere articulis fidei; ex tota mente est interiores sensus deo vacare. Deo gracias.

N. De Oracione

Qui vult cum deo bene esse et devocionem invenire, frequenter debet orare, frequenter legere. Nam cum oramus cum deo loquimur; cum vero legimus deus nobiscum loquitur. Ysodorus: Oracionibus mundemur, leccionibus instruimur. [2.51]

[Contra Vana Gloria]] supplied from Dd.4.51.

Ieronimus: Felices sunt quibus deus spes est et omne opus oracio. [2.51] Cesarius tamen dicit: Sic leccioni et oracioni debetis incumbere ut interdum eciam manibus aliquid possitis exercere. Et qualia vultis vobis orantibus et meditantibus occurrere in cogitacione talibus negociis colloquiis et leccionibus prius occupare memoriam studeatis, quia qualis liquor vasi infunditur talem redolebit et quales herbas in orto cordis plantaveritis talia semina germinabit. [2.51] ℣ Nota bene: Dominus: Omnia quecumque pecieritis in oracione credentes accipietis. Idem: Si manseritis in me et verba mea in vobis manserint quodcumque pecieritis fiet vobis. Iacobus: Postulet autem in fide nichil hesitans. Paulus: Deus potens est omnia facere superhabundantur quam petimus an intelligimus. Aliquando tamen differtur exaudicio in aliud tempus magis congruum et utile petenti, et aliquando negatur unum quod forte minus expedit pro eo autem datur aliud magis utile. Quidquid pecierimus in nomine salvatoris petere debemus. Ille enim in nomine salvatoris petit qui illud petit quod ad veram salutem pertinet. Celestia continue petere debemus, temporalia vero in necessitate.

Appendix 8: Related Texts

The Speculum Christiani exploits the resources of the Cibus Anime, providing Latin authorities to support the vernacular texts which illustrate the basic teaching syllabus. As we have seen, the intention of the Speculum's compiler seems to have been to create a practical manual of pastoral theology to assist in the cure of souls, although the presence of the vernacular texts made the work accessible to the literate laity. In addition to the use of vernacular texts, the Speculum is interesting for its use of the tabulae as structural units. These two features, a tabular structure and the glossing of didactic vernacular texts with Latin authorities are also found in a text or sequence of texts preserved in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 132.

Folios 60 recto to 71 verso of this manuscript form a complete quire, comprising a distinct booklet within the manuscript. Folio 60 recto to folio 63 recto are occupied by a calendar. The rest of the booklet is made up of three texts which, although apparently independent and not textually related to each other, are linked together by the colophons which describe each text as a tabula and suggest a link between them.

The first text (folio 63 verso to 68 recto) is a moralisation of the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream as described in the Book of Daniel (2.25-49). In addition to Corpus it is also found in Lansdowne 344 (a copy of the Speculum Christiani) (folio 70 recto to 77 verso), and in Royal 8 F.VI (folio 25 verso to 27 verso). In all three manuscripts there are fourteen rudimentary English couplets, each of which is followed by

a varying number of Latin authorities (averaging about twelve per couplet).[1] These auctoritates are presented in the same way as those in the Cibus Anime and the Speculum Christiani: the name of the author is provided in a lemmata and little attempt is made to connect the authorities by authorial or compilatorial commentary. The quotations provide a moral perspective for and illustrate the pastoral potential of the re-interpreted image.

In Daniel's account of the dream, he describes an image 'which was mighty and whose brightness was excellent...and the aspect thereof was terrible' (2.31). Daniel's explication of the dream interprets the different materials used in the construction of the figure as analogues of the decline of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom and dynasty. This version explicates the dream in terms of Christian morality and introduces other parts of the image, not mentioned in Daniel (e.g. the 'membris', which are used as a sign of chastity and lechery). Far from being a slavish reworking of traditional material it is a complete reworking of the vision from a new aspect and with a new final intention. The author or compiler seems to be consciously placing himself in the prophetic mode and returning to the Bible for his raw material.

This moralisation differs not only from its biblical precursor but also from the traditional medieval interpretation of the significance of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. The standard patristic view, developed by Jerome, Peter Comestor and Albertus Magnus and typified by the comments in the Glossa Ordinaria, interpreted the dream as straightforward historical allegory associating the different reigns and dynasties listed

by Daniel with the kingdoms and empires of the pagan and early Christian world. Thus the head of gold signified the reign of Nebuchadnezzar himself, the silvery reign referred to the Medes and Persians, the bronze stomach signified the reign of warlike Alexander, the iron reign referred to the Romans, and so on.[2] Other, more anthropologically minded accounts (based ultimately on Ovid, Metamorphoses 1.88) saw the iron and bronze ages as signifying periods in the development of mankind. But the most pervasive view was, not surprisingly, that formulated in the Glossa.

The traditional view of the king himself saw him as a type of pride. One of the Vernon lyrics is characteristic in its use of the king as an exemplum of the Fall of Great Men topos:

> His herte was set so heigh in Pryde
> Till þe kyng of myghtes most
> Browght him þere þat lowest was
> And caught him from his real oost.[3]

Chaucer and Gower both discuss his fall and many Gower manuscripts have an illustration of the dream showing the image.[4] Another popular treatment centred on the 'holy madness' which descended on the king after his creation of an ungodly image, and the literary implications of this have been the subject of a recent critical study.[5]

By interpreting the image in purely moral terms the writer was thus deliberately working outside a tradition which had been established around the biblical incident. The prevailing view of the dream developed the letter of Daniel's interpretation by emphasising the political and historical significance of the dream. This version returns to the spirit of the prophet's exegesis by making it relevant to the contemporary situation and by giving

it a more pragmatic application. He fits it for use in a pastoral context, using the image as a suitably ordered and hierarchical model for a discussion of the Virtues and Vices.

The image is in fact interpreted twice. The first series interprets the statue in terms of the principal Virtues and the second in terms of the Seven Deadly Sins. By using the same headings for each series an explicit contrast is drawn between them without recourse to an over-schematic or unduly dogmatic representation of their conflict. The use of such a framework is, as we have seen, characteristic of the eagerness of compilers of works of rudimentary instruction to present material which is by its very nature commonplace in a manner which is initially striking and ultimately memorable.[6]

In this text, the self-contained couplets have their own mnemonic force. Their epigrammatic neatness assists the effective division of the image's body into easily retainable sections, while the repeated couplet form assists the retention and recall of these sections. In each couplet, the first line recalls the biblical material and gives it a contemporary pastoral significance while the second spells out the moral and spiritual implications of this significance. The rudimentary nature of the instruction and the pragmatic interpretation of the dream suggest that the text was not aimed at an audience of any great literary or spiritual sophistication. It seems to desire catechetical efficiency, and a similar technique can be seen in the verses of the Speculum Christiani and in the ladders found in that work.

Perhaps the similar modus agendi of the moralisation recommended it for inclusion on Lansdowne 344 along with the

Speculum Christiani, while Corpus 132 has the tabula on the Deadly Sins from the Speculum which abstracted from the complete work looks even more similar to the moralised dream. It is, however, not merely in modus agendi that the texts are related for the Latin authorities which support the vernacular couplets are in very many cases also found in the Cibus Anime and Speculum Christiani. It is clear from the tabular analysis of the authorities included in Corpus 132 (and there is some variation between the three copies) that the compiler probably had access to the Cibus Anime as one of his sources in supplying the vernacular couplets with Latin authorities, although it is equally clear that there must have been at least one other source considering the relatively high proportion of quotations which a study of the most obviously relevant chapters of the Cibus Anime has failed to identify. It is of course possible that the compiler of the moralisation was so familiar with the Cibus Anime that he went beyond the most obvious chapters, but it seems more probable that some other florilegium or work of reference provided the additional material.

It will be noted that a large proportion of the identified quotations from the Cibus Anime can also be paralleled in the Speculum Christiani. For example, the authorities supporting the fourth couplet on the Works of Mercy, in the section headed De elemosina corporale are all found in the section on the Works of Mercy in the Speculum (H. 41-45), while the identified quotations in the last section on Sloth and Despair can be found in the section on Accidia in tabula 4 and the general peroration at the end of that tabula (H. 65, 73). It might

appear, then, that the compiler was using the Speculum as one of his sources. This cannot have been the case, however, as many of the identifiable quotations are not paralleled in the Speculum. In the first example cited, the section De elemosina corporale, although it appears significant that all the quotations can be found in the Speculum, it is surely more significant that they all come from one chapter of the Cibus Anime. Other sections support this. Thus the very first couplet is followed by authorities concerning faith and humility. Of the twelve quotations included, eight can be found in directly relevant chapters of the Cibus Anime (1.4: De fide et articulis fidei; 1.45: Testimonia scripture et mandata dei pertinencia; 2.3: De remedia contra superbia). Only four of these are also found in the Speculum Christiani. Admittedly some of the authorities used by the compiler are among those in the Speculum for which no source has yet been found (e.g. Seneca and Abacuc in section 10, and Chrysostom and Mark in section 11) but as I have argued in the analysis of the Speculum in chapter 5 it seems probable that in many of these cases the quotations are in the Cibus Anime but have merely escaped detection. Another possible explanation of this phenomenon is that the compiler used a copy of both the Speculum and the Cibus Anime, although this seems unlikely. However, it might be argued that his own use of vernacular verse supported by Latin authorities in this way suggests that he was familiar with the ordinatio of the Speculum which was in itself unusual.

An analysis of these authorities suggests that there is a clear relationship between the moralised vision and the textual family of the Cibus Anime. In ten of the fourteen sections of

the moralisation, the compiler seems to have begun with citations of material drawn from the Cibus Anime, which might suggest that he consulted that text first in his search for supporting authorities. Given the textual variations between the three copies and the need for further research to attempt to identify the other sources used by the compiler, this account of the text must be in the nature of a tentative and preliminary survey.

II

The second text in the series of three preserved in Corpus 132 is a vernacular account of the value of examination of conscience which is also supported by Latin authorities. This text was mentioned in passing in my account of Dd.14.26 (III), where a version was preserved as part of the first extant chapter. As in Corpus 132, Lansdowne 344 and Royal 8 F.VI preserve it directly after the moralised vision discussed above.[7] Other copies are preserved in B.L. Additional 15237, MS. Foyle and Trinity Hall 16, all of which are manuscripts in the textual tradition of the Cibus Anime and Speculum Christiani. An examination of these seven manuscripts reveals that there are two distinct versions of the text; a longer and a shorter. The longer version is preserved in Corpus, Lansdowne, Royal and Add. 15237. It consists of three short passages of vernacular prose each of which is supported by Latin authorities. The shorter version, preserved in Trinity Hall 16 and Foyle, and substantially in Dd. (although the latter has extra authorities), consists of only the first passage of vernacular

prose and a varying number of Latin authorities. I include transcriptions of both versions at the end of this section. The two do not share any of the Latin authorities. The shorter version, thus, appears to be a distinct work rather than an extract from the longer work.

Given the affiliations of the manuscripts containing this text, it is not surprising that the Latin authorities appear to have been drawn from the Cibus Anime. The source chapter is indicated in square brackets at the end of each identified quotation. Once again there is some textual variation between the copies and it has not been possible to undertake a complete analysis of their interrelation. Corpus and Royal have an additional paragraph. The version of the shorter recension in Foyle ends with the rubric: De consciencia require supra in prima parte. The authorities following the vernacular in Dd. are headed De consciencia, and the major source chapter in this section is book 2 chapter 1, which is itself called De consciencia.

The text appears to provide a further example of the modus agendi of the Speculum Christiani being employed in other didactic texts. In particular it is interesting to note the similar exploitation of the resources of the Cibus Anime to support vernacular material.

III

The final text in the sequence preserved in Corpus 132 is rather different from the other two in that it does not appear to be supported by authorities from the Cibus Anime. It begins in folio 69 recto:

> Ðis ys þe disposiciun of þe tabyll at our lady auter yn þe cathedrall kyrke of yorke. Þat ys for to say þat ower lady ys ymagened in v maner of wysys.

In each of the five descriptions which follow Mary is seen holding or standing on a series of objects and each image is supported by biblical quotation and given a Latin name:

> Þe secunde has yn þe toe hand a lily and yn þe oþer a brange offe rosys and undyr here fete a yate of golde sparryd and also a heven full of angelis and þer scho ys callyd porta clausa....

Perhaps this text had as its origin a particular piece of art in the Minster. Its effect does not depend on a knowledge of the original model, however, because sufficient information is provided in the descriptions to enable a reader or listener to reconstruct imaginatively for himself. Like the 'Roman pictures' of the classicising friars, the visual referent is internalised.[8] Given the circumstantial evidence which points to York as a centre of some importance for ownership of the Speculum and possibly of the Cibus Anime, it is interesting to find a text of this nature explicitly invoking an image in the Minster in a sequence of other texts which seem to be related to the textual family of the Cibus Anime. At the end of this text is a colophon which reads 'Explicit quedam tabula et finis'. The other two texts had each been concluded by a similar rubric: the moralisation by 'Explicit etc', the second text by 'Explicit tabula bona etc'. The additional comment at the end of the third text 'et finis' supports the contention that the three are, despite their independence, intended to be seen as linked in some loosely articulated way. There is, therefore, a clear analogy between these three texts and the compilation of tabulae in the Speculum.

IV

In chapter three, the discussion of the manual usually called Quinque Verba mentioned that a similar use of the Pauline schema was found in a short listing of the rudiments in Harley 237, a manuscript of the Cibus Anime which was at Mount Grace Charterhouse. This brief manual, called Adnotationes Variae in the catalogue, opens with a brief account of the Commandments before introducing the schema of five headings to cover the rest of the basic syllabus. It concludes with the Peccata Britonum found on both the Cibus Anime and the Speculum Christiani. Each heading is supported by two or three Latin authorities. As in the cases discussed above, these authorities appear to have been drawn from the relevant chapters of the Cibus Anime. Once again some also appear in the Speculum Christiani, but with only three exceptions all the quotations are found in the Cibus Anime. The source chapter is given in square brackets at the end of each quotation in the transcription printed below.

As the compilers of the texts discussed above had used the Cibus Anime to equip vernacular texts for their didactic function, so this text was compiled after the model of the simpler pastoral manuals discussed in chapter 3 for a mundane catachetical role. Yet the compiler used the resources of a much larger and more sophisticated text to provide his raw material.

All these texts illuminate not only the way in which the Cibus Anime was used and regarded by its contemporary audience, but also the procedure of quarrying its resources to support vernacular and simple didactic texts which is fundamental to the process of composition of the Speculum Christiani. These texts are related not only in their apparent use of a common source, but also in their attitude to pastoral aids.

NOTES TO APPENDIX 8

1. IMEV 3373. The couplets are appended to this account, as is a list of the authors cited, see below, Annexes 1 and 2. The work is mentioned by Holmstedt (p. xxxix) who prints a prefatory Latin paragraph found only in Lansdowne 344 which appears to call the text Speculum Boni et Mali (fol. 70r).

2. Biblia Sacra, 4, cols 1520-30.

3. Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century, no. 121, p. 213, ll. 152-5.

4. O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, 3 (Oxford, 1973), 813a, 825a; Confessio Amantis, Prologue, ll. 585-62; Canterbury Tales, The Monk's Tale, VII, 2143-82.

5. P.B.R. Doob, Nebuchadnezzar's Children (New Haven, 1974), which also provides a survey of the usual interpretations of the dream.

6. See above, ch. 3. The identification of Virtues and Vices with various parts of the body represents a clear mnemonic intention which is similar to that found in systems of artificial memory. Yates describes an ideal memory theatre as being brightly lit in the imagination and immediately visually striking (The Art of Memory, pp. 96, 108-9). It is interesting to note Daniel's description of the image 'which was mighty and whose brightness was excellent ... and the aspect thereof was terrible.' In Lansdowne 344 both series are conflated so that the two moralisations of each member are consecutive rather than part of a separate sequence.

7. Lansdowne 344, fols 77v-79r; Royal 8 F.VI, fol. 27v.

8. B. Smalley, English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century (Oxford, 1960), pp. 165-83 and index of pictures, pp. 393-4.

Annexe 1

The Vision of Nebuchadnezzar: the English couplets as found in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 132, fols 63v-68r.

The hed off þe ymage ys stedfast fayth and mekenes grete,
To godys byddyng and holy kyrke ay sogete.

The herte yn þe briste ys truth and charyte,
To god almythy and un to all cristiante.

The bak be hynde ys wylfull poverte,
Alway glad to spende superfluite.

The handys and þe armis ar warkys offe mercy,
Alway redy to do almes dede wysely.

The wombe ys discrecium and sobirte,
Alway governyd wele and discretele.

The membris ar continence and schastite,
Kepith ay wele fro synfull lecherie.

The fete and þe leggys ar alway redy
To worke all þe godnes þat þay may discretely.

Thys hed offe þys ydyll ys hye pride,
To goddys byddyng and holy kyrke ay ynobbedient.

The herte yn þe bryste ys wrath and grete envy,
Hynderyng and sclaunderyng banyng and bakbityng mischevusly.

The bak ys covetus and strayte holdyng synfully,
To almes dede and truth a full grete enmy.

The handys and þe armys ar wrath and hastite,
Alway redy to do venjuansce and feythyng foule.

The wombe ys excesse and grete glotony,
Fulfilland ys lust alway gredyly.

The membris ar yncontínence and lechery,
Hatand ay dedely goddys law and schastite.

The fete and þe leggys are slaw and ful hevy,
To god warkys all way frowarde and unlusty.

Annexe 2 — The Vision of Nebuchadnezzar: List of Authorities in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 132, fols.63 v - 68 r with a List of Identified Sources in the Speculum Christiani and the Cibus Anime. (In this and the following Annexes, reference has been made to the copies of the Cibus Anime preserved in Balliol 239 and Harley 237.)

Heading	Auctor	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.
1. De fide	Athanasius	H.11	1.4
	Galath. 3		1.4
	Augustinus		1.4
	Paulus	H.11	1.4
De humilitate	Ierominus		
	Bernardus		2.3
	Augustinus		
	Per Propheta		
	Origenes	H.37	1.45
	Beda		
	Augustinus	H.37	1.45
	Isidorus		1.45
2. De iusticia	Deus		
	Psalmus		
	Alibi		
	Paulus		
	Gregorius		
	David		
	Idem		
De caritate	Iohannes		
	Augustinus		2.58 } Add.
	Prosper		2.58 } Text E
	Augustinus		
	Ambrosius		
3. Poverty	Deus in evangelio		2.13
	Beda		3.4
	Ambrosius		
	Crisostomus		3.2
	Seneca		3.2

Heading	Auctor	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.
Poverty (continued)	Deuteronomium		
	Evangelium		
	Augustinus		2.15
	Ecclesiasticus		
	Salamon		
	B.V.M.		
	Augustinus		
	Petrus		
	Bernardus		
	Ambrosius		
	Augustinus		
	Ecclesiasticus		
	Salamon		
	Proverbia		3.2
	Augustinus		
4. Works of Mercy	Deus		2.54
<u>De misericordia et elemosinarum</u>	Salamon		
	Augustinus		
	Crisostomus		
	Ysidorus		
	Augustinus		
	Ierominus		
<u>De elemosina corporale</u>	Evangelium et alibi	H.41	2.53
	Salamon	H.43	2.53
	Idem x 2	H.43	2.53
	Paulus	H.45	2.53
	Gregorius	H.45	2.53
	Ecclesiasticus	H.45	2.53
	Salamon	H.45	2.53
5. Discretion/Sobriety	Seneca		2.18
	Paulus		2.18
	Idem	H.69	2.18
	Ierominus		
	Cassiodorus	H.69 H.22	
	Gregorius		2.19

Heading	Auctor	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.
Discretion/Sobriety (continued)	Ambrosius		2.19
	Ieronimus		2.19
	Idem		
	Augustinus		2.19
6. Continence/Chastity	Ieronimus		
	Ysidorus		
	Bernardus		
	Ysidorus		
	Bernardus		
	Evangelium		
	Deus		
	Item alibi		
	Sapientia		
	Ysidorus		
	Gregorius		
	Gregorius		1.33
7. Good Works	Gregorius		
	Salamon		
	Ieronimus		
	Gregorius		
	Proverbia		
	Augustinus		
	Cesarius		
	Crisostomus super		
	Mattheum		
	Iohannes		
8. Pride	Bernardus	H.59	2.2
	Augustinus	H.59	2.2
	Basilius		2.2
	Augustinus		2.2
	Evangelium		
	Alibi		
	Augustinus		
	Gregorius		

Heading	Auctor	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.
Pride (Continued)	Bernardus		
	Augustinus		
9. Wrath/Envy	Bernardus	H.63	2.6
	Ierominus	H.63	2.6
	Ecclesiasticus		2.6
	Gregorius	H.63	2.8
	Augustinus		2.4
	Gregorius	H.61	2.5
	Ecclesiasticus		2.4
	Bernardus		2.5
	Gregorius		
	Idem		2.5
	Seneca		2.5
10. Covetousness	Paulus	H.67	2.12
	Idem	H.67	2.12
	Ierominus	H.67	2.12
	Augustinus		2.13
	Gregorius		
	Abacuc	H.129	
	Lincolniensis	H.67/ 129/143	1.35/1.29
	Origen		
	Ierominus		
	Augustinus		
	Apostolus		
	Tullius		2.12
	Osee		
	Seneca	H.67	
11. Wrath	Deus		
	Anastasius	H.193	2.52
	Deus		
	Salamon		
	Crisostomus		
	Deus in evangelio		
	Crisostomus super Mattheum	H.193	
	Marci II	H.193	

Heading	Auctor	Speculum ref.	C.A. ref.
12. Excess/Gluttony	Apostolus	H.69	2.16
	Bernardus	H.69	2.16
	Gregorius		2.17
	Paulus		
	Ierominus	H.69	2.17
	Bernardus		2.17
	Gregorius		2.17
	Augustinus		2.19
	Radulphus super Leviticus	H.17/25	1.9
13. Incontinence/ Lechery	Paulus	H.71	2.22
	Ierominus	H.71	2.22
	Gregorius	H.71	2.22
	Augustinus	H.71	2.22
	Salamon	H.71	2.22
	Idem		
	Rumor		
14. Sloth/Unwillingness	Salamon	H.65	2.11
	Apostolus	H.65	2.11
	Salamon		
	Idem (Proverbia)		
	Augustinus	H.73	2.30
	Deus in evangelio		
<u>Desperacio</u>	Ierominus	H.73	2.38
	Augustinus	H.73	2.38
	Idem	H.73	2.35
	Bernardus		

Annexe 3

De anima pulcrà: Longer Version as preserved in B.L. Additional MS. 15237, folio 49 recto to verso. This text forms part of cap. 49 in this manuscript. For a full analysis of the manuscript's contents see Appendix 6. (References in square brackets are to the source book and chapter of the Cibus Anime.)

℔ Augustinus: Nullus sanctus et iustus caret peccato nec tamen ex hoc desívít esse iustus vel sanctus cum affectu teneat sanctitatem. Gregorius: Nichil dicius deo offertur bona voluntate. [1.48] Cum bona voluntate omnino perire non potes et sine bona voluntate omnino salvari non potes. [1.48]

℔ Yf thou coveyt to knowe how it stondes with thi soule and whethir it be like to the ymage of god or not, thou most ransake thyne owne conscience and loke what thi wil is for there inne is al. Yf thou be stedfast in the faith of holy chirche and turned fro al dedly synne, and that thou woldes not for no thyng witandly and wilfully breke the byddyng of god, and for thou has done agayne his byddyng thou has shreven the mekely with ful hert and wille to forsake thi synne and with sorow that thou did it, then is this soule sekerly reformed in faith to the lyknes of god.

De talibus per Prophetam dicitur: Ego dixi dii estis et filii excelsi omnes. [2.33] Item in evangelio: Fulgebunt iusti sicut sol in regno patris eorum. [2.33]

℔ Othir men that drede not god, that lye in dedly sinne and wil not knowe and kepe the byddynges of god, thei disfigure and forshape their soules fro þe liknes of god and make them like to fendis of helle.

Augustinus: Sicut mors corporalis seperat animam a corpore, ita peccatum mortale animam a vere vita que est deus. [2.30] Idem: Tollerabilius fetet canis putridus hominibus quam anima peccatrix deo. [2.30] Multi autem frequenter deo dicunt domine domine sed eius mandatis nolunt obedire nec libenter ea audire. Unde David: Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis. [1.45] Salomon: Qui avertit aurem suam ne audiat legem, execrabilis erit oracio eius ante deum. [1.1] Quomodo potest audiri a deo qui legem eius non diligit nec custodit nec in ea delectatur loqui nec ab aliis audiri. Ambrosius: Qui in cordibus suis dominica non habent precepta revera, dura tolerabunt tormenta. Ierominus: Absque noticia creatoris sui homo pecus est. [1.1]

Summe men make their god worship and reverence \for/ praysyng and vaynglorie of this wrecched world for that thei love best and Moste besy are to wynne and lothest for to lose. ¶ Enviouse and wrathfull men coveit most victorye and veniaunce of their adversaries and enemyes. ¶ Covetous men coveit most and love best richesse and outrageus havyng of worldly goodis. ¶ Glotouns and lecherous men love most synful lust and lykyng of their flesshe. ¶ Slouthfull men love most ydilnes and eese and rest from alle good dede. And thus ony thyng that is ageyne god and his biddyng that a man fully cheses and loves more then god that thing he makis his god.

Bernardus: Quod enim quisque pre ceteris colit et diligit id sibi deum constituisse probatur. [1.9] Augustinus: Hoc ab homine colitur quod pre ceteris diligitur. [1.9] Gregorius: Nemo potest in una et eadem re omnipotenti deo et eius hostibus

gratus existere. [1.9] Ieronimus: Unusquisque cuius opera facit eius filius appellatur. [1.9] Deus in evangelio dicit: Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me non est me dignus. [1.9] Item David in psalmo: Perdidisti omnes qui fornicantur abs te. ℭ Paulus: Erit tempus cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt. ℭ Salomon: Fatui non poterunt diligere nisi ea que eis placent. ℭ Gregorius: Hoc certissime scito quod deo placere et pravis hominibus nemo potest.

The last three authorities of this version of the text form a self-contained paragraph which occurs in several manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani tradition: Hereford Cathedral Library MS. P.7.VII (folio 137 verso); Harley 2379 (folio 70 recto); JRL Lat. 201 (folio 232 recto); Douce 107 (folio 54 recto). In the Speculum Christiani, the Paulus quote is at H. 239.20, the Gregorius quote is at H. 239.27. In Lansdowne 344, this paragraph is written in red (folio 79 recto). The version preserved in Corpus 132 and Royal 8 F.VI inserts an extra paragraph into the last sequence of quotations (as well as omitting some of the authorities included in Add. 15237 and adding some not in Add. 15237).

De anima pulcra: Shorter Version as preserved in Cambridge, Trinity Hall MS. 16, folio 92 verso. (References in square brackets are to the source book and chapter of the Cibus Anime.)

Anima christiana ante peccatum valde pulcra est et dei similis. Sed postquam peccaverit mortaliter perdidit omnem pulcritudinem et redditur ita deformis et ita turpis sicut dyabolus, immo turpior, ut dicit Augustinus in quadam oracione.

Now yf þu covet to know how it standes with þi sowle and whether it be lyke to þe ymage of god or none þou mayste ransake þyn owen conscience and loke what þi wylle is for in þaym standes al. Yf þou be stedfastly gronded in þe faythe of holy chirche, and sykerly turned fro al dedely [synne], and þat þou woldes for no thyng wytandely and wylfully with deliberacioun breke þe byddyng of god, and for þat þou has done agayne his byddyng þou hast schryfen þe wysely and mekely taken þi penaunce with ful purpose and wylle to forsake þi synne, and with contricioun and sorow of hert þat þou has greved god and broken his byddyng and with ful purpose and wylle to do no more, þen is þi sowle reformed in feythe to þe lyknes of þe ymage of god.

Unde dicit Apostolus: Gloria nostra est testimonium conscientie nostre. Qui habet bonam conscientiam audacter conspiciet in deum in die iudicii, qui illam non habet confusus cadet. [2.1] Nichil enim iocundius est neque securius quam bona consciencia.

[2.1] Deo gracias.

[synne]] om. MS.

In the version preserved in C.U.L. MS. Dd.14.26 (III), folio 1 verso to folio 2 verso, the vernacular section is followed by a longer series of authorities:

Apostolus: Gloria nostra est testimonium consciencie nostre. [2.1] Nichil enim iocundius et securius bona consciencia. Consciencia bona titulus est religionis, tipus salvacionis, ager benedicccionis, ortus deliciarum, gaudium angelorum, archa federis, thesaurus regius, aula domini, habitaculum spiritus sancti. [2.1] Qui bonam habet conscienciam audacter conspiciet in deum in die iudicii. Qui vero illam non habet confusus cadet. [2.1] Multi\autem/ querunt scienciam pauci vero sapienciam et bonam conscienciam. [2.1] \Unde/ Bernardus: Multi multa sciunt et seipsos nesciunt. [2.61] Seneca: Hoc solum pessimos homines facit quod nemo vitam suam respicit. Hugo de Sancto Victore: Velle scire ut sciaris \autem/ superbia est. Velle scire ut lucreris avaricia est. Velle scire ut edificeris prudencia est. [2.61] Tale erit opus tuum qualis fuerit intencio tua. Bernardus: Stude noscere te, quia multo melior et laudabilior es si te noscis quam si te neglecto noscerēs cursus siderum vires herbarum complecciones hominum naturas animalium et haberes omnium celestium et terrestrium scienciam. [2.61]

In the version preserved in MS. Foyle, the vernacular section is followed by only the first sentence of the Latin.

Annexe 4

Pastoral Notes: transcribed from B.L. MS. Harley 237, folio 97 recto. (References in square brackets are to the source book and chapter of the Cibus Anime.)

Ecclesiastes 12: Time deum et mandata eius observa. Hoc est ⟨omnis homo.⟩ [1.5]

Glosa: Ad hoc est omnis homo creatus. [1.5]

De Mandatis

Primum mandatum est non habebis deos alienos...[list of Commandments follows] De istis mandatis dicit dominus: Si diligitis me, mandata mea servate. Item alibi: Da michi cor tuum et sufficit michi. [1.48] Unde Gregorius: Nihil deo dicius offertur bona voluntate. [1.48] Augustinus: Nichil aliud nostrum querit deus nisi bonam voluntatem. Bona voluntas sufficit si desit operacionis facultas. Cum bona voluntate omnino perire non potes et sine bona voluntate omnino salvari non potes. [1.48] Gregorius: Dignum est ut a dei beneficiis sit quilibet externens qui eius nimirum vissionibus non vult esse sub\ie/ctus. [1.45] Ambrosius: \Oportet nos/ ut in preceptis dei ambulemus si ad Christum pervenire velimus. [1.45] Bernardus: Nulla precepta sine culpa negliguntur vel sine crimine contempnuntur. [1.45] Augustinus: Cicius exauditur una oracio obedientis quam decem millia contemptoris. [1.45] Paulus: Si precepta dei \non/ contempseris nec tuet (sic) precepta possunt contempni. Time deum et omnes timebunt te. Dilige deum et omnes diligent te. Honora deum et omnes honorabunt te sive qui habent oculum apertum.

Fides Catholica

Ista sunt omnino credenda scilicet: Baptismus, Confirmacio, Penitencia, Eukaristia, Ordo, Matrimonium, Extrema Unctio, cum Articulis in simbolo contentis. Galath. 3: Omnes filii dei estis per fidem. [1.4] Augustinus: Beacior fuit Maria in percipiendo fidem Christi quam in concipiendo carnem Christi. [1.4] Paulus: Sine fide impossibile est placere deo. [1.4]

Septem Virtutes Principales

Ista sunt fortiter servanda: Fides, Spes, Caritas, Prudencia, Temporancia, Iusticia et Fortitudo. Iusti sunt et deum timent qui semper istas virtutes bene custodiunt et ideo male mori non possunt. Unde Augustinus: Non potest male mori qui bene vixit et vix bene moritur qui male vixit. [2.34] Petrus Apostolus: Non est personarum acceptor deus sed in omni gente qui timet deum et operatur iusticiam acceptus est illi.

Opera Misericordie

Ista sunt hillariter facienda, unde versus: Visito, Poto, Cibo, Redimo, Tego, Colligo, Condo. [2.54] Sunt alia opera misericordie spiritualia istis meliora, unde versus: Consule, Castiga, Solare, Remite, Fer ora. [2.54] Augustinus: Elemosina est res sancta auget presencia, minuit peccata, mundat omnia, liberat a morte, fugit angelis, separat a demonibus et est quasi murus inexpugnabilis circa animam. [2.53] Augustinus: Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elemosina extinguit peccatum. [2.53]

Quinque Sensus Corporale

Ista sunt prudenter custodienda, versus: Gustus et Olfactus, Auditus, Visio, Tactus. [2.64]

Unde Ecclesiasticus 36: Ubi non est sepes id est custodia sensuum diripietur possessio. [2.64]

Et sicut dicit Propheta: Mors ingreditur per fenestras, id est per quinque sensus corporis. [2.63]

Septem Peccata Mortalia

Ista sunt omnino cavenda, scilicet Superbia, Invidia, Ira, Accidia, Avaricia, Gula et Luxuria. Unde Augustinus: Sicut mors corporalis separat animam ab corpore ita peccatum mortale animam a vera vita que est deus. O qualis est illa anima infelix que a summo deo deseritur et diabolo occupatur. Vacuatur lumine et tenebris adimpletur exhauritur dulcedine et inebriatur amaritudine, perdit vitam et invenit mortem. [2.30] Anima vero christiana ante peccatum valde pulcra est et deo similis. Sed postquam peccaverit mortaliter perdit omnem pulcritudinem eius et turpior est diabolo ut dicit Augustinus in quedam oracione. [cf. De anima pulcra]

Peccata Britonum et Causa Deposicionis Eorum

Negligencia prelatorum, rapina potentum, cupiditas iudicum, rabies periuriorum, inordinatus cultus vestimentorum, detestanda luxuria. [1.31, 2.63]

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   - 62
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